

THE APPEARANCE AND GROWTH OF ORTHODOXY IN FRANCE

I. Introduction

This paper presents partial findings of a survey concerning psycho-social and religious conditions in two French Orthodox parishes in Paris. Since there are similar parishes in the provinces of Bretagne and Normandy, the title of this paper refers to the Orthodox Church in France.

The appearance of Orthodoxy in France, which is predominantly a Roman Catholic country, represents a very impressive religious change which usually occurs under special socio-cultural conditions. That religious change parallels social changes in France, which is in a state of rapid industrialization, technological advancement and urbanization, as is the rest of the western world. The appearance of Orthodoxy in France is not an exception for highly industrialized countries, because an Orthodox diocese already exists in Germany, while the Orthodox Church with its three dioceses has recently become an autonomous church in Japan with Metropolitan Theodosius as its leading hierarch.¹ In addition, the Orthodox Church is autonomous with two bishops in China.² It should also be stressed that the Orthodox Church is becoming accepted in many developing African countries because of its orientation toward the ethnic and tribal identities of people and especially because of its very tolerant cultural orientation.³

As France is a western country, the French Orthodox avoid being identified as 'Eastern' Orthodox. They are Frenchmen who would prefer to call their Orthodoxy 'Western.' However, there are Orthodox and other Christian theologians who, because of the spread of Orthodoxy on all continents including

1. "Interview with Metropolitan Theodosius of Japan," *The Orthodox Church*, Metropolitan Council of the Orthodox Church in America, December 1974, p. 4.

2. Herbert Waddams, *Meeting the Orthodox Churches* (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1964), p. 93.

3. Carnegie Samuel Calian, *Icon and Pulpit* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1969), p. 49.

North and South America, already identify Orthodoxy without the word 'eastern,' thus avoiding any geographical connotation. In the U.S.A. and Canada there are approximately five million Orthodox.⁴ Although more than half of the Orthodox in the U.S. are immigrants, it is already hoped that "America might become more Orthodox rather than Orthodoxy more American."⁵ There are Orthodox and other theologians and laymen who consider the Orthodox Church as the fourth major religious body in the U.S.A.⁶

In France and many other countries Orthodoxy appears when its believers convert from other religious groups. Therefore, in order to understand the religious beliefs, morality, and ritualism of French Orthodoxy, it is necessary to identify the previous beliefs, orientation, and psycho-social tendencies and aspirations of its constituents. Since conversion represents a new socio-religious identity for the individuals involved, it is necessary to investigate the causes of and their expectations from conversion. The psychological and social motives for conversion are of essential importance in understanding the achievements of converts. According to some scientific arguments, conversions appear to be 'regressive' and 'psychopathological.' Leon Salzman concludes that conversions occur in "neurotic, prepsychotic, or psychotic persons."⁷ Although Yinger recognizes the value of psychological studies of individual variations,⁸ he especially stresses the importance of social factors in the study of all religious changes, conversion in particular.⁹ Certainly, the prevailing cultural norms, values, and orientation should never be neglected in the interpretation of conversion. It therefore seems appropriate to treat the issue of conversion in terms of multicausality of religious

4. Theodore G. Stylianopoulos, "The Orthodox Church in America," *The Annals*, January 1970, p. 43.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 42. See also C.S. Calian, p. 49; and Fred Lewis, "Concerning a National Orthodox Council of America," *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly* 2, No. 4 (Summer 1954).

7. See Leon Salzman, "The Psychology of Religious and Ideological Conversion," *Psychiatry* 16 (1953), 177-79.

8. J. Milton Yinger, *The Scientific Study of Religion* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1970), p. 152.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 112, 126-28.

changes.¹⁰

Since it is usually thought that converts come from the lower social stratum,¹¹ it is especially necessary to find out their social origin and their current social identity. In order to understand the social effects of conversion it should be determined whether the adopted religious teaching and identity affect the converts' attitudes toward the social structure and social dynamics in general.

The gradual appearance of Eastern Orthodoxy in France can be traced to conversions from Catholicism and Protestantism in the early 1930's. By that time a considerable number of Frenchmen were already acquainted with the ritualistic aspects of Orthodox church services, having attended the liturgy with many Russian immigrants after the Bolshevik revolution. However, the appearance of Orthodoxy in France, as Bishop Germain says, should primarily be traced to the internal religious contradictions in Catholicism and Protestantism concerning the problem of ecumenism. The bishop admits that the organization of the Orthodox Church on the ethnic level was a significant factor affecting many Frenchmen. The use of native language for Orthodox services was also of great importance for many of them. That special factor is also related to economic, cultural, artistic, and political problems. Finally, the bishop refers to Orthodox dogmatic teaching, which relies on the original Christian teaching, and the rich religious traditions.¹²

The conversion of Frenchmen to Orthodoxy was especially noticeable under the influence of Monseigneur Irene Winnaert, who had been a Catholic priest and who converted first to Anglicanism and then to Orthodoxy. Consequently, Mgr. Irene is considered as the founder of the French Orthodox Church, now known as the French Catholic Orthodox Church.¹³ The first French Orthodox bishop was Mgr. Jean de Saint Denis, who in 1967 secured the recognition of his diocese

10. Djuro J. Vrga and Francoise Fichet, "The Multicausal Division of Religious Bodies," prepared for publication.

11. Yinger, p. 528.

12. Sacre de Monseigneur Germain, *Presence Orthodoxe*, No. 19, 3rd trimestre 1972, pp. 7-9.

13. See Vincent Bourne, *La queste de verte d'Irene Winnaert* (Geneve: Labor et Fides, 1966).

as an autonomous church from the Roumanian Orthodox Church, which is under the leadership of Patriarch Justinian. In 1972 the French Catholic Orthodox Church came under the canonical and liturgical jurisdiction of the Roumanian Orthodox Church.

After the death of Mgr. Jean de Saint Denis, the General Assembly of the French Catholic Orthodox Church selected in 1970 Pere Gilles Hardy as the candidate for the position of their bishop and Vicar General. In May, 1972 Pere Hardy, as Archimandrite Germain, was consecrated a new bishop and recognized as the head of the French Catholic Orthodox Church.¹⁴ Certainly, under the influence of Bishop Germain and several French Catholic Orthodox priests and monks, Orthodoxy began spreading very quickly through conversions from the Roman Catholic Church.

The appearance of two new dioceses in the 1970's is noteworthy, although these are not under the canonical jurisdiction of the Roumanian Orthodox Church. Regardless of the fact that the French Orthodox dioceses are not yet united, one must recognize that the growth of Orthodoxy in France is much faster than had been expected by the founders of that church in a predominantly Roman Catholic country.

II. Method

This report is based on data obtained from eighty-four male and female members of two French Orthodox parishes in Paris. Our questionnaire consisted of fifty-three structured and open-ended questions which were divided into several parts, each of which covered a specific topic of relevance for social standing, religious beliefs, attitudes, expectations, and aspirations of the respondents.

The questionnaire was distributed at the end of the summer of 1974. It was, of course, prepared in the French language. We had the special privilege of getting appointments with two French Orthodox bishops who promised their help and support in conducting the research about the conditions in their parishes. In response to our request, they were kind enough to accept our questionnaires and to hand them over to the pastors of the parishes, telling them how to instruct the respondents about

14. Monseigneur Germain, pp. 18, 27-30, 45-60.

the sincere and objective completion of the questions. The bishops were also kind enough to express their opinions and remarks about our questions and research techniques.

III. Hypothesis

The purpose of this study is to test the hypothesis that "The appearance and growth of Orthodoxy in France is directly related to the psychological, emotional and social perceptions and needs of individuals who think that their religious orientations and belongingness support their general tendencies in the realm of religion and interpersonal and group relations."

This hypothesis is directly related to the problem of division of existing religious bodies and that of the emergence of new religious bodies. Although the great majority of members of the French Orthodox Church are converts, we are not suggesting that they abandoned their original religious bodies in a group or mass movement under the leadership of one special leader. We think that those people converted for their own individual social and religious needs. French Orthodoxy appeared through the process of its attractive appeal to certain persons who were previously members of one or more religious bodies. In that respect, Orthodoxy was understood in terms of its socio-religious and psychological appeal to its members.

It must be stressed that those most attracted by new religious bodies are usually people with similar psycho-social characteristics, similar experiences, and shared tendencies and aspirations. These influential factors vary in origin, type, function, and intensity.¹⁵ Some of them can be traced to earlier psycho-social experiences of the converts, while others play a determinant role at the present. On the other hand, tendencies, expectations, and aspirations have a very strong influence on a person's social behavior, emotional reactions, and religious approach to reality.

In the study of religion in general and in the study of the emergence of a new religious body in particular, it should be recognized that the believers may, but need not necessarily be completely aware of certain factors affecting their religious behavior and aspirations. Therefore, we are aware that some factors

15. See D. J. Vrga and F. Fichet, "The Multicausal Division of Religious Bodies."

are latent, while others are manifest causes of religious changes.¹⁶ While persons changing their religious allegiance may have clearly expressed present intentions, they may also have some latent tendencies which may be a very strong motivation for their change in religious behavior and their emphasis on certain beliefs and certain religious symbolism and rituals. It should be emphasized that both the manifest and latent causes of religious changes experienced by certain French persons are psycho-social and religious in their origin and meaning.

IV. Findings

This report represents just partial findings about the appearance and growth of Orthodoxy in France.¹⁷ The main objective of this analysis is to trace the socio-religious backgrounds of the respondents and the religious commitments of the French Orthodox with emphasis on their dogmatic and ritualistic consistency and inclinations. At the same time, it is especially important to present the respondents' opinions about the Orthodox Church's understanding of French social and national interests. Since 95 percent of the respondents are converts—only 5 percent having been baptized Orthodox—it can be said that the French Orthodox Church originated in the conversion of the great majority of its members from other religious bodies.

The age and social background of converts

The majority of the converts (65 percent) are between the ages of 21 and 30 years. It is important to note that 32.5 percent of the converted respondents are over age 50, while the rest of the converts are between 31 and 50 years of age. Of the eighty converted respondents, sixty are married. Of those married respondents, thirty-six have children with the average of three children per family. Since children in Orthodox families are baptized Orthodox, the average age of membership in the French Orthodox parishes is relatively young.

Most converted French Orthodox come from the middle class, their social background being traced to the social status of their fathers. The majority of fathers of the converted

16. Ibid.; and Yinger, p. 128.

17. See Monseigneur Germain, *Presence Orthodoxe*, No. 19, 3rd trimestre 1972, pp. 3-66, and V. Bourne, *La queste de verite d'Irenee Winnaert*.

respondents were in managerial positions. There were also fathers belonging to the upper class, represented mainly by professionals such as physicians, engineers, and university professors. The fathers of just a few respondents belonged to the lower class. In general, the fathers of the majority of respondents were persons of special skills with specialized educations.

**The age at the time of conversion
and the religious background of converts**

The obtained data indicate that the great majority (86.25 percent) of converted respondents were Roman Catholics, while 12.5 percent were Protestants. Only one respondent converted from the Jewish faith. In relation to the total population of France, this distribution of respondents based on their original religious affiliation is quite proportional, France being a predominantly Roman Catholic country. Certainly all of those respondents share many characteristics of religious orientations and tendencies.

The majority of the respondents converted between the ages of 21 and 30 years (37.5 percent). It is interesting that 15 percent of the respondents experienced their conversion to Orthodoxy during adolescence (15 to 20 years of age). It is noteworthy too that a relatively small percentage of respondents converted during or after their middle years. The age of the respondents at the time of their conversion supports the proposition that they were all conscious of the meaning and implications of their decision to change their religious identification and orientation.

The present social status of converts

In view of general social conditions in France today, the social position of the French Orthodox seems to be quite favorable, because they have surpassed the social status of their fathers. It should be kept in mind that this social advancement of the French Orthodox is possible largely because of their younger age.

In order to treat the problem of intergenerational social mobility, we have grouped occupations into categories according to their prestige rank: 1) professionals, 2) proprietors, managers, and officials, 3) clerical workers and skilled craftsmen,

4) semi-skilled workers, and 5) unskilled laborers.

According to this classification of occupations, almost one-third of the fathers of respondents were professionals, while one-half of their fathers were in the second and third categories. Interestingly, only two fathers were in the lower prestige categories. It is noteworthy that more than one-fourth of the respondents have made an upward mobility since the time of their conversion. Six respondents did not indicate their occupation, primarily because these were either married women or retired persons.

Since a good number of respondents are young and still studying, it can be presumed that they too will experience upward mobility. Again, the further social advancement of French Orthodox is possible because of their younger age. It is expected that a good number of them will pursue higher education for specialization.

In order to find out whether the French Orthodox Church affects the social position of its members, the respondents were asked a question about Orthodoxy's attitude toward social life and personal achievement. Half of the respondents felt that the Orthodox Church encourages its members toward higher social achievement. Of the other respondents, a certain number did not answer the question and others said that the Orthodox Church is not interested in the social standing of its members because of its other-worldly concern. Those respondents were also critical of our raising the question. Most probably those respondents continue to follow their Catholic inheritance, which separates social achievement from religious goals.

For the same purpose the respondents were asked about the Orthodox attitude toward science,¹⁸ and again half of the respondents answered the question favorably, while a certain number of the second half expressed the opinion that the problem of science is not relevant to religion. The rest of the respondents even declared that such a question is unreasonable. It seems that those respondents did not follow here Orthodox doctrinal affirmations.

In our survey about the French Orthodox, special attention is paid to Orthodox attitudes toward French social reality and national interests. In the first question about those matters

18. See Yinger, pp. 56-65.

the respondents were asked about the Orthodox attitude toward French social reality. Interestingly, 75 percent of the respondents declared that their Orthodox Church is in harmony with it. While 15 percent of the respondents stated that their church is neutral concerning social reality, the remaining small number of respondents felt that their church is in conflict with that reality.

Since the French people are familiar with the Catholic attitudes toward the various social segments, the respondents were asked a question about the Orthodox attitude toward social classes. It should be emphasized that 73.5 percent of the respondents declared that their church has equal attitudes toward all social classes. However, 21 percent of the respondents think that their church is more favorable toward the upper class.

The respondents' attention was called to the understanding and solution of existing social problems by the Orthodox Church and by other Christian churches. Of all respondents, 73.5 percent said that their church has a much better understanding of social problems and more readiness to contribute toward the solution of them than do other churches. However, almost one-fourth of the respondents think that all Christian churches have an equal understanding of social problems. Only two respondents were of the opinion that their own church is in conflict with social reality, which means for them that there is a radical controversy between religious aims and social struggle.

Since the Orthodox Church is decentralized along national lines, the respondents were asked a question concerning the attitudes of their church toward French national interests. This was done in order to find out whether the members of the new Orthodox Church are aware of Orthodox tendencies toward the nations.¹⁹ The great majority of respondents (73.5 percent) feel that their church's tendencies are in harmony with French national interests. However, 22.2 percent think that their church is neutral and therefore should not be in harmony with French national interests and attitudes.

19. H. Waddams, pp. 12-13, and C. S. Calian, p. 109.

The dogmatic and ritualistic questions

In this survey about the French Orthodox Church many questions concerned the elements of religion in general. It should be emphasized that religion has three basic elements. The first of those elements concerns the dogmatic teachings about God and the nature of the Cosmos. Morality is considered as the second element of religion, while the third includes symbols and rituals. As far as the function and the survival of religion are concerned, the relationship between these elements is of essential importance. As can be noted from the history of religion in general, the greater the harmony between these elements the better the prospect of its survival. Since this report, as mentioned earlier, presents only partial findings of our survey, detailed analysis of all responses concerning related religious problems cannot be made.

Regarding their basic beliefs, the French Orthodox follow the recognized Orthodox dogmatic teaching. As far as their religious practice is concerned, the respondents revealed that they practice prayer frequently. At the same time, they especially stressed the use of private prayer.

Since the union of Christian religious bodies is an issue of great popularity among Christians in general, the respondents were asked about their attitudes concerning Christian theological and structural unity. It is noteworthy that 88 percent declared that they are in favor of Christian unity.²⁰ Just 6 percent are against unity, while the remaining 6 percent did not answer the question.

Concerning the Catholic proposition that Christian unity should be practiced under the leadership of the Pope, the French Orthodox respondents, the majority of whom are converts from the Catholic Church, declared their opposition to the Pope as the leader of all Christians,²¹ while just 8 percent of the respondents gave no answer concerning the leading role of the Pope.

In order to evaluate the meaning and role of elements of religion embraced by the French Orthodox, the respondents were asked questions about their comparison of beliefs and

20. See Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church* (Hammondsworth, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1964), pp. 315-334.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 322-24.

rituals in terms of their appeal and effects. Sixty percent responded that beliefs and rituals are equally important with equal appeal and attraction to the believers. However, 35.8 percent think that beliefs are more important and more attractive than rituals.

Since many Orthodox theologians feel that the Orthodox approach to religion is fundamentally a liturgical approach²² and that Christianity should be considered a liturgical religion, the respondents were asked a question about the function and meaning of rituals in the Orthodox and other Christian churches. It is certainly very important that 100 percent of the respondents think that the rituals in the Orthodox Church are more meaningful than those in other Christian churches, especially because rituals represent the symbolic manifestation of basic dogmatic teachings.

V. Conclusions

The emergence and growth of the French Orthodox Church represent a point of interest in the history of French religion. As all conditions indicate, French Orthodoxy is appearing at a time of great social change with various kinds of religious change. It is obvious that the ritualistic and dogmatic changes in the Roman Catholic Church are noticeable in France. The switch from personalization to depersonalization in the advanced western mass societies is one of the causes for seeking answers to the most serious problems of individual security and happiness. It is then understandable that many people see the solution of their personal problems in the search and organization of community life. It can be stated that the answers of the respondents indicate that they find the Orthodox religion a means for the attainment of most personal goals. In that respect, they think that the Roman Catholic Church does not provide the means for the realization of personal goals.

As the collected data indicate, the appearance of Orthodoxy in France was caused by many factors of both religious and social nature. In this particular case, the multicausality of religious change can be discussed in terms of the interrelationship of those causes.²³ As was stressed earlier, the French

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 269-72.

23. About the psychological and emotional causes of conversion see Allan W. Eister, *Drawing-Room Conversion* (Duke University Press, 1950), pp. 125-33.

Orthodox Church did not appear in the form of a mass movement but as a result of the appeal of Orthodox dogmatic teaching, morality, and ritualism to individuals who were in search of solutions to psycho-social problems. As the present data indicate, the great majority of respondents share significant psycho-social characteristics, social expectations and aspirations, and religious views.

As far as the social status of converts is concerned, it should be recognized that the majority of French Orthodox are above the middle social standing in France. As the data show, a good number of respondents are part of an intergenerational upward mobility. As already indicated, it is thought that a good percentage of respondents will achieve further upward mobility in the course of their social adjustment.

It seems that the French Orthodox have become well acquainted with Orthodox religious teaching, as well as with Orthodox attitudes toward individuals, social groups, and society in general. The respondents have become especially aware of the Orthodox understanding of and attitudes toward personalism and community relations. They have found that the Orthodox Church pays equal attention to individuals and the community.

It seems that social and religious conditions in France are favorable for the spread of Orthodoxy, especially because the Orthodox Church, as mentioned before, is decentralized and organized on the national level.²⁴ In addition, since the French Orthodox are very critical of the Roman Catholic Pope, it is thought that they may have influence on many Catholics for conversion to Orthodoxy.

As far as the main causes for conversion are concerned, we presume that some or even many of the respondents were affected by personal or social *anomie*, or by both, because people usually experience *anomie* during a period of drastic social change and especially when depersonalization becomes common in interpersonal and social relations.

The respondents express the strong conviction that the Church must preserve a sense of the sacred at a time when pro-

24. See T. Ware, pp. 180-90, and Ernst Benz, *The Eastern Orthodox Church*, trans. Richard and Clara Winston (New York: Anchor Books, 1963), pp. 74-84.

fanity is becoming popular.²⁵ They also say that the Roman Catholic Church has given up the old rituals by switching to rituals that are supposed to be closer to the feelings of people from different social classes and of different ethnic origins. The new Catholic rituals appear to be very controversial for Orthodox converts. The respondents find that the appealing Orthodox rituals are performed in a true and impressive traditional Christian form.

The respondents' understanding of the social function of the Orthodox Church is especially important for their devotion to and their defense of it. The majority of the respondents think, as do the members of other Orthodox Churches, that the major social function of their church should be understood in the sense of its helping the faithful toward social adjustment and achievement. The Church is expected to be aware of the causes and effects of social problems.²⁶ Therefore, its contributions toward the solution of social problems represent an extremely valuable social function of the French Orthodox Church. That function is related to the French Orthodox sense of community as we know about it in terms of *Gemeinschaft*. The sense of social belonging is preserved in the practice of community prayers. In their private prayer²⁷ the French Orthodox express their reverence to God and their gratitude for achievements in this worldly life.

The French Orthodox are happy about belonging to the Orthodox Church and adopting the Orthodox teachings about transcendentalism and this worldly life.²⁸ Therefore, it is understandable that the converted French Orthodox are enthusiastic in their efforts to convert many of their countrymen to Orthodoxy.

25. See Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (New York: The Free Press, 1965), pp. 52-53.

26. See William M. Newman, *The Social Meanings of Religion* (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Co., 1974), pp. 71-79.

27. See T. Ware, pp. 310-14.

28. See E. Benz, pp. 206-10.

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AS SHE DEPARTS TO HER SON . . .”*

Pentecost is usually called “the last holiday” in the cycle of the great miracles of the divine dispensation. And, indeed, under the perspective “of the present age” this holiday is recognized, from the point of view of time, as “the last great day” of our Salvation. However, if one envisions “the great mystery of piety” from a more authentically orthodox view-point—the eschatological one (since the Orthodox experience is above all an experience of the *future*)—will notice holidays which not simply proclaim the *eschaton*, like that of Pentecost, but point in a dynamic way to the consummation. This is because such holidays refer to ‘Events’ which can hardly be considered as finished; ‘Events’ which rather ‘rush’ with their content the coming of the Kingdom, and with the force of their immeasurable joy ‘steal’ priceless booties from its uncreated richness—thus ‘signifying’ to their celebrants the impetuous coming of the ‘End,’ the endless perfection which becomes more and more a tangible reality for those who “reach their end” either peacefully or as martyrs.

It is among these holidays, which are inaccessible to historical substantiation, that the Dormition of the Theotokos has its place. This holiday, along with the holiday of All Saints, composes the most daring attempt of the Church to enter the future age, by setting aside in its liturgical expression, “as far as it is possible,” the enigmatic mirror—an obstacle to the exalta-

* The following is a translation of a brief article on the Dormition of the Theotokos, coming from Athos (*Athonikoi Dialogoi*, Nos. 39-40, June-August, 1976, pp. 1-3, 7). However, one finds himself in serious difficulty to call it an ‘article,’ let alone a ‘study.’ The elements of a praying disposition, contrition, struggle to penetrate into the *gnosis* of Theologia, and the delight in sharing the actuality of the Kingdom—characteristics of the Orthodox Theology—are too manifest in these paragraphs to remain unnoticed. Orthodox Theology is neither pietistic, nor ‘systematic,’ that is rationalistic; it is Theology in dialogue with the wholesome experience of the Body. A given event, or a particular experience, or notion, does neither define, nor exhaust, but revitalizes and enhances the Orthodox Theology. “Orthodoxy” means primarily ‘upright’ position or faith [balanced that is “*ισόρροπος*,” one of the ‘royal way’ according to the Fathers], which, being unique in the midst of an unlimited number of ‘inclinations’ or peculiarities, can claim that it is right. An event or experience of the Body of the Church provides, therefore, the opportunity for one to delve into, and then balance (find the ‘upright’ position) and articulate it (*-doxa*).

This piece is a good example. The Dormition of the Theotokos is in itself—irrespective even of its calendar observance—an opportunity for delving into the Orthodox eschatology, soteriology, anthropology, ‘Mariology,’ Theology . . . For this matter, any Church event provides such an opportunity. From this point of view, the Even of the Dormition of the Theotokos is always a timely subject.

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tion of love towards the extreme of accessible things—for those who are tuned together in an erotic way towards a Body of Christ. The Dormition must be viewed as the last act of the divine Dispensation which started to become a reality with the Annunciation of the Virgin, but it will be fully accomplished with the Second Advent. Until then, the Dormition will remain the last foreprint of the final triumph of the Church.

If all the Saints desired “to depart and be with Christ,” because of their unshakeable faith in the ‘gain’ of death, the all-Holy One had succeeded in “being with Christ,” from the present life by offering to Him flesh from Her flesh and bones from Her bones—although she did not fulfill, even in this way, Her keenest desire for Him. “Because it is not sufficient for those in love, to be united only spiritually,” Chrysostom affirms; “they have a need of physical prescence too.” If this is true for everyone else, how much more is it true for Her who had received the gift of Love in its fullness; and more so after the Ascension of Her Son, and God as well! Having herself the supreme privilege which first the God-man Himself made use of on the Cross, to deliver, that is, His Spirit to the Father when He wanted, She herself decided her departure, freely, like many other Saints and Martyrs. And as for the Saints (those who have had this privilege), they did so after prayer, which was preceded either by a long-term exercise or by horrible tortures. But as for the Virgin, without any other special effort, beside the vain attempt to bear her physical separation from the God-man, without any other martyrdom, beside that of her invincible desire for Christ, she succumbed speedily and willingly to death, delivering, in her turn, her spirit into the hands of her Son—She, who had every right to prolong her earthly presence until His second coming.

It seems, however, that God entrusted Her with no other work on earth, than to vest His Only-begotten One with Her flesh. She interrupted Her silence in order to search for “red clothes” for His co-eternal Logos. He let her then return to the same silence (which is a mystery for the ages to come) when “the Logos who came from silence” made Himself evident. Saint Ignatios, the God-bearing one, who uses this expression, implies that the Silence from which the Logos comes, is the unrevealed Person of His Father and, consequently, that His Incarnation also takes place within the ‘*hesychia*’ of His Mother.

The paternal Silence and the maternal Quietness co-operate, so that the Logos may be proclaimed in the world as God-man. As soon as this proclamation begins to become reality, the Theotokos has no other mission but to underline with Her existence the Event of the hypostatic union of God and man (the supreme Truth of the Church), inside Herself. The peak of this God-maternal Witness is the death of the Mother of God, because it shows that the substance which she offered to Christ from Herself was as authentically human, as authentically divine was His Being that was born from the Father.

Even though Death does not demonstrate the truth about man, but only his sickness, yet the death of the mother of Life was not a conformation to the common human destiny, but the ultimate consequence of the same obedience, of which the "let it be so," or the "not as I want, but You do" led on the one hand the Virgin to the conception, and on the other hand the Son to the Crucifixion . . . It seems that Mary served the Mystery of Salvation in an equally significant way with Her Pregnancy, as she did with Her Dormition. If she had not died—although she had every right to this exception—she would have offended with Her immortality what she had contributed with her Motherhood: the belief in the possibility of God to become mortal. Since, under the circumstances of the fall, mortality is a state inherent to the calling of the beings into existence, an immortal—even '*a posteriori*'—Mother of the God-man would have been seen incapable of transmitting to the human nature of Her Son, that which He was not in a position to get in any other way: mortality.

The most astonishing event in the encounter between God and man in the Theotokos is, certainly, Her Son's twofold union with the two realities (one, the most beloved, and the other, most despised by Him): with the creature that was made "according to the image," and with the ultimate enemy, death. Both, in their unacceptable co-existence, constituted the tragedy of man. Even though the purpose for which Christ attached His Being to each one of them was different, yet His desire to acquire them was equally invincible. And this was accomplished in the Person of the Virgin. She gave Him both of them, the one for Him to save, and the other for Him to destroy. And while she gave them to Him together, He worked on them separately:

By saving the one, He was destroying the other, and by destroying the latter, He was saving the former.

However, this presupposed that all the consequences of man's fall had been transferred to the All-holy One, naturally, from her parents. If Paul's contention is true, that the stink of death is sin, how would she have been able to transfer to Him mortality, if she had not inherited the sinfulness that presses heavy upon the human nature? If, in other words, His Mother was not in a position to offer Him from the beginning both humanity and mortality—because, supposedly, He rushed to rid her from all the consequences of the fall at the time of her conception, as it is maintained by the West—then it means that He Himself had rendered Her useless for the very purpose for which He needed Her. For as far as humanity is concerned, He could acquire it by Himself since He was the One Who had created it. Thus, it would also have been impossible for Him to meet the common enemy, since He Himself would have let it, from the very beginning, escape from Her—thus becoming its Savior, rather than its annihilator. For even though He created the first Adam "susceptible to both," that is, to death through sin and to immortality through sinlessness, yet He Himself ought, after the failure of Adam, to remain both sinless and able to die as well! And in order for this to be accomplished, that original susceptibility (the one which was free of hunger, thirst and fatigue) was not enough. There was rather a need of a Mother, who with her personal purity would be able to supply Him with everything necessary for Him to die; everything, but sin. For she also was free of sin, although not from the beginning, but after she had first proven with deeds how useless sin was to her equipment. Otherwise, for what other reason would He have a need of a Mother, He who created the world from nothing? Or what would He owe to her in return if He had made her be without sin from her very conception? Immortality? But to whom? To her, who would not have helped Him the least to meet death? Death? But how would this be possible if He Himself had to rush so untimely to rid her from the string of death, that is sin?

Indeed, one could not easily justify either death or immortality in such a mother, in the same way as the West is not able either to answer until today whether she died or not, or to explain either case. The Orthodox tradition, by proclaiming at the

holiday of Dormition the death of the Theotokos, safeguards the truth of man's tragedy in the person of Her who confessed God as Her Savior; as it does the actual possibility of Salvation in the person of Him who acknowledged as His Mother and Brothers those who keep His commandments. It is for this reason that only the Orthodox are in a position to understand (as far as the unfathomable depth of Her Mystery allows) the double and magnificent contribution of Theotokos: her disclosing and offering man's real tragedy to God, and bringing and presenting the authentic loving grace of God to man.

M. Ch.

Translated by D.J.S.

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REVIEWS

The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine, Volume 2, The Spirit of Eastern Christendom (600-1700). By Jaroslav Pelikan. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974, Pp. xxv, 329. \$16.50. And Paper, 1977, \$5.95.

Jaroslav Pelikan's second volume in his projected five-volume history of the development of Christian doctrine is a well-researched, sympathetic effort to describe what many western scholars (and not a few eastern writers) deny to Eastern Christendom: doctrinal development.

It is the author's express purpose to deal with an eleven-century history of doctrinal development to the general exclusion of other dimensions. In the main, he is successful in his purpose, including only a bare minimum of historical, social and political material so as to help make his material understandable to the reader. Addressed to readers with a special interest in Christian history and theology, as well as to historians of Byzantine, Syriac and Slavic civilizations for background purposes, it will also serve as a serious introduction to the teaching of the Eastern Church for the general reader.

One of the major strengths of this volume is its readability. In spite of the fact that it is thoroughly researched and very well documented—showing an admirable command of the sources—the style of the writing is generally clear, direct and straightforward.

The major judgment to be made of a work such as this is whether as a whole the author has described well and accurately the subject-matter. There are two ways of responding to this question. The first deals with the general tenor of the treatment. The Orthodox Christian student will find no major surprises in this volume. He will find familiar authors treated with fairness and with empathy. The book could have been written by an Orthodox Christian with little or no substantial change; it reflects the generally accepted understandings of Orthodox theology of its own history. Another major strength of the volume, in addition to its familiarity with the sources, is the use of Eastern Orthodox secondary sources.

A second response as to the adequacy of the treatment is the issue of development itself. The East has always been caught in the paradox which rejected the commonly expressed western criticism that it is static and fossilized, while continuing to affirm its faithfulness to the ancient doctrines. Pelikan's book is an excellent documentation of this Orthodox self-understanding. The common threads of doctrine are seen running through the eleven centuries—a true orthodoxy of faith. Yet, the vital adaption and restatement to new challenges is not absent either. There is both essential continuity and—within the framework of that continuity—development.

Thus, in both cases the facts serve to vindicate the accuracy of the description. The six chapters deal in succession with the topics of patristic authority, the theology of the icon, Eastern response to Roman Catholic challenges, the Eastern Christian encounter with Judaism, dualism, Islam and philosophy, and the "last flowering of Byzantine Orthodoxy." All are well done, but the chapter dealing with the Eastern approaches to non-Christian religions will probably be found to contain material not easily available in other secondary sources.

In several places the author defends his position that doctrinal reasons must be given an important place in the interpretation of historical—and especially ecclesiastical—events. He rejects the reductionism of modern historians who would interpret Church history in primarily political terms. In this too he will find a sympathetic reading by most Eastern Orthodox theologians (pp. 170, 177, 198, 271-72).

His use of Greek in the text is restrained and generally accurate (some errors appear in the latter part of the book: pp. 255, 269, 277). English-speaking Orthodox writers will find some of his translations refreshing and illuminating.

We are indeed grateful to Professor Pelikan for this fair, accurate, sympathetic and illuminating study. Non-Orthodox scholars and students will find in this volume a useful and helpful description of the development of Orthodox doctrine. It is recommended to students and scholars alike as a valuable contribution not only to the understanding of the development of doctrine, but also for purposes of ecumenical understanding.

Stanley S. Harakas
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ΠΟΡΕΙΑ ΖΩΗΣ (*Journey of Life*). Volume I. By Costas M. Proussis. Nicosia, Cyprus: Zavallis Press, 1975. Pp. viii + 391. Paper. \$12.00. (In U.S.A. may be ordered from the author at 11 Lehigh Road, Wellesley, Massachusetts 02181).

Dr. Costas M. Proussis is a truly extraordinary man. Currently the Honorary Consul of the Republic of Cyprus in Boston and Professor of Ancient and Modern Greek Literature at Hellenic College, he is also one of the founders and a former editor of *Kypriaka Grammata* and principal of the PanCyprian Gymnasium in Nicosia. A longtime student of Greek literature, he has also been a pioneer in championing the demotic Greek language and in propounding the significance and value of modern Greek literature. Not only has Dr. Proussis espoused the cause of modern Greek studies since the thirties, but he has also been an ardent proponent and critic of Greek Cypriot literature and intellectual life and a fervent promoter of Cypriot intellectual excellence.

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Because of the variegated nature of this volume and the unlikelihood that it will be widely reviewed, it is important to call it to the attention of students of ancient, mediaeval, and modern Greece and the Balkans, as well as to the attention of students of anthropology, art and archaeology, classics, Orthodox theology and religion, linguistics, political science, history, and international relations.

Essays in Memory of Basil Laourdas is a fitting tribute to a great scholar and a valuable source of contemporary scholarship on a wide variety of subjects by distinguished scholars on both sides of the Atlantic. It should not be missed.

Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks. By Doukas. An Annotated Translation of "Historia Turco-Byzantina" 1341-1462 by Harry J. Magoulias. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1975. Pp. 346. Illustrated. \$18.50.

The Byzantine Empire lasted for over eleven centuries, from the founding of Constantinople in 330 A.D. to its fall to the Turks in 1453. It was a vast, Christian multi-national empire that was Greek in language and culture and Eastern Orthodox in religion. It saw itself as the legitimate heir and successor of Rome and of Greece, though by the middle of the fifteenth century it was much reduced territorially. When the Ottomans took Constantinople on May 29, 1453 most of its glory and power had long since been eroded. The last four historians of Byzantium—George Sphrantzes, Laonikos Chalkokondyles, Michael Kritovoulos, and (Michael?) Doukas—cover the periods 1413-1477, 1298-1463, 1451-1467, 1341-1462 respectively. Through them we can see that they "have preserved the sound and fury of its death [i.e., Byzantium's] death throes as well as the meaning of its ultimate and total disaster" (Magoulias, p. 24). Doukas, who was descended from an ancient and a distinguished Byzantine family, knew Turkish and Italian as well as Greek and was himself eyewitness to many of the events he reported, even interviewing Turkish soldiers who had captured Constantinople and slaughtered 2,000 of its defenders. He was able to procure from conquerors and conquered alike information relating to events that preceded and followed the Fall of Constantinople. As envoy of the lords of Lesbos in his later years after the Fall, Doukas was able to meet Mehmed II the Conqueror and his viziers.

Harry J. Magoulias, associate professor of history at Wayne State University and author of *Byzantine Christianity: Emperor, Church and the West* (1970), has bravely produced for us the first translation into English of Doukas' *Historia Turco-Byzantina*, thus giving us the first account in an English version of the Fall of Constantinople by a contemporary Byzantine historian. The direct accessibility of this text in a readable

translation to historians of the Middle Ages, of Byzantium, of military history and of East-West religious history now makes it possible for contemporary students and scholars to get some idea of the flavor, perspective, and writing style of a Byzantine historian who describes in forty-five chapters the unceasing advance of the Ottoman Turks into Europe, the ever increasing agony of the Byzantine Greek Christians over this advance of the Turks and the impending concomitant disaster, the false prophecies portending punishment for the Ottomans, and the desperate but abortive struggle for union for Byzantium between the Orthodox Church of the East and the Church of Rome. Also included in this substantial narration are the murderous campaign of Tamerlane, the story of the Ottoman and non-Ottoman Turks of Asia Minor, the vicissitudes of the Serbs, Bulgars, and Hungarians, and the role played by the Venetians and the Genoese in the downfall of Constantinople.

In very Byzantine fashion Doukas sees the sins of the Byzantines as the cause of their misfortunes, and fortune or chance (Tyche) as a basic explanation of historical events. Fortune for Doukas is both good and evil. In bemoaning the Fall of Constantinople and the desecration of Aghia Sophia, however, he exclaims:

Shudder, O Sun! And you too, O Earth, heave a heavy sigh at the utter abandonment by God, the Just Judge, of our generation because of our sins! We are not worthy to raise our eyes to heaven. We must first bow down and touch our faces to the earth, and then we may cry out, "Thou art just, O Lord, and righteous is Thy Judgment. We have all sinned and we have committed inequities and injustices against all nations. With true and righteous judgment Thou hast visited upon us our tribulations. But spare us, O Lord, we entreat Thee" (LXI. 19).

Professor Magoulias has provided *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks* with a detailed chapter by chapter chronology and a helpful introduction followed by relevant photographs and maps. Vasile Grecu's critical edition of Doukas's *Historia Turco-Byzantina*, published in Bucharest in 1958, is the edition that Dr. Magoulias has so creditably translated and to which he has added over three hundred learned notes (263-323) plus an updated bibliography of primary sources and modern works and monographs. Consequently, the present book deserves wide circulation and should become a valuable source for students of Byzantine history and others and can also serve as an encouragement for other competent scholars to produce useful translations of Sphrantzes, Chalkokondyles, and Kritovoulos.

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STANLEY S. HARAKAS

EASTERN ORTHODOXY: AN INTRODUCTION FOR SOUTHERN BAPTISTS

To attempt to introduce Eastern Orthodox Christianity to Southern Baptists in a short presentation is doomed to failure. Not only is it impossible to capture the mood and spirit of its ethos without some experience of the senses other than hearing, it is also difficult to describe a 2,000-year history in such a limited period. That is important because the sense of historical continuity and identity with tradition is an essential aspect of the Eastern Orthodox way of believing, worshipping, and living. Yet, even with such a disclaimer, it is necessary to start somewhere in this dialogue, and so we begin with what amounts to a thumb-nail sketch. Ours will be what a charcoal sketch is to a finished painting—a preliminary draft which does no more than to position the features of the painting in a rough way, indicating no more than the general proportions of the reality which it purports to represent.

In order to do this, we will approach the topic under the headings of historical consciousness, beliefs, worship, polity, and ethics, touching only on the highlights and general orientation of the Orthodox Church, leaving for the ensuing discussion the clarification and development of particular points of interest.

Historical Consciousness

When I was a graduate student at Boston University I was asked by my professor of Comparative Theology to lecture for a class hour on the Orthodox Church. During the presentation, I made frequent reference to the 'Fathers of our Church.' In the question period which followed, I was asked just who these Fathers were. When I responded that they were people such as St. John Chrysostom, St. Basil, St. Cyril of Jerusalem and St. John of Damascus, there was a totally unexpected reaction from the class: they burst out in laughter! For this predominately Protestant class, the Church of which these personages were a part was long gone—a dead chapter in the history of the

Church unrecoverable and never to be seen again. For me, however, and for all Orthodox, Chrysostom, Basil, Cyril and the Damascene are in fact contemporaries in the ecclesiastical sense. We are as much a part of 'their Church' as they are of 'our Church.' All this is in order to illustrate the fact that today in every Orthodox Church throughout the world, regardless of national background, the Orthodox feel themselves to be in historical continuity with the ancient undivided Church of the first millennium of Christianity. This sense of historical continuity is not a mere pride of origin or antiquarian sense. It is a rootedness in the identity, life and spirit of the Christian reality. We *are* that Church; that Church *is* us!

Theologically, it is described by the term Holy Tradition, which encompasses not only formal doctrinal formulations, but the ethos, spirit, and personal identity with the ancient Church. There is, in Orthodoxy, a spirit of conciliarity which transcends councils and meetings. It is a sense of corporateness not only with one another at this time, but also of corporateness and oneness with the Church of the past. This mood and spirit colors everything in the Orthodox Church. To explain why we believe what we believe about Mary the Mother of God, the 'Theotokos' as we call her, we must speak not only of the Bible's teaching, but also of the First Ecumenical Council and of the heretic Nestorios as well. To explain why the baptismal service begins in the narthex of the church, we must describe fourth-century Church architecture and detail the long-gone method of the education of catechumens of that period.

Each church group views the history of Christianity from its own perspective. The telling of the story of Christianity is not only colored by subsequent history, but also by doctrine, worship, secular historical events, etc.

The Orthodox self-understanding of the history of the Church is thus distinct from that of others and as a result interprets events and highlights of the history of Christianity differently from those segments of Christendom not in communion with the Orthodox, particularly Western Christianity—Roman Catholicism and Protestantism.

How does Orthodox Christianity perceive the history of Christianity? In the broadest brush strokes imaginable, we will try to answer that question. For Orthodoxy, there is no figure

equivalent to Martin Luther, or John Calvin, or Roger Williams. There is only one founder and that is Jesus Christ. This is not said in a pious or dogmatic sense alone, but in a matter-of-fact historical sense as well. We cannot think of any other person who could stand as founder of the Orthodox Church other than Christ Himself. We see ourselves as Christ's Church and the Church of His Apostles and their successors. This is one sense of the term 'Apostolic' in the Creed. Thus, for example, the Orthodox bishops of Corinth and Thessalonike today see themselves as direct historical, spiritual and canonical descendants of St. Paul and those who were left by him to be pastors of the churches in their communities.

Though there were many heresies and schisms in the history of the Early Church, contemporary Orthodoxy senses itself to be in direct continuity with the dominant tradition which was identified with the five ancient Patriarchates of the Early Church. Those in communion with these five ancient Patriarchates were Orthodox and Catholic. These were the Churches of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. Rome, because it was the original capital city of the Empire, was the first in rank. Later, when Constantinople became the capital of the Christianized Roman Empire, known as Byzantium, it was ranked co-equal with Rome. Yet, this ranking in the East was only perceived as a ranking of honor and never as a ranking of administrative authority. The integrity of the local Church together with the local bishop was essential in the area of administration and church life. The administrative and sacramental autonomy of the local church jurisdiction—with the bishop as its head—is essential to understanding subsequent Church history. It means that the Orthodox have no place in their thinking for a supreme ecclesial authority in this world. Only Jesus Christ is the supreme ruler of the Church.

Such a relatively decentralized understanding of church government has a corollary—the conciliar approach to church life. Arising out of a complex of doctrinal affirmations—including anthropology, soteriology, ecclesiology and sacramental theology—the Orthodox are primarily corporate-minded and relationally oriented rather than authoritarian and legalistic. Early in the Church's history—as described in the Book of Acts—the Church sought solutions to its problems not by appeal to

the authority of a single bishop but through councils, which were perceived to be under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Local and regional councils were held and within the first eight centuries of the Church's existence seven Ecumenical Councils were held. These Councils are normative for the Orthodox, both doctrinally and administratively. Thus, for example, the Fourth Ecumenical Council held in 451 in Chalcedon formulated the Orthodox doctrine of the Person of Christ as both fully human and fully divine. No one henceforth could deny that doctrine and remain an Orthodox Christian. Among the decisions of the Ecumenical Councils was also the formulation of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, recited henceforth in the worship of the Orthodox Church.

Of course, the Church was not untouched by the political and social forces of the times in which it lived. Its incarnational foundation made that inevitable. However, these forces also had deleterious effects. Beginning in the sixth century certain doctrinal and non-theological tensions began to develop between the See of Rome in the Western part of the Church and the other four Patriarchates in the East. Among the non-theological factors were language differences, the division of the Empire into Eastern and Western portions, barbarian invasions, the rise of rival political entities, and perhaps most significant of all, a division of outlook, perspectives, and philosophy between East and West. Though it is a simplification to put it in these terms, it fairly represents the truth. Like early Christianity, the East remained Greek in its expression, popular in symbol, in language, worship, theoretical in outlook, mystical in practice. The West emphasized other aspects of the Early Church—a universal language, formal transcendence in worship, practical outlook and a legally oriented spirit in theology and ethics.

These led to various kinds of conflicts in jurisdictional, liturgical and doctrinal matters. Doctrinally these ranged from the rejection by the East of the western addition of the *Filio-que* in the Creed, to the rejection by the East of papal claims over the whole Church. In the late ninth century a schism took place which was only temporarily healed a half century later. Another break took place in 1054, a date often referred to as the date of the 'Great Schism' between Eastern and Western Christianity. The split became irreparable with the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204 during the Infamous Fourth

Crusade. Since then Eastern and Western Christianity have gone their separate ways.

The subsequent history of the Western Church is familiar to you—the so-called Dark Ages, the rise of papal authority, the practice of indulgences, the abuses of the higher clergy, the rise of European nationalism, the Reformation, the splintering of Protestantism in the face of conformist politics, the movement toward religious freedom, the consequent rise of sectarianism and the New World experiment in religious toleration.

The history of the Church in the East followed another path. From the eighth century on there was a two-fold movement in Eastern Christianity: expansion into the Slavic lands and subjugation to the rising tide of Islam. In the first instance Orthodox Christianity became established in Eastern Europe and most notably in Russia. In the other, the rapid expansion of Islam through the force of the sword led finally to the subjugation of all of the Christian areas of the East, including all of the four Patriarchates. With the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453 a four hundred-year period of subjugation began, in which the chief value was survival. Life under Turks was one in which certain rights were legally acknowledged but often ignored in practice. It was a period of abuse, insult, exploitation, and, often, martyrdom. A whole new class of saints arose in that period, known as the neo-martyrs. This legacy has remained with the Orthodox even after the winning of their freedom from the Islamic yoke, which began little by little in Eastern Europe with the Greek Revolution in 1821. In Russia, in the meantime, another kind of subjugation came into being—the Church became subject totally to a totalitarian autocracy to the point that the Patriarchate of Moscow was abolished under Peter the Great. Except for a short period during the popular revolution of 1917 when a Sobor (Council) of the Russian Church was held, a similar subjugation of the Church in the U.S.S.R. continues under the communists. The Church, however, continues its work as best it can under these adverse conditions.

The last chapters of the Orthodox Church's history can be summarized in three words: diaspora, ecumenism and mission. Perhaps the most striking phenomenon of Orthodoxy today has been the rise of the diaspora. By this term we mean the emigration of significant numbers of Orthodox Christians from a tradi-

tionally Orthodox lands such as Greece, Russia, Syria, Romania, etc. to lands where the Orthodox were virtually unknown. Aided, in part, by various political and economic circumstances (e.g., the communist takeover of Russia in 1917, economic depression in Eastern Europe in the last decades of the nineteenth century, post-World War I confusion in the Balkans, the disruptions of the Second World War, etc.), a stream of Orthodox Christians moved first to the 'land of opportunity,' the United States, and then to other areas: Europe (primarily England, France and Germany), South America, Canada, and more recently Australia, New Zealand, and certain countries in Africa. As each ethnic group of Orthodox Christians established itself, its first thought was to establish a church around which the traditions of the people would be lived. A priest from the old country was invited to serve the local parish and as the life of these people became more settled and complex, bishops were sent by the mother Churches, dioceses and archdioceses were established, and the churches became more and more acclimated to the adopted homelands. Thus, Orthodoxy ceased to be Eastern, geographically, at least. Its presence, however, among Christians of Western background gave an opportunity for the enriching of another world-wide Christian phenomenon—ecumenism.

Orthodoxy was involved in the Ecumenical Movement even before it began! At the end of World War I, with the establishment of the League of Nations, the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople called for the establishment of a 'League of Churches' to deal with the practical aspects of Church cooperation. This led, later, to active participation in the 'Faith and Order' movement and some involvement in the 'Life and Work' movement. The only organized ecumenical activity in which the Orthodox had no connection was the Missionary movement. This predominately Protestant effort was shunned because the Orthodox had become victims of 'prosyletizing,' the practice of entering predominately Orthodox areas and 'converting' Orthodox Christians to one or another Protestant sect, often with the use of blandishments of a material nature. To a people under the domination of a strange religion and culture, this 'sheep stealing' was truly reprehensible. Yet, in spite of such a history, the Orthodox continued to cooperate

with the Ecumenical Movement, shared in the establishment of the World Council of Churches, and have participated in the activities of the National Council of Churches in this country as well as in local Councils of Churches. In addition, in various nations throughout the world, numerous theological dialogues have been, and continue to be held. In the United States, the Anglican-Orthodox dialogue is the oldest. Of varying duration and intensity have been the dialogues with the Roman Catholics, the Reformed Churches, the Lutherans, the Jews, and now with the Southern Baptists.

Eastern Orthodoxy has a long history of missions. During the Ottoman Turkish domination of the Church in the Balkans and the near East, Russian missions reached Japan and Alaska. We have recently seen a resurgence of interest in missions. Presently, Orthodox missions in Uganda, Kenya, Korea, Alaska and other areas are developing.

In short, then, Orthodox Christians identify with the whole of this history, and specifically with the Early Church. Their theology and their life are part of our own being and existence. We recognize that in history there is much that is passing, contingent upon and conditioned by cultural factors. Yet this does not outweigh our sense of tradition and continuity with the one undivided Church of the first eight centuries of the Christian era.

Beliefs

'Orthodoxy' as a term has two meanings. The one is 'correct belief.' That succinctly describes the position of the Orthodox regarding their faith—Orthodox Christians believe that their beliefs about God, the world, humanity, Jesus Christ, salvation, the Church and the last things (eschatology) represent the truth of Christianity.

Regarding God, the Orthodox begin with the affirmation of His unknowability. We hold an 'apophatic' or negative approach to Christian truth. It is wiser, better and more correct to say what God *is not*, than what He *is*, because the human mind, which is created, is incapable of comprehending divine realities which are uncreated. God is better known by human beings through communion in prayer, worship, sacramental life and mystical experience than through abstract, rationalistic philosophical and theological statements, though the relative value of

these is not to be denied.

When we proceed in trying to 'give God names,' i.e., to describe the Divine Reality, this relational approach requires Eastern Christians to first affirm our experience with God, which is always Trinitarian in character: we meet God as Father, Son and Holy Spirit, not as an abstract principle, philosophical ideal or theological theorem. So it has been throughout history. The chief witness and record of this experience is in the Bible, which is a record of the revelation of the Triune God to humanity. Another witness of the revelation of God to us, especially in the person and teaching of Jesus Christ through His Apostles, is Holy Tradition. Holy Tradition is the originally unrecorded teaching of the Apostolic Church. For the Orthodox, Holy Tradition and Scripture complement each other and together define the 'mind of the Church' on matters of doctrine and Christian life. They are never perceived to conflict, and serve to illumine one another.

The revelation that God is a Trinity is of fundamental importance to the Orthodox, for it speaks of the fundamental nature of reality. Ultimate reality is a community of persons. The Father is the chief source of divinity in the Godhead. The Son is forever born of the Father; and the person of the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone. To conceive of the Holy Spirit as proceeding from the Father and the Son (the Western doctrine of the *Filioque*) is to depersonalize the Holy Spirit and destroy the communal interpersonal character of the Trinity. Only when this strong affirmation is made do the Orthodox then emphasize, as well, the oneness or unity of God. This great theological approach is then reflected in many aspects of Orthodox faith and practice.

Orthodox make heavy emphasis of the fact that God alone is Creator, while all else is creature. This places at first a gulf between God and all else. He is transcendent. Yet, the creation serves as a witness, in some ways, to the divine reality, even as God remains unknowable to us in His Essence, His very being. Orthodox theology refers to God's outreach to His creatures as the 'Divine Energies.' As the wholly transcendent and unknowable God reaches out, in grace and love, to create, restore and vivify, He becomes in part knowable and communicable to us. Thus we have both true knowledge of God and true communion with God—but always in an incomplete, paradoxical,

mystical fashion. Thus, all the great truths about God are mysteries—that is, not fully subject to the canons and dictates of human reason.

Thus, God is at once both Trinity and Unity; Transcendent and Immanent; Just and Loving; Truth and Mystery; Majesty and Condescension, etc.

God created the world out of nothing (*ex nihilo, ek tou medenos*), and the creation witnesses to His majesty and power. He created the invisible world (angels) and the visible world, with all of its laws and magnificent complexity studied by science. His most magnificent creation, which shares in the spiritual and material worlds, is the human being. The Orthodox take seriously the Biblical teaching that humanity is created in the image and likeness of God. This refers to our mental, spiritual, ethical and uniquely human endowments which existed in the fullness only inasmuch as humanity was in relationship with its Creator, the Triune God. Original sin, for the Orthodox, is less the violation of a divine law or rule as it is the breaking of the interpersonal relationship between God and humanity. The result of this willful disruption is a condition of distorted relationships: human beings are incapable of realizing the full potentiality of their creation in the divine image; relations among them, as a result, are distorted as their self-understanding and inner being (mind, desires, will, perceptions, etc.) become unbalanced. We are in a condition of separation, rebellion and disharmony with God, ourselves and our fellow human beings, i.e., we are sinners.

Incapable of re-establishing those right relationships which would permit our continued growth in the divine image toward the fulfillment of our humanity, as the image and likeness of God, we must be saved, redeemed, restored from without—by God's action—His energies. In order to achieve this, God chose a people, the Hebrews, and through the relationships of history and the teaching of the prophets, He revealed His Will to them and prepared them for the coming of His solution to the condition of human sin. God's solution to the human condition had to include the Divine (since mankind could not restore itself) as well as the human (since salvation could not come without the participation of that which was to be healed). Thus, the Savior was fully divine ('perfect God') and fully human ('perfect man'). The Savior was 'Theanthropos,' i.e., one person with

two natures (Theos=God; Anthropolos=man). The Savior was Jesus Christ, who brought about the salvation of humanity through the Incarnation itself, through His teaching, example, miracles, death on the Cross and His Resurrection. The net result of the work of Jesus Christ was to restore the possibility to every human being to be reconciled with God, to become a new creature, to grow in the divine image, to move toward perfection, to become God-like, to achieve our human destiny—sanctity and divinization, or *theosis* as the Orthodox prefer to call it.

The locus for the human being to appropriate this saving grace is the Church. The Church makes available the saving work of Jesus Christ: it teaches as He taught, directs us as He directed, and through the sacramental life brings us into saving communion with God. The Church is the primary locus of the activity of the Holy Spirit. It is in the Church that the communion of God and humanity is most fully achieved and where true humanity is most fully realized. Yet the Church, because of its dynamic growth orientation, consists of people at all levels of growth toward *theosis*—sinners, faithful persons, the pious and the saints. These people exercise many roles. The major roles are those of the clergy and laity, who, each in their own way, contribute and share in the work of the Church. The ranks of clergy are apostolic in origin, the chief of whom is the bishop. All bishops, theologically speaking, are equal, though certain bishops—the patriarchs—do have more honor and authority in practical matters. The presbyters, or priests, are delegates of the bishops under whom they serve, as are the deacons.

It is in the Church that the Kingdom finds expression in the world. One of the chief means by which this occurs is worship, and particularly the sacraments. Orthodoxy is known as a worshipping church. In worship and prayer the restoration of the communion of God and mankind is most clearly manifested. Worship is an experiential manifestation of the life of the Kingdom of Heaven which is to come. Its eschatological dimension points to the Orthodox Christian understanding of the last things.

The world will come to an end one day by God's action. Christ will return to judge the living and the dead. There will

be a general resurrection and we will be either confirmed in the life of communion with God (Heaven) or in an existence of separation from God with all the suffering that implies (Hell). In the meantime, when we die, we receive a Partial Judgment, a foretaste of what awaits us. Until the Last Judgment, the living Orthodox pray for the dead, but there are no doctrines of purgatory, indulgences and the like. We also ask the intercessory prayers of the saints for both the living and the dead, since they, too, are part of the Church of God which transcends the limits of time, and they are the ones who exemplify, already, the life of the Kingdom.

Worship

The chief Christian activity for the Orthodox is worship, since worship is *par excellence* the human experience of relationship with God. The monastic tradition allocates the whole twenty-four hour cycle to prayer and corporate worship. Individual prayer, most aptly expressed in the continuous repetition in the heart of the 'Jesus Prayer' (Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy upon me, a sinner) is an integral and essential part of what it means to be a Christian growing in God's image toward *theosis*. But individual prayer alone is not adequate. The fullness of prayer is corporate, in and with the Church. The second meaning of the term 'Orthodoxy' is 'true praise' or 'true worship.' Corporate prayer in Orthodoxy is primarily sacramental. The sacraments are all witnesses to the Kingdom. In them we experience a foretaste and experience of true human existence—i.e., communion with God in Whose image and likeness we have our true being. In a sense, all worship is sacramental, but seven services have been usually designated as sacraments: Baptism, Chrismation (Confirmation), Eucharist, Confession, Marriage, Ordination and Unction. Of these, Baptism and the Eucharist most clearly and fully express and manifest the Kingdom. Baptism, in the name of the Holy Trinity, introduces each person to the life of the Kingdom, incorporating each into the Body of Christ. The Orthodox generally practice infant baptism by three-fold immersion, followed immediately by the sacrament of the 'gift of the seal of the Holy Spirit,' Chrismation. The chief sacrament of the Church, its very realization and manifestation, is the Eucharist. Each Sunday the Kingdom is manifested in each church where

the Eucharist is conducted. The Church—clergy, laity, saints of old and Jesus Christ, the High Priest, are united in the communion of the Body and Blood of the Lord.

The Eucharist—emphasizing as it does the eschatological unity of God and His people—is the archetype of all worship experiences in the worship cycle of the Church. Each day is a saint's day, each hour is sanctified, every major event in the divine drama of salvation is commemorated and relived as a present reality. Worship is where the whole divine economy of creation, redemption and *theosis* is lived in its fullest intensity.

Polity

The organic, cooperative, conciliar, interpersonal and relational aspects of Orthodox faith and worship also express themselves in the administration and government of the Orthodox Church. In this sense, Orthodoxy's primary emphasis on the Holy Trinity leads directly to a conciliar view of the Church, while Western emphasis on the Divine Unity has led in history to the development of a single leadership concept of the Church, i.e., the Papacy. This is not, however, to say that Orthodoxy espouses an unrestrained individualism, which tends to characterize much of Protestantism. Orthodoxy combines freedom with authority, structure with spirituality, organization with inspiration. The bishops are the heads of their local churches. By and large, though not exclusively, the Orthodox are organized into self-governing national churches. Several of these are patriarchates. Others are totally self-governing national Churches. These are called 'autocephalous' churches. Semi-independent churches are called 'autonomous.' All of these churches are bound together by a common faith and liturgical practice and by mutual recognition. There is no 'central headquarters,' no earthly supreme pontiff. However, the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople enjoys the primacy of honor and carries the responsibility of organizing common Orthodox witness, whether it be for internal or external matters. Conciliarity, consensus and corporateness characterize Orthodox Church polity. At present, the Orthodox are in the process of organizing a Pan-Orthodox Council to deal with a number of practical issues in the life of the Church; among these are the procedures which ought to be adopted on a Pan-Orthodox basis regarding the establishment of autocephalous and autonomous churches, and the whole complex issue of the status of the various canonical jurisdictions in

the nations of the diaspora.

Generally speaking, in the United States the local bishop is the head of his diocese. Under him presbyters, or parish priests, serve as the heads of parishes. The parish priest, however, does not have absolute authority in all matters. The leadership of the parish is corporate and conciliar, especially as regards the temporal dimensions of parish administration. The chief agencies for this are the 'General Assembly' of the parish and the parish council. The first involves all members of the parish in good standing and has the highest authority over local parish matters. The church council serves as an advisory committee. The parish priest is an *ex officio* member of each, but in most cases does not chair the meetings. His advice and counsel are highly influential, but not determinative, except in clearly canonical and spiritual matters.

Generally, most jurisdictions in the United States have regional and national meetings of all of the parish representatives, both clergy and lay. Each jurisdiction has its own rules, regulations and limits regarding these meetings. However, it is invariable that both clergy and laity have a part in their proceedings. There is a melding of the ecclesial authority of the clergy, especially of the bishops, and of the voice of the laity, the people of God.

Ethics

Orthodox Christian ethics is closely dependent upon the doctrine and spiritual practices of the Church, being rooted in Scripture, Holy Tradition and the general ethos of the Church.

Because God is perceived as the ultimate and only absolute Good, ethics is based on an objective reality. Because God is a Trinity, ethics is basically relational. Because God has created mankind in His own image and likeness, ethics has its *telos*, its ultimate goal, human *theosis*. Because God is love, ethics has as its chief guide for action the Divine Energies. Because God is unchanging and because our human nature is a microcosm of the Divine Energies, there are appropriate and fitting modes of behavior, i.e., rules and commandments which distinguish the Christian ethos.

The Orthodox hold that in the condition of sin, we live in a distorted relationship with God, ourselves, our neighbors and with the created world. Thus, a so-called 'natural ethics' will

also be distorted. However, some elementary rules and guides of conduct can be perceived and understood in the nature of things as they are. For the Orthodox Church, this 'natural moral law' has been summarized in the Decalogue. It is elementary and aimed at the survival and maintenance of any human society. It consequently is a low-level ethic, and by no stretch of the imagination *the* criterion of the Christian way of life.

Christian ethics patterns itself after the Divine Energies. To be and to act in a Christian manner means to be and act as the Image of God, i.e., to act as God acts. Since we are creatures, we cannot relate our being and behavior with the Essence of God. But since we are created in the Divine Image, we are obligated to conform our being and actions with the Energies of God in order to achieve our human destiny, *theosis*. *Theosis* is another way of saying 'true and full humanity.'

The life and teaching of Christ and the norms of the Kingdom as imaged in the life of the Church are paradigms which have a normative demand on the life of the Christian. The Sermon on the Mount is a guide to the Christian ethos which emphasizes, on the one hand, correct and fitting external behavior and, on the other, appropriate intent and motivation. Hypocrisy was so evil for Christ because it split inner dispositions from overt behavior.

It is possible to articulate what kinds of external behavior are generally fitting to the Christian ethos. These then become rules, commandments, duties and responsibilities which, in general, are appropriate to the ethos of persons growing in the image of God toward *theosis*. But, because the integrity of inner dispositions and external behavior is so important, no rule is ever absolute and rigid. For Christians, the Christ-like qualities of love, gentleness, kindness, mercy, forgiveness, etc., of necessity color and motivate each act. The rules are guidelines to the behavior appropriate to the Christian way of life; the motives and intentions authenticate them and may—at times—suspend them. However, the Orthodox are not situationalists. The doctrine of 'Economia' permits an exception to the rules, but the exception is not perceived as establishing a precedent.

The whole of Orthodox Christian ethics is to be articulated under its doctrines of anthropology (the goal of *theosis*) and

its ecclesiology (the Church as the people of God in communion with Him and in the bond of fellowship with each other).

The ethical goal of the person is to realize the image of God in his or her life. The ethical goal of society is to approximate the Kingdom of God as much as is possible in this world.

These are the foundations of Orthodox Christian personal and social ethics. It is the contention of the Orthodox that neither is even remotely possible without divine grace and the sacramental life in the Church. That is why personal ethics will always be more likely of fulfillment than social ethics.

Some of the specific teachings of the Orthodox Church on current issues are the following, stated propositionally:

On abortion, the Orthodox are unequivocally opposed to it as a destruction of human life.

On artificial insemination, the general position is negative, though artificial insemination with the semen of the husband can be considered acceptable.

On contraception, its use by married couples for the spacing or limiting of children can be seen as appropriate, but use outside of marriage or for avoiding all procreation in marriage is universally rejected.

All forms of extramarital sexual relations are rejected as evil—the ideal is a strictly monogamous marriage. However, when such marriages break down the Orthodox are prepared to acknowledge the repentance of the partners, and grant divorces and remarriage up to but not including the fourth marriage.

Homosexual activity is perceived as an inappropriate expression of sexuality and dealt with in the context of Holy Confession. It is perceived as sinful and inappropriate to the life of the Kingdom.

The expressions of human culture (philosophy, art, society, the state, science, etc.) are encouraged and used by the Church, but with the recognition that they are not unequivocally good in themselves and are easily subject to distortion and abuse.

The state, in particular, can be a source of much good for the Kingdom, but not necessarily so. In general, the Orthodox maintained much closer relationships with the state in the past than they are prepared to do so now.

These are illustrative and representative positions, which space does not permit us to expand. What needs to be made clear is that all of these positions are arrived at by reference to Scriptures, Holy Tradition, including Canon Law, theological reflection, worship resources and reason. The most important emphasis to be made is that Orthodox Christian ethics is an integral part of the Orthodox understanding of God, humanity, salvation in Jesus Christ and the life of the Church, including its worship and sacramental life.

Conclusion

What we have done here is to provide nothing more than an inadequate vignette of a complex, living, vital, two thousand-year tradition which claims direct and authentic continuity with Christ, the apostolic witness and the undivided Church of the first millennium of Christianity. It is at once visible and invisible, human and divine. What we have said leads to the claim, humbly yet firmly held, that Eastern Orthodoxy is identical with the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ, believing correctly, worshipping properly and maintaining the ethos of the Divine Image—that is, Orthodox Christian!

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ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ ΣΤΗ ΜΝΗΜΗ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ ΛΑΟΥΡΔΑ (*Essays in Memory of Basil Laourdas*). Thessaloniki, 1975. Pp. 645. Frontispiece + 37 plates. \$37.50. Distributed by Gregoris, Solonos 73, Athens 143, Greece.

Basil Laourdas was an internationally known scholar and man of letters. A graduate of the University of Athens, a teacher in Athens, the Piraeus, and Herakleion, he also worked and studied at Oxford and Harvard Universities, was research fellow at Dumbarton Oaks Institute for Byzantine Studies for three years, and served as visiting professor at the University of Buffalo and at the Institute for Research in the Humanities of the University of Wisconsin at Madison. In 1954 he was appointed director of the Institute for Balkan Studies in Thessaloniki and since 1960 till his death in 1971 served as editor-in-chief of the Institute's internationally recognized journal *Balkan Studies*. An indefatigable organizer of international symposia and conferences, he was a classicist, Byzantinist, and modernist and in each area he made significant contributions. Characteristic of his reputation is the following assessment of him by Byzantinist Professor Peter Charanis of Rutgers University:

Basil Laourdas was a talented philologist. He was also a historian. His interest ranged far and wide, extending chronologically from classical antiquity to the present. The first of his published studies had as its subject a point on modern Greek literature, the last, a letter of the patriarch Photios. In between, his publications included numerous studies on the ancient Greeks, particularly Plato, Aristotle and Isocrates; on Byzantium, on the period of Turkish domination and on modern times. Laourdas sought to understand the entire Greek experience; that there was continuity in that experience he never doubted (p. 79).

Essays in Memory of Basil Laourdas is a scholarly monument to his own achievements and a formidable collection of essays by some of the scholars who knew him and his work first-hand. It is also the gift of his loving wife Lousa B. Laourdas, who, with the help of John Papingis, her brothers-in-law Philippos and Eleftherios, Pandelis Prevelakis, and a number of others, helped make this volume a reality—surely the kind of memorial that Basil Laourdas would himself have most appreciated. Thirty-four major articles, in addition to nine biographical/memorial articles and notes and an epilogue constitute this impressive tome. The authors represent all fields that *Balkan Studies* itself includes in its purview and themselves represent various parts of the world geographically. Articles are mostly in English but some are in French, German, and Greek.

It would not be possible to review every article in this collection but it is important that scholars know what articles this memorial volume

does contain, so they are listed here without comment: Charles Edson, "Double Communities in Roman Macedonia" (97-102); J.M.R. Cormack, "IG X (Macedonia): The Greek Inscriptions of Pieria" (103-114); Siegrid Düll, "Götter auf Makedonischen Grabstelen" (115-135); D.M. Pippidi, "Sur un Album de Callatis récemment édité" (137-146); Julia Wolfe Loomis, "The True Conservative" (i.e. Aristophanes) (147-158); Paul A. Clement, "The Date of the Hexamilion" (159-164); Byron C.P. Tsangadas, "Topographica Constantinopolitana: 'Brachialia.'" (165-175); L.G. Westerink, "Nicetas the Paphlagonian on the End of the World" (177-195); Borislav Radačič, "Michel Saronites et Constantin Bodin" (192-202); G. I. Theocharides, "Ἡ Ἀγία Ἐκκλησία ἡ ἐν τῷ Σταδίῳ;" (203-239); Kenneth M. Setton, "Catalan Society in Greece in the Fourteenth Century" (241-284); John W. Barker, "The 'Monody' of Demetrios Kydones on the Zealot Rising of 1345 in Thessaloniki" (285-300); C.A. Trypanis, "A Possible Portrait of Johannes Geometres Kyriotes" (301-302); A. Xyngopoulos, "Ἄμνοι Χρυσοῦφαντοι" (303-305); Stylianos Alexious, "Πρόσφυγες ἀπὸ τῇ Μικρὰ Ἀσία" (307-312); Stylianos Harkianakis, "Das Athonitsche Monchtum" (313-321); Demetrios J. Constantelos, "Theological Considerations for the Social Ethos of the Orthodox Church" (323-335); John E. Rexine, "Mount Athos and Greek Orthodox Monasticism" (337-347); Stephen Fischer-Galati, "Reverberations of the Austro-Turkish War in the Balkan Peninsula (1593-1606)" (349-360); Robert W. Hartle, "Colbert et la Grèce" (361-372); William H. McNeill, "The Ottoman Empire in World History" (373-385); Robert Browning, "Some Early Greek Visitors to England" (387-395). Speros Vryonis, Jr., "Local History and Folklore from the Village of Vasilikadhes, in the District of Erisos, Cephalonia" (397-424); Democritie Iliadou, "Le Cas Pouqueville (1770-1838)" (425-448); Eleftherios Prevelakis, "Ἡ Φιλικὴ Ἐπαιρεία, ὁ Ἀλῆ Πασᾶς καὶ οἱ Σουλῳτες" (449-470); N. Todorov, "Quelques Renseignements sur les insurgés grecs dans les Principautés Danubiennes en 1821" (471-477); Johannes Irmscher, "Der Deutsche Philhellenismus in der Epoche der Griechischen Erhebung" (479-485); Bogdan Raditsa, "Tommaseo's Cultural Understanding between the South Slavs and Greeks" (487-493); George B. Leon, "King Constantine's Policy in Exile and the Central Powers (1917-1918)" (495-536); Douglas Dakin, "Lord Curzon's Policy Relative to the Turkish Straits during the Interwar Years (1919-1939)" (569-590); D.J. Delivanis, "The Better as the Enemy of the Good" (591-598); John O. Iatrides, "United States' Attitudes toward Greece during World War II" (599-625); Edmund Keeley, "Problems in Rendering Modern Greek" (627-636); and Kostas Kazazis, "Some Instances of Interference from English and Swedish in the Greek Speech of a Child" (637-642).

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ETHICS IN THE GREEK ORTHODOX TRADITION

Stanley Harakas

PRECIS

Greek Orthodox ethical systems did not emerge until the nineteenth century. During the twentieth century several "schools" developed: the Athenian school which takes a rationalistic approach and is philosophically oriented, the Constantinople school which is Christocentric and Evangelical, and the Thessalonian school which is most closely aligned with the Orthodox God concept. The Thessalonian view is the most valid.

Human nature is implanted by God with a natural moral law. However, humans retain free will and can therefore choose to obey the moral law or to rebel. Most people need redemption which Christ fulfills. Christ and the church offer models for humans and society. Each person is challenged to "realize as much as possible the image of God in his or her own life." Finally, we find ourselves in tension between what is and what ought to be. The basic moral end is growth toward the image of Christ individually and socially.

Though most people who have some knowledge of Eastern Orthodox Christianity may have some appreciation for its liturgical tradition, spirituality, dogmatic formulations, or sense of tradition, few have looked to Eastern Orthodoxy as a source of ethical teaching. The earliest centuries of Orthodox theological concern were directed to the understanding and formulation of the church's faith regarding the person of Jesus Christ. Yet, even at later times, the sorts of concerns which are the subject matter of investigation for the modern day ethicist were not often dealt with by Eastern Orthodox writers, at least not in the manner to which we have been accustomed in our times. One will search in vain in the writings of the Church Fathers for systematic treatments of Orthodox Christian ethics.

It was not until after the Greek Revolution in 1821-1828 that some systematic ethical studies began to appear among the Greek Orthodox; yet even these were deficient since they were of practical concern and patterned after Western prototypes, Roman Catholic and Protestant. This pattern was followed subsequently, when formal theological Eastern Orthodox ethics began to be written beginning in the second decade of the twentieth century. It is possible to delineate different "schools" of formal theological ethics. One, which could be called the "Athenian School,"

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dominated by Chrestos Androutsos, sees very close relationships between philosophical and Christian ethics. This "school" takes a quite rational approach to the classic problems of ethics and considers that Christianity serves to give authority and dynamics to the truths of philosophical ethics. A second "school" which may be denoted is the Constantinopolitan School of theological ethics. This group of Orthodox ethicists, whose first spokesperson was Evangelos Antoniadis, treats Orthodox Christian ethics in a strongly Christocentric and evangelical manner. The relationship between philosophy and Christian ethics is not ignored, but it is not held to be crucial. The person of Christ, Christ's example, and the evangelical teaching are primary in this "school."

The most recent "school," which may be called the "Thessalonian" school of Orthodox Christian ethics, bases itself on the neo-patristic theological revival centering in the School of Theology of the University of Thessalonica. The main spokespersons for this "school," now just emerging, are George Mantzarides and Chrestos Giannaras. This "school" sees Orthodox Christian ethics as arising out of the fundamental Orthodox Christian view of God, humanity, and the world. It seeks to determine what human beings ought to do in terms of their understanding of what they are, and what they are intended for, as understood within the framework of the apophatic theological faith of the Orthodox Church. It is my judgment that this approach is the most valid, in that it draws primarily upon Orthodox understandings and sources, maintains close continuity with the church's tradition, speaks the language of the church, is able to relate quite well with contemporary trends in thinking (especially process philosophy), and to meet creatively and flexibly new concerns, problems, and situations. It is in the spirit of this approach that the following description of Orthodox Christian ethics is written.

The Pattern of Orthodox Christian Ethics

The Heilsgeschichte as understood in the Orthodox theological perspective is familiar enough, I believe, not to need detailed documentation. Briefly, it can be stated as follows:

The apophatic theological approach first emphasized the complete unknowability of the essence of God, while pointing to the activities or energies of God as they relate to the world. Thus, the absolute character of God is unknown, but God's energies (i.e., God's relatedness to the created world) are in part known. As we know them—in a real, yet far from absolute, sense—we know God.

God created the world freely and without constraint. There are no pre-existing ideal patterns or absolutes according to which God created the world. This is just one possible world brought into being positively and concretely by the *duxousion* (self-determining will of God). So, also, was

humanity created in the image and likeness of God. Humans had, in the "image," the larger part of a divine-like nature and, in the "likeness," the potential to fulfill and complete their destiny so as to become "divine." But in exercising free will, humans chose not to realize their potential and, in rebelling against the Creator, they henceforth lost the potential and marred and weakened the "image" of God within. But it was not destroyed completely. "The natural precepts which he had from the beginning implanted in mankind" are the basic and necessary pre-suppositions of social and therefore individual life. This natural law is a moral law basic to human beings in society, and it is to be understood as a positive, built-in factor of our human nature, a part of the divine image in us, distorted as that image might be.

The Fathers teach that one of the best statements of this fundamental moral law is to be found in the Decalogue, but the Decalogue is not an absolute form of it, nor is such an absolute form required, since it is written in the hearts of all people. In spite of this basic moral equipment, we can react and respond to it with the same free will as we did previously, either living in harmony with it or rebelling against it. Among those who lived in accordance to it are the personages of all ages known by the Fathers as the "righteous ancients." In spite of these exceptions, the vast majority of people were in need of redemption and restoration. From a moral point of view, Christ's saving work restores to us the "likeness," the potential to fulfill our destiny to become God-like, to become "perfect as the Father in heaven is perfect." And this means nothing less than becoming completely, fully, and totally human. In this sense, most of humankind is in reality less-than-human, less than what it can be and ought to be. The prototype of the kind of human being we ought to be is Christ; the prototype of what society should be is the eschatological church. What is and what ought to be are on a continuum: the minimum for human social and individual existence is the natural law as we have defined it; the maximum is the fullest realization of the Christ-like image in our social and individual existence, i.e., sainthood for the individual and the Reign of God for society. The church in the moral sense exists as the arena where the Holy Spirit forgives, supports, and strengthens the Christian in the struggle for growth into the image of God.

Morally, where does this place us? It places us at a point of tension between anarchical disorder on the one side and eschatological perfection on the other. Morally it requires of each person to realize as much as possible the image of God in his or her own life and in the society in which he or she lives (in the church community especially). The Orthodox concept of morality, then, is dynamic, growing, fulfilling, perfecting. But it is not so in a narrow sectarian way; it knows that the pressures and forces of evil abound, but it has faith and trust that the grace of God abounds even more. So there is need for struggle, for "askesis," for "invisible warfare"

against evil, and for the fulfillment of the Christ-like image. In the struggle for growth there is rejoicing in progress, but there is also always the recognition that we continually fall short and so there is always the liturgical "Lord have mercy" and the Jesus Prayer, "Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy upon me a sinner." An eighth century Church Father, St. Peter of Damascus, has provided us with this short summary of Christian ethics with which we can conclude our brief overview of the substance of the Orthodox Christian moral code:

The beginning of every good act is the natural knowledge given by God, whether it come by man through the Scriptures, or by angelic communication, or as given through divine baptism. This knowledge is given for the protection of the spiritual life of each faithful Christian and is known as the conscience. It also serves as a reminder of the divine commands of Christ. Through them the grace of the Holy Spirit is kept in the life of the baptized Christian, if he wills to observe them. In addition to the knowledge, there is the need to exercise choice. This is the beginning of salvation; that is, for man to abandon his own willful desires and thoughts, and instead, do the thoughts and will of God. If one is able to do this there will not be found in all of creation any thing, or object, or place able to restrain him from becoming, as God from the beginning intended, God's own image and likeness, a contingent god, by grace.¹

How does Orthodox Christian ethics function? How does it work? That is the next question we must ask. In the condition in which we find ourselves now as a world, as individuals, as society, we stand in a tension between what is and what ought to be. "Therefore, the nature of morality is not perfection, but the believer's effort and struggle to achieve it. To the extent that the Christian continues his struggle for perfection he is spiritually alive and the Spirit of God continues to quicken the arteries of his spiritual existence,"² says the former Archbishop of Athens, Jerome Cotsonis. Conceptually then, what we have are certain levels of experience as we seek to live this tension out in our present existence. In the face of chaos, we will insist on the application of the moral law, but if the natural law is functioning well, we would move to the implementation of the Christ-image wherever possible. The Christ-image presupposes the basic order of life and society, but it does not rest on it. It seeks wherever possible to transform it, to transfigure it, to shoot it through with the uncreated perfect Light of God. Thus it is that the laws, prohibitions, and requirements are not abrogated; they are fulfilled and what they at first

¹Peter of Damascus, *Prooimion* In *Philokalia* (Athens. "Astris," 1960), vol. 3, p. 7, ll 13-24. Trans. by the author.

²"Fundamental Principles of Orthodox Morality," in A. Philippou, ed., *The Orthodox Ethos* (Oxford: Holywell Press, 1964), p. 241.

sought to enforce is now taken for granted and perfected with the infusion of the Christ-image. However, this takes place on many levels and at different places in varying areas of concern. The humanization (i.e., divinization) of the family has come quicker and is more widely spread than the humanization (i.e., divinization) of economic life and international relations. Oftentimes the same event is in actuality on many different levels. War, for instance, in itself is a complete breakdown of moral relationships between the combatants, with only the law of self-preservation and defense functioning. As far as the discipline of the individual armies is concerned, law functions at its most elementary and barbaric level; a breach of discipline means the firing squad. In a particular company, loyalties of the highest aspects of moral law may be present—willing cooperation, honesty, truthfulness, etc. And in some cases, even in the chaos of battle, people may do Christ-like things, such as sparing a town, or giving their lives up freely for their co-combatants.

The idea of growth, the realization of the basic structures of life as expressed in natural law, and the fulfillment of our destinies as the image and likeness of God both as individuals and as society are the high points of the way the Orthodox Church “does” ethics.

Study and Discussion Questions

- 1 What are the three basic schools of Greek Orthodox ethics?
- 2 Which does the author consider to be most valid and why?
- 3 What is the Orthodox view of morality?
- 4 What roles do Christ and the church perform in the Orthodox morality?
- 5 What are considered to be the “high points of the way the Greek church ‘does’ ethics”?
- 6 Does the author validate his claim that the certain type under description is the most valid form for several reasons?

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CRAIG L. HANSON

A GREEK MARTYRDOM ACCOUNT OF ST. ONESIMUS

The hagiographical text presented here, entitled "Ἀθλήσεις τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Ὀνησίμου μαθητοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου τοῦ κορυφαίου τῶν ἀποστόλων", is currently held in the Handschriftensammlung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. This previously unpublished manuscript text comprises a portion (folia 145^v-150^r) of a codex containing saints' lives for the month of February.¹ The present designation of the codex is as follows:²

Codex Vindobonensis hist. gr. 3
"Menologion pro mense Februario".

The greater portion of the codex, folia 1^r-136^v and 152^r-393^v, has been dated to the eleventh century A.D.³ The section 137^r-151^v, which contains the text in question, is a later addition by an anonymous scribe and has been dated to the fifteenth century A.D.⁴ Since the break in the codex occurs in the midst of a selection, Βίος καὶ πολιτεία καὶ θαύματα τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Αὐξεντίου (121^v-145^v), this fifteenth century 'addition' was probably prompted by damage to the original eleventh century folia 137^r-151^v.⁵

The manuscript text itself is in excellent physical condition and contains few instances of illegibility or obliteration. The scribal hand is characterized by balance, restraint, and attention

1. Onesimus, disciple of Paul, is commemorated by the Greek Orthodox Church on 15 February and by the Roman Catholic Church on 16 February.

2. Herbert Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1961), 1:2-4. Also, see Albert Ehrhard, *Ueberlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, 3 vols. (= *Texte und Untersuchungen* 50-52). (Leipzig, 1937-1952), 1:570-573; and Francois Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 3 vols. (Brussels, 1957), 2:155.

3. Hunger, 1:2.

4. *Ibid.*

5. It would appear that the 'Onesimus' text presented here is a direct copy of the original eleventh century account, since it closely parallels earlier texts of the same manuscript tradition. For references to this tradition, see Halkin, 2:155.

to calligraphical uniformity. The minuscule hand has been employed, although uncial types for γ, δ, ζ, and η occur with some frequency. The common tachygraphical devices of abbreviation, contraction, superposition, and ligature have been utilized in the preparation of the text. Punctuation is erratic, but can generally be seen to be based upon a colometrical system of 'sense lines.'⁶ Confusion in the selection of the appropriate breathing mark is common, while the misplacement and confusion of accents is less of a problem.⁷ In addition, numerous spelling mistakes may be noted in the text.⁸ The subjunctive mood has been utilized in only a few instances, while use of the optative is rare.

The intended protagonist of the martyrdom account is Onesimus, the Phrygian slave in whose behalf Paul wrote the canonical *Letter to Philemon* in approximately 60 A.D. Onesimus had apparently wronged his master Philemon⁹ in some way and subsequently fled to Rome where he met Paul. Under Paul's influence and instruction Onesimus became a Christian and entered into a close relationship with the Apostle. Paul eventually decided that a reconciliation of Onesimus and Philemon was necessary. Since Tychicus was preparing to journey to Colossae and Laodicea bearing letters from Paul, Onesimus was placed in his charge.¹⁰ Paul also supplied Onesimus with the *Letter to Philemon* in which he related the circumstances of Onesimus' conversion, praised his noble Christian zeal and fidelity, and entreated Philemon to receive his former slave with compassion.¹¹ Although the result of Paul's appeal is

6. I have attempted to follow the general scheme of the copyist's punctuation whenever feasible in the transcription.

7. I have indicated such errors in the critical apparatus only when the correct reading of the text may be in question.

8. See note 7 above.

9. Philemon was a citizen of Colossae and a convert of Paul who subsequently became a prominent member of the local Christian community. The Greek *Menaia* for 22 November represent Philemon and his wife Apphia, Archippus, and Onesimus as having suffered martyrdom at Colossae during the reign of Nero. For this tradition, see Hippolyte Delehaye, *Propylaeum ad Acta sanctorum novembris* (Brussels, 1902), p. 247; and Halkin, 1:11.

10. As a close associate of Paul and a prominent Christian native of the province of Asia, Tychicus would probably be known to Philemon and would be an appropriate personal intercessor for Onesimus on Paul's behalf.

11. How long a time elapsed between Onesimus' flight from Colossae and his reunion with Philemon cannot be determined, as "πρός ὥραν" (Philem. 15) is a relative expression of time.

unknown, the tradition, as preserved in the *Apostolic Canons* (82), that Philemon not only forgave but also emancipated his slave is believable. More doubtful and contradictory¹² are the traditions which identify Onesimus as bishop of Borea in Macedonia,¹³ an itinerant preacher in Spain,¹⁴ and bishop of Ephesus at the time of Ignatius' famous 'martyrdom' journey in 107 A.D.¹⁵ However, it is another tradition, that of a celebrated Christian teacher in Sicily and Italy known as Onesimus Leontinis, which is of particular relevance to this study. In the Vienna text presented here, this 'Leontinian' tradition has been merged with that of Onesimus, disciple of Paul.¹⁶ The *acta* of Onesimus Leontinis are preserved in the "Martyrdom of SS. Alphius, Philadelphus, and Cyrinus" for 10 May,¹⁷ where the interrogation and execution of these three brothers and their instructor in the Christian faith, Onesimus, in the persecution of Valerian (257-160 A.D.) is recorded. No mention of Paul, the *Letter to Philemon*, or Onesimus' early life as a slave occurs in this account, thus indicating that Onesimus Leontinis was a distinct hagiographical, if not historical personage. Nevertheless, a number of medieval hagiographers, including the original author of the text under study, incorporated portions of the Leontinian tradition in their portrayal of Paul's disciple.¹⁸

With regard to the narrative itself, a number of internal themes and features merit attention here. The introductory statements indicate the theological direction the account is to take: i.e., that 'humble folk' (γένος οἰκετικόν) deserve recognition when they, by their trust in God, overcome the deceits of

12. Much of the confusion surrounding Onesimus' later life can be attributed to the popularity of the name Ὀνήσιμος (meaning 'useful, beneficial') in Christian as well as pagan circles.

13. *Apostolic Constitutions* 7.46.

14. See the *acta* of SS. Xanthippe, Polyxena, and Rebecca in the Greek *Menaia* for 23 September.

15. Ignatius, *Letter to the Ephesians* 1, 2, 6.

16. While Onesimus, disciple of Paul, is the intended subject of the account and his tradition supplies most of the eulogaic background for the narrative, the segments relating to the physical setting, principal characters, and circumstances of the martyrdom itself rely heavily upon the tradition of Onesimus Leontinis.

17. See *Acta Sanctorum* 15 (1866), pp. xlv-lxi.

18. The fusion of these two traditions can be traced back to at least the tenth century A.D. See V. Latyshev, *Menologii anonymi byzantini saeculi X quae supersunt*, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1911-1912), 1: 79-83.

the Devil. This theme is later re-emphasized in the narrative and undoubtedly was intended to reflect the historical circumstances of Onesimus' early life as a slave and his conversion by Paul. In stressing the 'historical' reality of Onesimus' life, as embodied in the *Letter to Philemon*, the hagiographer is able to transmit more vividly to his audience the higher, 'cosmic' reality of the Christian God. Thus, in the "Martyrdom of St. Onesimus" the author not only depicts the universal conflict of Good and Evil, but also offers his audience an edifying portrayal of a slave's climb from the depths of pagan ignorance to the summit of Christian piety.

A second feature to be noted is the author's inclusion of verses 10-16 of the *Letter to Philemon*. This epistle, as was indicated above, forms both the historical and the spiritual basis of the martyrdom account. Following the *Letter to Philemon* quotation, a brief theological commentary on Paul's use of the terms *τεκνον* (v. 10) and *ἀδελφός* (v. 16) in the epistle is offered.

Another prominent feature of the narrative is the discourse and exhortation by Onesimus during his interrogation in Rome. After confessing his Christian faith before Tertullus, the Prefect, Onesimus launches into a lengthy and impressive denunciation of the lurking evils of his contemporary world.¹⁹ The use made in this section of simile, metaphor, and personification is particularly striking. Onesimus devotes a great part of his discourse to a condemnation of the cruelty and absurdity of Roman paganism, and makes a number of historical allusions to Roman cults and cult practices.²⁰

Finally, it should be noted that this document, although exhibiting certain 'historical' elements, by its very nature reflects primarily 'hagiographical' concerns. That is, edification, not historical accuracy, is the overriding goal of this author. Thus, the inclusion of historical materials in the martyrdom

19. The discussion of worldly evils was a popular subject in the writings of early Christian apologists and theologians, and served as admirable 'filler' material for the medieval hagiographer. The discourse attributed to Onesimus in this narrative concerns the evils of adultery, covetousness, sorcery, boastfulness, envy, revilement, hypocrisy, smallness of soul, wrath, drunkenness, idolatry, and insolence. Cf. Mt. 15. 19-20, Rom. 1. 29-31, Gal. 5. 19-21, *Didache* 5.1, and *Barnabas* 20.1.

20. The author's familiarity with the 'apologetic' writings of Athenagoras, Aristides, Justin Martyr, Athanasius, and Clement of Alexandria is discernible in this 'idolatry' section of Onesimus' discourse.

account is most probably incidental and prompted by the historical nature of the *Letter to Philemon* itself and the requirements of Onesimus' discourse on idolatry. The author's disregard for historical considerations is apparent throughout the account: the confusion of Onesimus, disciple of Paul, with his third century A.D. namesake, Onesimus Leontinis; the incorporation of several artificial characters or 'types' into the narrative (Papias, Romulus, and Apition); and the portrayal of Onesimus as the model of Christian piety, and of Tertullus as the bloodthirsty and insane representative of paganism.²¹ Since the hagiographer was principally concerned with transmitting the 'higher' truth of the Christian God to his audience, he understandably utilized the transient 'historical' events of the material world as convenient backdrops for the larger drama of Good vs. Evil. It is with this factor in mind that I here offer the text of the "Martyrdom of St. Onesimus."

21. Such stereotyping is particularly noticeable in the author's unrealistic 'stock' depiction of Onesimus' interrogation and torture. The elaborate discourse and exhortation by Onesimus in the interrogation scene is especially subject to suspicion and must be assumed to be the work of the hagiographer, however accurately it may portray the sentiments of Onesimus.

[f. 145^v] Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ, ἰέ

Ἄθλησις τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Ὁνησίμου μαθητοῦ τοῦ
ἁγίου Παύλου τοῦ κορυφαίου τῶν ἀποστόλων

- Χαίρει καὶ γένος οἰκετικῶν ἐπ' εὐσεβείᾳ γνωριζόμενον
5 ὅταν τῇ πίστει τὰ κέντρα τοῦ διαβόλου συντρίψαν τὸν
ἀποστάτην τοῦ δεσπότη πονηρὸν ἱκέτην ψευδῶνυμον
δυναστείαν περιβεβλημένον διελέγξῃ. ἐλευθέρῳ γὰρ
τρόπῳ τῷ τῆς δουλείας κατηφές τις ὑποκλίνας δεσπότης
εὐρίσκεται τοῦ φιλοτυράννου καὶ ἀλάστορος δαίμονος,
10 περιεξωσμένος κατὰ τὸν θεῖον ἀπόστολον τὴν ὁσφὺν
ἐν ἀληθείᾳ καὶ ἐνδυσάμενος τὸν θώρακα τῆς [f. 146^r]
δικαιοσύνης. τοιοῦτον γὰρ τι κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην γέγονεν
ἥτις πρώτη καὶ μεγίστη τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην
πόλεων εἶναι πεπίστευται. καὶ τοῦ μὲν Σατανᾶ πλατυ-
15 τέραν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ λύουσιν κατὰ τῶν δούλων τοῦ Θεοῦ
ἐπεκτείναντος τοῦ δὲ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῖς
γνησίοις τῶν οἰκετῶν συμφανῶς τὰς αὐτοῦ χάριτας
ἐφαπλώσαντος. τὰ γὰρ πολύτροπα τῶν δαιμόνων
μηχανήματα ποικίλως ταῖς οὐρανίαις ἐπικουρίαις ἀνῆ-
20 λισκεν καὶ ἰσχυρότερον τὸν λογισμόν τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ
δραμόντων τῆς τῶν ἀπειλούντων ἐποίει μανίας. καὶ νῦν
μὲν πνευματικὴν ξυνωρίδα χάριτος ἀποστολικῆς ἀφθάρ-
τοις στεφάνοις κατὰ τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας ἀναδείσας,
αὐθις δὲ τοὺς κορυφαίους τῆς κατὰ Ῥώμην συγκλήτου
25 τρυφῆς καὶ πλούτου ἀποστήσαι διὰ τὴν τῶν κρειττόνων
ἐπιθυμίαν κατασκευάσας. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ καὶ γένους οἰκετικοῦ
ἔδει τῆς τῶν φθοροποιῶν δαιμόνων τυραννίδος ἐπικρα-
τῆσαι, ἵνα μὴ δὲ πρὸς δοῦλον ἀγαθὸν σύνδουλος ὑπεραί-
ρειν δόξῃ μάτην τῆς ἀλαζονίας εἰς ὕψος ἐπαιρομένης,
30 ἄγεται ὁ μακάριος Ὁνήσιμος ἐπὶ τῷ βήματι τῆς Ῥώμης.
Τερτυλλοῦ τὸ τηνικαῦτα τὴν ἔπαρχον ἐξουσίαν διακα-
τέχοντος ὃς κωμῆν μὲν τινα κατὰ τοῦ γένους τῶν Χρι-
στιανῶν μανίαν ἐνεδέδυτο, τυραννικῶς προστάγματι
πρὸς τὸ διώκειν τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς ἐξεγειρόμενος. ἰδίαν
35 [δὲ] κατὰ τοῦ δικαίου τούτου διπλασιάσας τὴν ἔχθραν
ἐγύμναξε τὰ πρὸς ἔπαυον εἴκοντα διασύρειν εἰς ψόγον.

10-12 περιεξωσμένος . . . δικαιοσύνης. Eph. 6: 14

4 οἰκετικόν] ἱκετικόν || 8 τις] τίς || 17 συμφανῶς] ἀσυμφανῶς ||
35 δὲ] om. MS

On the 15th of the same month

Struggle of the holy apostle Onesimus, disciple of the holy Paul, the head of the apostles

One also rejoices at humble folk being recognized with a view towards reverence whenever they, having encountered the spikes of the Devil, by their faith utterly refute the miserable fugitive who revolted from the Lord and flung around himself a falsely-claimed rule. For whoever, in a free manner humbly bowed to slavery, finds himself master of the tyrant-loving and cruel demon; having girded his loins in truth and having put on the breastplate of righteousness, according to the godly apostle [Paul]. For such an episode has occurred at Rome, which has been held to be first and greatest of all cities throughout the world, when, on the one hand, Satan stretched forth his own destructive power too widely against the servants of God, and, on the other hand, our savior Jesus Christ most manifestly spread his grace amongst his noble servants. For he [Onesimus] was skillfully destroying the manifold machinations of the demons by the heavenly aids and was making the reason of those accompanying him stronger than the madness of those boastfully threatening. And now, on the one hand, he raised a spiritual bond of apostolic grace with immortal crowns against the idolatry, and, on the other hand, then, he motivated the leaders of the Senate of Rome to abstain from decadence and wealth through instilling the desire for more noble things. But, since it was also necessary for people of humble sorts to prevail against the tyranny of the corrupting demons, in order that a servant might not rise up in vain glory against a noble fellow-servant, (a folly of pride being raised to the heights), the blessed Onesimus is being led upon the judge's platform of Rome, with Tertullus at that time holding the 'eparch' authority; who, on the one hand, had entered into some common madness against the clan of the Christians, rousing the persecution by tyrannical edict against the reverent ones; and, on the other hand, having doubled his personal enmity against this just man, he was exercising the means available against [. . .] to draw [Onesi-

ἐπειδὴ γὰρ θείαις τε καὶ σώφροσι διδασκαλίαις τὴν
 γυναικα τοῦ δοκοῦντος αὐτῷ ἀδελφοῦ τυγχάνειν εἰς
 ἐγκρατείας ἐξεπαίδευεν ἥθη καὶ γνώσιν τῆς ἀληθοῦς
 40 τε καὶ ζωοποιοῦ περὶ τὸν Θεὸν πίστεως τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτῆς
 ἐναπέθετο μνήμας, γόντα μὲν τὸν ὄσιον ἀπεκάλει, μοι-
 χὸν δὲ [f. 146^v] τὸν τοὺς ὄρους τῆς σωφροσύνης σώ-
 φρονι τῷ λογισμῷ ἀνακηρύττοντα.

Αὐτὸς γάρ, οὗτος ἐστὶν Ὀνήσιμος, ὁ ταῖς ἀποστολι-
 45 καῖς μαρτυρίαις ὡραϊζόμενος. οὗτος ὁ τὴν θεολόγον
 καὶ ἀληθῆ γλῶτταν Παύλου προσαναπεύσας τὴν ὑπὲρ
 αὐτοῦ πρεσβείαν γράμματι τῷ πρὸς Φιλήμονα τὸν δεσ-
 πότην αὐτοῦ ἀναδέξασθαι. οὗτος ὁ δουλικῆς ἀνάγκης
 50 κατηφῇ ταπεινότητα εὐσεβείας τρόπῳ καὶ πρᾶξεως
 ἀγαθαῖς πολιτεαῖς εἰς γνώμην ἐλευθέραν ἐξεγείρας.
 οὗτος ὁ τὴν ἄκαρπον τοῦ βίου καθημερινὴν ἀπάτην
 ἀπατήσας καὶ ταῖς περὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων διακονίαις
 ὅλον ἑαυτὸν εἰς ὕψος εὐσεβείας ἀνατείνας, καθὼς τὰ
 55 πρὸς Φιλήμονα γράμματα τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἐκδιδάσ-
 κει, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον φανερώς ἔχοντα.

Παρακαλῶ σε περὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ τέκνου ὃν ἐγὼ ἐγέννησα
 ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου, Ὀνήσιμον, τὸν ποτέ σοι ἄχρηστον
 νῦν δὲ σοὶ καὶ ἐμοὶ εὐχρηστον ὃν ἀνέπεμψα. σὺ δὲ αὐτὸν,
 60 τοῦτ' ἐστὶν τὰ ἐμὰ σπλάγχνα, προσλαβοῦ ὃν ἐβουλόμην
 πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν κατέχειν, ἵνα ὑπὲρ σοῦ μοι διακονεῖ ἐν
 τοῖς δεσμοῖς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου. χωρὶς δὲ τῆς σῆς γνώμης
 οὐδεν ἠθέλησα ποιῆσαι ἵνα μὴ σου τὸ ἀγαθὸν ᾗ ὡς κατ'
 ἀνάγκην, ἀλλὰ ὡς κατ' ἐκούσιον. τάχα γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο
 ἐχωρίσθη σου πρὸς ὥραν, ἵνα αἰώνιον αὐτὸν ἀπέχρς,
 65 οὐκ ἔτι ὡς δοῦλον ἄλλ' ὡς ὑπὲρ δοῦλον, ἀδελφὸν
 ἀγαπητὸν μάλιστα ἐμοί, πόσῳ δὲ μᾶλλον σοὶ καὶ ἐν
 σαρκὶ καὶ ἐν κυρίῳ.

καὶ τὰ τούτων ἐξῆς.

ἥρκει μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα διὰ τοσούτων ἐπαίνων ἐρχό-
 70 μενα τὸν θησαυρὸν τῶν Ὀνησίμῳ προσόντων ἀγαθῶν

56-67 Παρακαλῶ . . . κυρίῳ. Philem. 10-16

65 ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπὲρ δοῦλον] in marg. || 68 τὰ] τὰς

mus] into prison. For, since he was instructing through godly and prudent teachings the wife of Tertullus' brother to come unto a manner of self-control and knowledge of the true and also life-giving faith concerning God, [and] imparted to her soul 'remembrances,' on the one hand, he [Tertullus] abused the holy one as a 'sorcerer'; but, on the other hand, for me, this one is a libation proclaiming the standards of prudence by his temperate reasoning. For he himself, this is Onesimus, the one flourishing amongst the apostolic witnesses. This is the one who brought over the theology and true word of Paul to make known his [Paul's] advocacy on behalf of him in a letter, the one to Philemon, his master. This is the one of slavish circumstance who raised up a sorrowful poverty of reverence by habit and, of action by noble deeds, unto free judgment. This is the one who, by having outwitted the day-to-day barren deceit of his life, even stretched his whole self unto the summit of reverence in the ministries of the apostles, just as these words instruct those encountering the letter to Philemon; clearly having this manner:

I exhort you for my child, whom I begot in my bonds, Onesimus, the one once unprofitable to you, but now profitable to you and to me, whom I sent back. But you, receive him that is my bowels, whom I was desiring to keep with myself, that in behalf of you he might serve me in the bonds of the Gospel. But apart from your mind, I wished to do nothing, that your good might not be as of necessity, but as of willingness. For, perhaps, because of this he was separated from you for a time, that eternally you might possess him, no longer as a slave, but as above a slave, as a beloved brother especially to me; and how much more to you both in flesh and the Lord.

and the words of this which follow.

On the one hand, therefore, even these things coming out from such recommendations were sufficient to reveal the treasure of

- ἀνακαλύψαι. οὐ γὰρ κόλακος λόγοι καὶ ψευδηγόροι
 τινὸς αἱ μαρτυρίαι ἀλλὰ κήρυκος ἀληθείας ἀποστολικῆν
 παράταξιν ἀναδεξαμένου. τὸν αὐτὸν γοῦν καὶ τέκνον
 καὶ ἀδελφὸν ὀνομάζει. τῇ μὲν κλήσει τοῦ τέκνου τῆς
 75 εἰς αὐτὸν ἀγάπης τὸ μέγεθος ἐπιδεικνύμενος, διὰ δὲ
 τῆς ἀδελφότητος τὴν ἴσιν αὐτῷ τιμὴν τῆς εἰς τὸν
 Θεὸν παρρησίας ἀποφυλλάττων. ὁ γὰρ [f. 147^r] τῇ
 παρουσίᾳ τὰ δεσμὰ κουφίσας καὶ παιδρύνας τὸ κατη-
 φές τῇ συνουσίᾳ καὶ ταῖς σωματικαῖς διακονίαις τοῦ
 80 ἀποστολικοῦ σώματος ἐπικουφίσας τοὺς πόνοους· πῶς
 οὐχὶ τοῖς τῆς θεοσεβίας ἐφοδίοις πεφορτισμένος εἰς
 τοιοῦτον τέλος τῆς ἀφθάρτου δωρεᾶς συντρέχων
 ἐμελλεν; τοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸν οὕτω τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν θεοσε-
 βείᾳ λαμπρῶς ἀλειψαμένον, νηστείᾳ δὲ καὶ προσευχῇ
 85 τὸ σῶμα ἐθίσαντα, ἵνα κατὰ τὸ στάδιον τῆς εὐσεβείας
 τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφανον κατὰ τοῦ πονηροῦ προ-
 φανῶς ἀναδήσεται.

- Προσαχθέντα τὸ τηνικαῦτα πρὸ τοῦ βήματος Τερτυλ-
 λου ἅμα Ρωμύλῳ συνεργῷ καὶ Παπία πνευματικῷ καὶ
 90 συστρατιώτῃ ἀρετῇ τε συμπνεύσῃ τὰ παραπλήσια καὶ
 Ἀπιτίωνι· ἐρωτᾷ Τέρτυλλος· “τίς λέγει;” ἀπεκρίνατο
 Ὀνήσιμος “Χριστιανός.” ὁ ἑπαρχος εἶπεν· “ποίας εἶ τυ-
 χης;” ἀπεκρίνατο· “πάλαι μὲν οἰκέτης ὡς εἰκὸς ἀνθρώ-
 που νῦν δὲ δοῦλος εὐγνώμων ἀγαθοῦ δεσπότης καὶ σω-
 95 τήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.” ὁ ἑπαρχος εἶπεν· “καὶ τίς
 ἡ πρόφασις τῆς ἀφ’ ἐτέρας εἰς ἐτέραν δεσποτείαν εὐχε-
 ροῦς μεταστάσεως;” Ὀνήσιμος εἶπεν· “γνώσις ἀληθείας
 καὶ μίσος εἰδωλολατρείας.” ὁ ἑπαρχος εἶπεν· “πόσου
 τιμήματος μετέστης εἰς τὴν οὕτω καινοπρεπῇ τῆς δεσ-
 100 ποτείας πρόφασιν;” Ὀνήσιμος εἶπεν· “ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ παῖς
 Ἰσοῦς Χριστός αἵματι τιμίῳ τὴν φθορὰν τὴν ἐμὴν
 ὠνησάμενος εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν μετέστησεν· καθὼς γέγραπ-
 ται, εἰδότες ὅτι οὐ φθαρτοῖς, ἀργυρίῳ ἢ χρυσίῳ ἐλε-
 τρώθητε ἐκ τῆς ματαίας ἡμῶν ἀναστροφῆς πατροπαρα-
 105 δότου, ἀλλὰ τιμίῳ αἵματι ὡς ἁμνοῦ ἁμάρτου καὶ ἀσπίλου
 Χριστοῦ.” ὁ ἑπαρχος εἶπεν· “ποίαν ταύτην ματαίαν ἀνασ-
 τροφὴν αἱ παρ’ ὑμῶν γραφαὶ καταγγέλουσιν; ἐπὶ πραγμά-
 των ἀρμόσας καταμύνησον.” Ὀνήσιμος εἶπεν· “μοιχείαν,

virtues belonging to Onesimus. For the testimonies are not words and false-speeches of some flatterer, but rather, of a herald of truth having received an apostolic commission. For, indeed, he calls the same one both 'child' and 'brother.' On the one hand, in his calling him 'child,' he is pointing out the magnitude of his love for him; and, on the other hand, through his brotherhood he is maintaining equal honor towards him in his openness before God. For he lightened his [Paul's] chains by his arrival, cheered the dejected by his presence, and lessened the pains by his physical ministries to the apostolic body; how, then, since he was filled with the things appropriate for piety, was he not destined to come to such an end of the immortal gift? Therefore, on the one hand, [it happened that] this one clearly anointed his soul in piety, and, on the other hand, through fasting and prayer he trained his body in order that he might clearly raise up the crown of immortality against the Evil One, according to the standard of reverence; and having been brought at that time before the judge's platform of Tertullus, together with Romulus, a fellow-worker, Papias, a spiritual fellow-soldier in virtue and in promoting similar ideals, and Apitios. Tertullus asks, "Who is speaking?" Onesimus answered, "A Christian." The eparch says, "What are you about?" He replies, "Long ago, on the one hand, I was a house-slave, such as befitting of a man; but now I am a charitable servant of a noble master, indeed, our savior Jesus Christ." The eparch said, "And what was the cause of your swift departure from the one to the other's rule?" Onesimus said, "Knowledge of truth and hatred of idolatry." The eparch said, "At what cost have you withdrawn thusly into this conspicuously vain evasion of his rule?" Onesimus said, "The Son of God, Jesus Christ, having redeemed my depravity through precious blood, withdrew unto immortality, as it has been written; knowing that not through corruptible things like silver and gold is one redeemed out of the folly of our inherited condition, but through the precious blood of Christ as of a blameless and spotless lamb." The eparch said, "What sort of idle avoidance do your writings proclaim? Having proposed your case, defend yourself!" Onesimus said, "Adultery: the nourishing of its workers on a few

- 110 τὴν ἐπ' ὀλίγαις ἐπιθυμίαις εἰς ἀπειρον κολάσεως
 τοὺς αὐτῆς ἐργάτας ἐκτρέφουσιν. πλεονεξίαν, τὴν
 ἐπ' οὐδενὶ καλῷ κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον ὀπιζομένην. γοη-
 τεῖαν, τὴν δαιμόνων σύνηκον καὶ φαντασίας εὐρετὴν
 καὶ ῥίζαν οὖσαν ἐπιβουλῆς [f. 147^v] ἀνεικάστου. ἀλαζο-
 νεῖαν, τὴν διακαινῆς ἐννοίας εἰς ἄμετρον τύφον κατὰ
 115 τῶν κρειπτόνων ἐπηρμένην. φθόνον, τὸν Καὶν σὺν ἐτέ-
 ροις πολλοῖς ἀδελφοκτόνον διδάξαντα καὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν
 κεκτημένοις ὀλεθρίας ἐννοίας κατασπεύραντα. κακολο-
 γίαν, τὴν ἀχαλῶτον γλῶτταν καθάπερ νέφος τὴν
 χλεῦν κατὰ πάντων ἐπεκτείνουσιν. ὑπόκρισιν, τὴν
 120 ἀληθείας ἐχθρὰν καὶ διαβόλου φίλην καὶ νωθρὰν πρὸς
 φιλίαν καὶ προκαλύμματι κεκρυμμένην. μικροψυχίαν,
 τὴν πεπλανημένην ἐννοίαν παρεισφύρουσαν δι' ἧς
 οἶμαι καὶ τὴν Εὐὰν ὁ πονηρὸς ὑπεσκέλισεν. ὀργήν,
 τὴν λοιδορίας εὐρέτιν πληγῶν δὲ κακῶν ἐργάτην καὶ
 125 τραυμάτων αὐτουργόν καὶ φόνου μητέρα. μέθην, τὴν
 ἀσελγείας σύνοικον καὶ ἡδονῆς ἀδελφὴν καὶ αἰσχρολό-
 γίας εὐρέτιν· ἀγαθῆς ἐννοίας ἀλλοτρίαν· τὴν ἀπρεπῆ
 καὶ σχήμματι καὶ φθέγματι καὶ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν τὴν
 εὐπρέπειαν καταλύουσιν· ἐπὶ πάντων δὲ τούτων τὸν τῆς
 130 ὑλῶδους συστάσεως λάκκον καὶ μητέρα τῶν εἰρημένων.
 Εἰδωλατρείαν, τὴν πορνείας ὑπόθεσιν· τὴν τῆς ἀγνω-
 σίας τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ διδάσκαλον· τὴν ἀλογίας εὐρέ-
 τιν· τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς πείρωσιν· τὴν τῆς ἡδυπαθείας
 δημιουργόν καὶ κοσμιότητος ἀλλοτρίαν· τὴν τῷ δεσπότῃ
 135 τῶν ὄλων ἀπομαχομένην καὶ ὄρους θεοσεβείας ἐκ-
 κόπτειν ἐπιχειροῦσαν· τὴν ὁδηγὸν τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τοῦ
 δράκοντος ὑπηρέτην· τὸ δέλεαρ τῶν κακῶν· τὴν ἀρε-
 τῆς ἐναντίαν· τὴν φεύγουσαν τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ κηρύσ-
 σουσαν τὴν ἀπώλειαν καὶ περὶ γῆν καὶ τάρταρον τὰς
 140 ἐλπίδας τοῖς εἰς αὐτὴν βλέπουσιν προτείνουσιν· τὴν
 αἱμάτων φίλην καὶ τοῦ φθόγου ἀρχηγόν· τὴν ἀγνοίαν
 θεϊκῇ τοὺς εὐχερεῖς τὸν τρόπον παγιδεύουσιν· τὴν σκό-
 τους μὲν καὶ σκιᾶς γνησίαν πρόξενον φωτεινῆς δὲ
 χάριτος ἀλλοτρίαν· τὴν βρόχοις ἀσέμιον πράξεως τοὺς
 145 αὐτῇ δουλεύοντας περισφίγγουσιν· τὴν [f. 148^r] αἰσ-
 χρολογίας καὶ βλασφήμου φθέγματος ὑπόθεσιν· τὴν
 κενδοξίαν ἀλείφουσιν τοὺς αὐτῇ προστετηκότας· τὴν
 ὀρχήσεως ἐργάτην· τὴν σαρκικῆς ἐπιθυμίας πρόξενον·

desires unto a boundless amount of punishment. Covetousness: the arming of oneself with a view towards nothing noble against one's neighbor. Sorcery: the gathering of demons and inventor of fantasy; and being an origin of an unfathomable plot. Boastfulness: the excitation of truly vain thoughts unto boundless pride against the 'excellent' ones. Envy: the teaching of fratricide to Cain along with many others and spreading about among those possessing it destructive intentions. Revilement: the laying forth of unbridled speech, like a cloud that extends the mockery against all. Hypocrisy: the hidden hatred of truth and love of the Devil, and indifference towards love, even by deceit. Smallness of soul: the interpolation of deceptive intentions through which, I believe, the Evil One tripped Eve. Wrath: the inventor of abuse and workman of evil blows; cultivator of wounds and source of murder. Drunkenness: the denizen of licentiousness and sister of pleasure, and inventor of foul language; foreigner to noble thoughts; the unseemly destruction of fair appearance in bearing and speech of those things customary; and, in the course of all these, the pit of earthly conflict and source of the things spoken of. Idolatry: the pretext of prostitution, the teacher of ignorance of the true God, the inventor of folly, the piercing of the soul, the maker of the 'pleasurable' life and stranger to propriety, the fighting against the Lord of all and endeavoring to break down the definitions of piety, the guide of Death and viceroy of the Serpent, the bait of the evil ones, the obstacle to virtue, the flight from immortality and proclaiming destruction, and stretching out about the earth and the dark abyss the hopes of those looking into it, the love of bloody things and chief of malice, the entrapment of the naive ones in ignorance of the divine in its manner; on the one hand, the legitimate patron of darkness and shadows, and on the other hand, stranger to grace; the binding all-round the ones having become slaves to it with meshes of indecent action, the pretext for foul language and blasphemous speech, the encouragement of vanity for the one having adhered to it, the practitioner of dance, the guardian of carnal desire, the dishonoring of the respect due an

- 150 τὴν πολλὰν πρεσβύτου καὶ γέροντος ἀτιμάζουσιν· πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀσχημονοῦντα· ἄλλεσθαι τὸν καθιστάμενον τῷ χρόνῳ παρακαλεῖν· τὴν τὸ σεμνὸν τῆς παρθενίας ἐκκόπτουσιν διὰ τῆς ἀσέμνου τῶν τῆς κεφαλῆς τριχῶν ἐκλύσεως· τὴν θέατρον ποιοῦσαν τὰς ἐν οἴκῳ σεμνῶς εἰς αἰδοῦς λόγον ἀνατεθείσας, τὴν σιδήρῳ καὶ ξίφει
- 155 τὰς ἑαυτῆς ἐορτὰς καταμίσσουσαν τὴν ζώων ἀκαθαρσίαν καὶ ταῖς ἐξ αἱμάτων προσχύσεσιν· τὸ ἐρπώμενον τῆς αὐτῶν ἀσελγείας καταγγέλλουσιν· τὴν τὰ σεμνῶς περιεσταλμένα μέρη τοῦ σώματος ἀσέμνως ἐπὶ μέσης πόλεως δημοσιεύουσιν· τὴν ἀνακαλύπτουσιν ἀνδρὸς
- 160 αἰσχύνην καὶ γηραιὴν ἃ μὴ θέμις ἐπιδεικνύουσιν· τὴν ἀποτέμνουσαν ἄρρενος φύσιν εἰς τὴν θηλυμόρφου δαίμονος θεραπείαν· τὴν τὰς οἰκείας τελετὰς ἐκφόνων καὶ μοιχείας καὶ παιδεραστίας ἀναδείξασαν· τὴν δίκην σκάφους ἐν τρικυμῇ τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων διανοίας εἰς
- 165 διαφόρους τρόπους ῥιπίζουσιν· νῦν μὲν ἰοβόλων ἐρπετῶν ζώων ἀπογεύεσθαι τοὺς αὐτῆς μύστας προτρεπομένην· νῦν δὲ σέβεσθαι τὰ διασπώμενα παρὰ τῶν διασπώντων ἐκδιδάσκουσιν· τὴν ἄλλοις ἰχθὺν ἀναγορεύουσιν, ἄλλους δὲ κατεσθίειν τοὺς ἐτέρων θεοὺς
- 170 προτρεπομένην· τὴν βοῦν θύουσιν καὶ βοσὶν προσάγουσιν ὀλοκαυτώματα· τὴν [f. 148^v] προβάτῳ πρόβατον ἐπιθύουσιν καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν καὶ θῦμα παρασκευάζουσιν· τὴν ἀνθρώπῳ ἄνθρωπον ἀποσφάττουσιν καὶ σφαγὴν ὑπὲρ ὑγείας ἐργαζομένην· τὴν τοῖς ἀπψύ-
- 175 χοις τὰ ψυχικὰ πρὸς θυσίαν προσφέρουσιν καὶ λίθῳ γλυφέντι τὸν κατ'εἰκόνα Θεοῦ γενομένον ἄνθρωπον ἀναποσφάττουσιν· τὴν τὰ ῥυπαρώτερα τῶν ζώων καὶ μοχθηρὰ τῶν βρωμάτων ἀλόγοις ἀπάταις θεοποιήσασαν· ὕβριν, τὴν αἰσχροεργὸν καὶ μίαν τὴν ἐκ σκώληκος
- 180 τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς γενέσεως ἔχουσιν.

Τί γὰρ δεῖ λέγειν ὅτι καὶ κρομμύς τὸ θεῖκόν ἀξίωμα προσῆψεν ἢ εἰδωλολατρεία ἀπὸ τῶν ζώων ἐπὶ τὴν ἄψυχον ὕλην ταῖς ἀπάταις μεταβαίνουσα ποικίλως, ὅπως ὑπερβολῇ τυφλότητος τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀνοίας

185 καταγάγῃ εἰς ᾄδην; οὕτω καὶ λίθον τιμᾶσθαι ὡς θεὸν πεποίηκεν καὶ ξύλον· τὸ μὲν τι σέβειν καὶ τοῖς βεβήλοις

elder and an old man, holding one's mind to the flute, exhorting the one who stands calmly to leap in time, the hammering against the solemnity of virginity through the irreverent letting down of one's hair, the making 'public' the things reverently done with a sense of shame within the household, the corruption of its own festivals by spear and sword, the uncleanness of animals and with these, libations of blood; proclaiming the crawling things of their own licentiousness, the displaying irreverently of the parts of the body solemnly cherished in the midst of the city, the unveiling the shame of a man even unto women, which propriety does not display, the cutting off of the nature of the male into standing service of a female-shaped demon, the exhibiting of the household secrets of murders, adultery, and pederasty; the fanning of the intentions of men into different opinions, like a ship in a storm; and now, on the one hand, impelling initiates of it to taste of the darting, creeping animals, and now, on the other hand, teaching them to worship the transgressions for the transgressors, the proclaiming of a fish to some and impelling others to devour the gods of others, the sacrifice of an ox and leading oxen to burnt-offerings, the sacrifice of an animal unto an animal and the preparation of the same god even as a sacrifice, the slaying of a man for a man, and slaughter on behalf of health, the bringing of living things to sacrifice for lifeless things, and slaying with a carved stone man having been made in the image of God, the deification of the very foul things of the creatures and of filthy things of stinking animals by unspeakable deceits. Insolence: the shameful-doer and the one having its beginning of creation out of a worm.

For, why is it necessary to say that, like an onion, idolatry made the godly ideal rot before it, passing variously from the realm of the living unto the lifeless material, through its deceits, in order that an excess of blindness might lead the follies of men into Hell? So it has made stone even to be honored as a god, and also wood. On the one hand, it has ordained by law also some

- τῶν νόμων νενομοθέτηκεν τὸ δὲ καίειν ἐπὶ βωμοῦ διη-
 γόρευσεν· εἰσέλειχον προφανῇ τῆς τῶν ὑπακούοντων
 αὐτῇ δυσσεβοῦς ἐννοίας. ταύτην τοίνυν τὴν διὰ τοσοῦ-
 190 των ἀτοπημάτων χωροῦσαν ἄθεον εἰδωλολατρίαν ἐκ-
 φυγῶν καὶ τὰς δορυφόρους αὐτῆς κακίας γενναίῳ τῷ
 λογισμῷ καταπατήσας· ἐκ ξάλης ὥσπερ θαλάττης εἰς
 τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας κατήντηκα λιμένα ἀγκύραις τὸ σκά-
 φος τοῦ σώματός μου τῆς ὑποστάσεως εἰς τὰ ἀσφαλῆ
 195 καὶ βέβαια προσαναπαύσας· πολιτεία ἀμέμπῳ πίστει
 τῇ πρὸς τὸν ὄντα Θεὸν καὶ ἀγάπῃ τῇ περὶ τὸν πλησίον.
 τούτων γάρ τῶν συναμφοτέρων τῆς οὐρανίου πειθόμεθα
 διδασκαλίας τὴν σύμπασαν γνώμην ἐναγκαλίσασθαι. διὸ
 δὴ καὶ σε προτρέπομαι Τέρτυλλε· φιλαδελφίας θεσμὸν
 200 κέχρησο· βουλόμενος ἐπεκτείνειν· ἀφῆναι μὲν ταῦτα τὰ
 πρόσκαιρα τῆς [f. 149^Γ] φαντασίας ἡδύσματα δίκην
 ὀνείρατος θᾶπτον παρατρέχοντα τὴν αἴσθησιν, δραμεῖν
 δὲ λοιπὸν τῷ τάχει τῆς ἐννοίας πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὅλων
 ἐπόπτην καὶ δημιουργὸν Θεόν· καὶ λύσαι μὲν τὴν πλά-
 205 νην, τῇ πίστει δέ, σωθῆναι καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν κατὰ τὸ
 γεγραμμένον ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν. οὐ γὰρ θανάτῳ τοῦ
 πταίσαντος τέρπεται Θεός. μετάνοια δέ, τῶν προσι-
 ὄντων ἀπαλείφει τὰ προλαβόντα τολμήματα.”
- Ὁ ἑπαρχος εἶπεν· “ἔοικας οὐ μόνον τῷ τῶν βασάνων
 210 φόβῳ συνεχόμενος περὶ τὸ θύειν οὐκ ἐληλυθῆναι βού-
 λεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν σαυτοῦ καθέλκειν ἀπά-
 την.” Ὀνήσιμος εἶπεν· “οὔτε σοῖ πιθανὸς ὁ λόγος ἀλ-
 λότριε τῆς ἀληθείας εἰ καὶ τὸ πείθειν σὺν ἑαυτῷ φέρει,
 οὔτε σοῦ τοσοῦτον ἰσχύει τὰ βασανηστήρια κ’ ἂν φοβερὰ
 215 παρασκευάξης, ὥς μὴ τῇ ἐλπίδι τῶν μελλόντων ἀγα-
 θῶν προσκαρτερεῖν διὰ τῶν παρὰ σοῦ μοι προσαγομέ-
 νων τούτων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γυμνασ-
 θέντων.” ὁ μὲν ἑπαρχος τὸν μακάριον Ὀνήσιμον ἅμα
 τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ φρουρᾷ ζοφώδει καὶ ταῖς παρατεμνούσαις
 220 τῶν βασάνων τὴν ἀλγηδόνα κακώσεσι παραδοθῆναι
 κελεύει ὅπως (τῶν) κατὰ μέρος αἰκισμῶν ἢ προσαγωγῇ
 τὴν τούτων πίστιν εἰς ἀθεότητα μεταστήσῃ. ἃ δὲ δι-
 καιως ἐκεῖνος ὥσπερ ἤδη τὴν ἐν παραδείσῳ τρυφὴν
 ἐνηγκαλισμένος πλέον τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν γεγεννημένοις ἐγε-

worship of the profane things of custom; and, on the other hand, it spoke of the kindling of an altar; (they [the flames] clearly were licking at the impious intention of those yielding to it!). And now, indeed, having escaped this ungodly idolatry, succeeding by means of such deprivations, and having trampled underfoot the soldiers of its evil through noble reason; surging out, just as a sea, into the secure harbor of reverence; having made rest the ship of my body on the anchors of His support unto the secure and steady situation, through a condition in blameless faith towards the God who is, and in love with regards to one's neighbor. For we are persuaded off all these together, of the universal teaching, to take into our arms this conclusion wholeheartedly. On which account, indeed, I exhort you, Tertullus. Exhibit a practice of brotherly love; willingly reach out. On the one hand, flee these 'sweets' of your fantasy, like a dream too quickly rushing by the senses, all the sooner. On the other hand, run from the rest with the swiftness of your intention to the overseer of all things and world-creating God. And, on the one hand, break your error, and through your faith be saved and come into full knowledge of truth according to what has been written. For God is cheered not by a death of one stumbling; but rather, repentance of those approaching [God] expunges their earlier reckless acts."

The eparch said, "Although supposedly being affected by the fear of the tortures, you seem not only unwilling to have performed the sacrifice, but also wish to draw us down into your deceit." Onesimus said, "Neither, foreigner to the truth, is your speech credible, if even it bears persuasion with itself; nor are the tortures of yours so powerful, even if you should prepare frightful things, so as for me not to persevere against them in the hope of good things to come, during the course of these things being directed by you against me and such things having been utilized so far." The eparch ordered the blessed Onesimus together with those with him to be handed over to gloomy prison and to the evils which extend the pain of tortures, in order that gradually the approach of tortures might change the faith of these men into godlessness. But that just one, even as he has already taken into his arms the luxury in Paradise, rejoiced even more as with those coming unto Him, just as a bar of

- 225 γήθει καθάπερ ὕλη χρυσοῦ διὰ πυρὸς καὶ καύσεως δο-
κιμωτέρα πρὸς κάθαρσιν ἑαυτοῖς γινομένοις.
- Τῆς τοίνυν κατὰ τὴν εἰρκτὴν κακοπαθείας ἐφ' ὅλαις
ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἡμέραις παραταθείσης, ὁ μὲν ἔξωθεν
περιωρέων δῆμος τὸν μακάριον πρὸς θεοσεβῆ μᾶλλον
230 ἐπερρώνε πίστιν. Τέρτυλλος δὲ τὸ [f. 149^v] γενόμε-
νον ἀναστεῖλαι σπουδάζων ἐπὶ σχήματι φιλανθρωπίας
τούτους τῆς πόλεως ἐκδιώκει. Ὁνήσιμος δὲ σὺν Ἀπι-
τίῳ τῷ γενναίῳ περὶ τὴν θεοσεβείαν συστρατιώτῃ
Ποτιώλους καταλαβὼν τὴν ζωοποιὸν χάριν τοῖς προσ-
235 τυγχάνουσιν κηρύττων οὐκ ἐπαύετο. πλεόνων γοῦν
τούτου τὸν τρόπον εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθόντων,
χαλεπαίνει μὲν ὁ Τέρτυλλος ἐπὶ τῷ γεγεννημένῳ καὶ
πρὸς ἄμετρον ὀργῆς ἰδέαν ὡς εἰκὸς παρὰ τοῦ δαίμονος
ὀπλίζεται. οἱ δὲ τῆς τούτου δορυφορίας τὴν ἄθεον φρον-
240 τίδα διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντες ξύλοις τὰς τῶν ἀγίων χεῖρας
μετὰ τῆς ἐπὶ νώτου στρεβλώσεως προσέπηξαν καὶ
τούτῳ τῷ σχήματι τοὺς ὁσίους τῷ λυσσῶντι τὸν φόνον
ἐπὶ βήματος προσήγαγον. Τέρτυλλος δὲ ταῖς ὑβόλοις
τοῦ διαβόλου μανίαις ἐγκεκυλισμένος ἠρώτα καὶ πάλιν
245 πικρῷ βλέμματι καταπλήττειν τὸν μακάριον Ὁνήσιμον
οἰόμενος· “καὶ τί παθῶν, φησὶν, πυρὸς καὶ σιδήρου
ἄξιε, τὴν ἐμὴν φιλανθρωπίαν εἰς ἄμετρον σεαυτῷ παρ-
ρησίαν ἐταμιεύσω κακὸν κακῷ, ὡς ἔοικεν ἐπίσυνάψας,
εἰς ἀπαραίτητον ἐπιτεῖναι τὴν ἐπὶ σοὶ λοιπὸν τιμωρίαν;”
250 Ὁνήσιμος εἶπεν· “ἐγὼ δὲ σε λοιπὸν καὶ λίαν προσε-
δόκων τῶν κρειττόνων ἐραστήν γεγεννημένον, καμοὶ
τοῦ διδάσκειν παρακεχωρηκέναι τὴν ἄδειαν ἵνα διὰ
πάντων ἡ χάρις δραμοῦσα ἀκωλύτως μηδένα τῶν πισ-
τευσάντων τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δωρεᾶς ἁμοιρον καταστήσῃ.”
255 ταῦτα τὰ τερπνὰ ὁ Τέρτυλλος πρὸς χλεύην λεξάμενος
ῥήματα ὑπὸ τεσσάρων ἰσχυρῶς κατατείνεσθαι τὸ σῶμα
τοῦ μακαρίου προσέττατεν καὶ παχείαις ῥάβδων αἰκί-
αις αἰκίζειν τὸν γενναῖον τῆς θεοσεβείας ἀθλητὴν.
πολλῆς τοίνυν ἐπὶ τοῖς [f. 150^f] γινομένοις παρατρε-
260 χούσης τῆς ὥρας καὶ τῶν μὲν ξύλων αἶμα καὶ σάρκας
ὁμοῦ τοῦ σώματος ἀνασπόντων τῆς δὲ θεοσεβοῦς ψυχῆς
ἐκείνης πλεόν νευρουμένης ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς

gold through fire and burning becomes more valuable upon purifying with these. And now, he suffered his ill-plight within the prison for eighteen whole days. On the one hand, the populace walking about on the outside was cheering more [strongly] the blessed one with a view towards pious faith. Tertullus, on the other hand, because he arranged the happenings, being zealous against any appearance of mercy, drives those out of the city. But Onesimus, with the noble Apitios, fellow-soldier with regards to piety, upon reaching Puteoli was not stopping his proclaiming of the life-making grace to those he was encountering. Therefore, with more people coming in this way into full knowledge of truth, Tertullus becomes more angry, [and], on the one hand, because of this having happened, he prepares himself with a view towards an immoderate kind of rage, just as is likely for the demon. And, on the other hand, the guards of this one, having ungodly minds, strike upon the arms of the pious ones with clubs during a stretching upon [the] back, and in this manner led the pious ones to the man loosing the murder upon the judge's platform. And Tertullus, struck with the darting madnesses of the Devil, was also interrogating again with a bitter glance, hoping to trick the blessed Onesimus: "Why were you, O worthy one, even having suffered the nature of fire and iron, managing my love of humanity into immoderate license of tongue by yourself, having brought evil for evil, such that it is fitting to prolong forever the remaining torture against you?" Onesimus said, "I was very much expecting you henceforward to have become an adherent of the more noble things and to permit me license to teach in the absence of fear, in order that out from all these, the grace flowing without hindrance might place upon no one of those trusting in the gift of God ill-fortune." But Tertullus, thinking it fine to mock those agreeable sayings, was arranging for the body of the blessed one to be stretched excessively in four directions, and to torment with great blows of clubs the noble champion of piety. And now, with much time rushing by in the happenings and, with the clubs drawing forth blood and flesh from the same body, and, with the god-fearing soul of that one being much strengthened out of the desire of the good things awaiting in

- προσδοκωμένων αγαθῶν εὐθυμίας, Τέρτυλλος ἠπειλεῖ
 τὴν κατὰ μέλος τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ τομὴν εἰ μὴ βου-
 265 ληθείη θῆσαι. ὁ δὲ δύσμαχος ἐκεῖνος καὶ δυσάλωτος
 ἐπ' εὐσεβία καθάπερ τεῖχος ἰσχυρὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λογισ-
 μὸν ταῖς βασάνοις ἀντιστήσας ἀτρεπτον εἶχεν τὴν
 γνώμην, οὐ δ' ὅλως ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀπηλαῖς τὴν παρρησιαν
 ὑποκλίνας. τέλος γοῦν παντός τοῦ σώματος ταῖς βασά-
 270 νοις διερρώγότης, ὡς εἶδεν αὐτὸν ὁ Τέρτυλλος, ὑπτίον
 ἀνατραπέντα τὰ σκέδη καὶ τοὺς μηρούς αὐτοῦ κατε-
 αγῆναι κελεύει. καὶ οὕτως τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφα-
 νον τελειωθείς ὁ μακάριος Ὀνήσιμος εἰς ἀμοιβὴν ἀγα-
 θῶν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ κομίζεται τῇ προδεκαπέντε καλαν-
 275 δῶν Μαρτίων.

- Γυνὴ δέ τις βασιλικοῦ γένους ἔχουσα λαμπρότητα
 θήκην ἐξ ἀργύρου κατασκευάσασα τὸ λείψανον ἐναπέ-
 θετο τοῦ μάρτυρος, μισθὸν ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸν ἅγιον μνή-
 280 μας αἰωνίων αγαθῶν αὐτῇ πορίζουσα· ὧν γένοιτο
 πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐπιτυχεῖν χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ
 κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μεθ' οὗ τῷ Πατρὶ ᾧμα
 τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι δόξα, κράτος, τιμὴ, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ
 καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Ἀμήν.

the heavens, Tertullus pressed the cutting against the limb of his body, since he [Onesimus] was not willing to sacrifice. But that unconquerable and indomitable one, with a view towards reverence, having made his own reason stand like a strong wall against the tortures, held his unaltered view, by no means falling under license of tongue because of the threats. Thus, finally, with all his body broken by the tortures so that Tertullus saw him with his underside turned upwards, he orders his legs and his thighs to be broken; and, thus, having accomplished the crown of immortality, the blessed Onesimus, in recompense for his noble deeds, is received at the side of God on the fifteenth day of February.

And a certain woman of royal birth having distinction, after she prepared a casket out of silver, put the remains of the martyr in it; furnishing recompense out of her remembrance of the pious one, [and thereby] furnishing eternal good things for her, of which that it might all happen to us by the grace and love of humanity of our Lord, Jesus Christ, thus, also, with the Father, together with the Holy Spirit, glory, power, honor, now and always unto the ages of ages.

Amen.

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GREEK ORTHODOX-JEWISH RELATIONS IN HISTORIC PERSPECTIVE—THE JEWISH VIEW

Zvi Ankori

PRECIS

Greeks and Jews have shared a common history and an understanding of the importance of history for the shaping of their relationships today. The anti-Byzantine bias going back to the Middle Ages has influenced their historiography. However, just as three systems are now recognized as being part of the Medieval Western culture (Islam, Byzantine Christianity, and West European Christendom), there is also a three-part division of the Medieval Jewish world (Eastern Jewry, Western Jewry, and the recently rediscovered Greek-speaking Jewry).

There are four basic traits which Greeks and Jews in this context share. First, both are Mediterranean peoples, which is of considerable importance. The second factor is "the physical continuity of Jewish settlements in the Greek world." The third trait is the experience of a diaspora. And finally there is the significance of the "synthesis of ethnicity and religion"—a blending of nationalism and religion.

There are several points of historical conflicts of interest between Greeks and Jews, also. Some have been resolved, but some are persistent. Economic rivalry is not a significant factor. The nature of the conflict has been national, religious, and political.

The author delineates the history of four areas of conflict: Palestine; the international influence of diaspora Judaism; the relationship between the Byzantine Empire and its Jewish subjects at home, especially under the constant threat of foreign domination; and their relationship during the subjugation of Greece by foreign powers, particularly during the Turkish onslaught. The leftover issues emerging from these conflicts are enumerated. The question of Jerusalem is especially crucial. Also, the question is raised as to whether international clashes between the interests of Greeks and Jews have been resolved completely.

The fourth area remains of considerable influence in present relations, especially with regard to anti-Semitism. During this time conflicts intensified for political and religious reasons. Ultimately, Jews were left out of the struggle for Greek liberation. Members of the Greek Orthodox Church were largely responsible for the intensification of blood libel, a phenomenon which became particularly virulent during the mid-nineteenth century, when the Church leaders and intellectuals attempted to discourage its practice.

I

I admit being somewhat ill at ease when called upon to follow Dr. Constantelos' fine paper with a presentation of "The Jewish View of Greek Orthodox-Jewish Relations in Historic Perspective." The reason for my hesitance is that I do not really believe in the existence of "*the Jewish view*." There have been several Jewish views on the subject, of course, and Dr. Constantelos enumerated some of them in a truly learned fashion—views, that is, by historians who were Jews and whose philosophy of history was shaped by their Jewish background and their global approach to Jewry's historical experience. Thus, we heard, there

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was *a* view by Krauss, *a* view by Starr, *a* view by Sharf, perhaps also *a* view transpiring from my own research and writing. None of the above scholars claimed to be representing *the* Jewish view nor, for that matter, have we come here to pit the Jewish view against the Greek. Rather, we are here to complement each other's views so that a balanced picture may be gained of the pattern of Greek Orthodox-Jewish relations as it evolved through the ages.

Some chapters of the story we shall attempt to reconstruct belong to the less happy experiences of Jewish history. Recounting them as accurately as possible is our job as historians. We do not sit in judgment over our ancestors. The Jewish partners to this Colloquium have not come here to accuse nor are their Greek counterparts here to apologize. We all are here to try to understand, and to bring this understanding of things past to bear on problems that are relevant to both sides in our own time.

Looking Back to History

For all I know, we might as well have started with the twentieth century, as late as 1940 perhaps, and allowed the past to be laid to rest. We could have opened, say, with our common World War II experience—a grim and traumatic experience, indeed, to both our nations—and recalled Archbishop Damaskinos' unforgettable steps to help Greek Jewry survive its darkest hour. Or, we could have glossed over even this wartime period as still belonging to the unhappy "past" and selected instead the very "present"—the fact that Jews are enjoying complete equality and social acceptance in post-War Greece—as the platform on which to build the agenda for a future dialogue between us. And yet, I believe, the organizers of this Greek Orthodox-Jewish Colloquium were right in deciding to open our dialogue with history. For what we Greeks and Jews have in common is not only, as we shall see presently, a joint historical experience but also a basic propensity towards historicism, a fundamental belief that history has a message to convey and that the lesson it teaches does have a meaning for now and for generations to come.

Some twelve years ago, I remember, I spent a period of time on Mount Athos, the thousand-year-old monastic republic in northern Greece. I wandered on foot through the enchanted landscape of the peninsula (no other means of locomotion is available there), moving daily from one medieval monastery to another in search of documents relating to Jews and Jewish history that may have found their way to the still insufficiently explored monastic libraries and chanceries.

In one place I struck instant friendship with the monastery's librarian after we had discovered that, besides our common interest in books and manuscripts, we share a memorable *personal* experience as well: we both happened to be present in Tripoli, Libya, on the day of the liberation of that city in the second World War—he, as the priest of the Greek Orthodox

parish there, and I, a soldier of the British Army's Jewish Brigade, happy to shake hands with my rescued coreligionists in the Tripolitanian ghetto. I asked him whether in the wealth of material under his supervision he remembered seeing any documents pertaining to Jews. Yes, he did. He brought down from some corner shelf a huge volume of an eighteenth-century *Nomocanon* and there, on the flyleaf, a hand-written entry did in fact record an item of Jewish interest: the outbreak of an epidemic in the city of Mistra in the early 1700's which, so it was rumored, started in the Jewish Quarter and spread all over the city.

I asked the librarian how one could explain the fact that local material from a Peloponnesian city under Turkish occupation had wound up in the quiet safety of far-off Athos. I shall never forget his answer. "You see," he said, "monastery libraries of our Holy Mountain were much like your own Jewish *genizoth*. They served to store manuscripts, books, and family and community records, some of which were brought here for safekeeping, while others, considered useless, were meant to be discarded. You Jews used to assemble such materials in the attics and cellars of your synagogues, and, in time, out of reverence, accord these documents a regular burial. Alas, unless by sheer accident a *genizah* escaped its destiny (as, in fact, happened to the famous Cairo Genizah), the act of burial entailed more than the mere disposal of outdated material; buried along with the documents was perforce also the story of the past which they contained. Would it not be better to *study* the story first?"

This, I feel, is basically what we are here for. Perhaps a number of our past experiences, stored in the awesome *genizah* of our collective memory, will eventually be buried; some should be. But we ought to try first to study these experiences, the good and the bad alike, and see whether our present and future might not profitably be enhanced by a better knowledge of our joint past.

The Strange Ways of Bias

It may be useful to begin our discussion by stating that which, since it is perhaps all-too-obvious, tends also to be all-too-easily forgotten or ignored—namely, that there are so many things we Jews and Greeks have in common. At the risk of sounding facetious, I would say that we even share the bias of the world, including the bias of the scholarly world! To be sure, that bias had a strange way of spreading its contagion even among its own victims. Thus, ironically, nineteenth-century Jewish scholars, disciples of modern European learning who worked hard to make their Western mentors shed the anti-Jewish bias they inherited from the Middle Ages, proved themselves to be as biased with regard to the study of Byzantine and neo-Greek Jewry as was the broader scholarly community vis-à-vis Byzantine studies in general. Thus it happened that Byzantine Jewish history remains to this day very much the stepchild of modern

Jewish historiography, with so many areas still awaiting exploration by the historian and lending themselves in the meantime, for lack of solid research, to guesswork and speculation.

The anti-Byzantine bias was not the invention of a Gibbon, of course; it goes back to the Middle Ages. Combining ignorance, misguided religious fervor, and plain greed, it was epitomized in more remote times by the greatest of all commercial enterprises ever sponsored under the banner of religion, the Crusades, the Fourth of which ended in the sack of Constantinople by Constantinople's Western coreligionists. Well, *mutatis mutandis*, Jews of those times living outside Byzantium also had an ample dose of contempt for their Byzantine Jewish brethren. They did not go so far as "crusading" against them, of course, but they did derive strange delight out of "knocking" contemporaneous Byzantine Jewish scholarship. Borrowing a leaf from pre-Renaissance Western savants who shrugged off Greek manuscripts and documents inasmuch as *graeca sunt, non leguntur*, medieval Jewish rabbis, too, smugly discounted Hebrew Jewish creativity in Byzantium as so much immature bunk. Exigencies of time do not permit me to dwell at any length on the subject, but two brief illustrations may be in order here.

When a query was sent to the twelfth-century Maimonides, perhaps the greatest Jewish scholar who ever lived, regarding the origin of anonymous anthropomorphic homilies which were circulating among Jewish readers of the time, the Spanish-born sage, then in Egypt, contemptuously dismissed these crude folk-compositions as "undoubtedly the work of some Byzantine preachers." Similarly disparaging were the remarks of Ibn Ezra, another great twelfth-century Spanish Jewish scholar, regarding the biblical commentaries produced by his Byzantine Jewish fellow scholars. Describing in the introduction to his *Commentary on the Pentateuch* the four existing Jewish schools of biblical exegesis, he derided the Byzantine Jewish school as one which never aimed at the heart of the matter nor was based on original linguistic and other research, but went "round and round," repeating the trite homilies of ages past. Such homilies, he sneered, preferred allegory and legend to rational explanation, "and since these are found in the books of the ancients, why should modern authors go to the trouble of writing them?"

Greek Jewry Lost . . .

To be sure, the historiographic distortions regarding Byzantine Jewry must not be attributed to bias alone. Objective circumstances, too—particularly those of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—caused the picture of inner developments in the Greek Jewish world to wax evermore obscure and confused. These circumstances kept transforming the Greek Jewish world at so forced a pace and to such a far-reaching extent that in a matter of a few generations the demographic composition and the

very character of the Jewish population in what once was Byzantium changed beyond recognition. Thus, the deterioration of Jewish life in Spain since 1391 and the final Spanish Jewish catastrophe a hundred years later caused the former Byzantine provinces to be successively inundated by powerful waves of Spanish-speaking Jewish immigrants, superior both economically and intellectually to those in the host communities. Concurrently, Turkish expansionism of the early sixteenth century also brought the ancient and well-developed Arabic-speaking Jewries of the Middle East into the orbit of the Ottoman Sultanate. In the process, the native, i.e., Greek-speaking, elements in the Aegean Jewish communities had thoroughly been eclipsed and forever submerged in the newcomers' culture, language, and way of life. Confronted at the end with an almost totally "sephardized" Mediterranean Jewry, modern Jewish historiography glossed over the older, indigenous stratum of that Jewry and did not even bother to account for its disappearance.

Again, "losing" somewhere on the way the withered branch of medieval Jewish Greekdom was made so much easier by the example of general historiography. The neat symmetry advanced by Western general historians—viewing the medieval Western world as the scene of conflict and coexistence of *two* camps, Islam and Christendom—constituted too tempting a pattern to be bypassed by Jewish history writers. It encouraged a view of the Jewish world, too, as dominated by a combination or contest of *two* mainstreams, the Babylonian and the Palestinian, a classification which later assumed the familiar stance of Sephardim vs. Ashkenazim. Little room, if any, was left then for a separate consideration of the Greek Jewish component.

... and Rediscovered

We now know better than that. Even when reduced to the most generalized outline, the picture of the wider medieval Western world must be presented as containing not two, but *three*, great civilizations and religio-political systems: Islam, Byzantine Christianity, and West European Christendom. Paralleling this division, we also cannot fail to recognize now that which should not have been lost sight of from the very beginning: the *tripartite* division of the medieval Jewish world into Eastern Jewry (primarily Arabic-speaking), Western Jewry (subsequently split into Ashkenazim and Sephardim), and Greek-speaking Jewry, a direct descendant of the great hellenistic Jewish diaspora.

Calling themselves "Romaniotes," after "Romania" (i.e., Byzantium), the Byzantine Jews spoke Greek or a Judeo-Greek jargon and, very much like in Yiddish or Ladino, used Hebrew characters for phonetical transliterations of their spoken Greek language and for Judeo-Greek glossaries to the Bible and the Mishnah. They bore Greek proper names or characteristic Hebrew names that seldom appeared in a

non-Greek milieu. They had a separate Order of Prayer (*Mahzor Benè Romania*), inserting Greek texts into their Hebrew liturgy (the Book of Jonah, for example, was read in synagogue in Greek translation on the Day of Atonement), and, in general, adhered to rites and observances that were peculiar to the Greek Jewish tradition. Finally, they also maintained a well-developed communal organization, with statutes, titles of office holders, and terminology that harked back to early Byzantine days.

Rediscovering this Greek Jewry in its medieval and early modern context is, indeed, the contribution of a handful of more recent Jewish scholars, from Krauss to our own day. Having shed the bias of the nineteenth-century architects of Jewish historiography who, like their European colleagues, considered only the *classical* phase of the Greek Jewish experience worth exploring, the more recent scholars shouldered the pioneering task of redeeming some *later* chapters of the Greek Jewish story, ingathering documentation stored in half-forgotten archives, and placing the emerging testimonies, however fragmentary, in some coherent sequence. It is this painstaking spadework that allowed modern Jewish historians—by no means all of them as yet!—to rectify partly the distorted picture of Greek Jewry in its historical evolution and to restore the concept of *Greek Jewry's continuity through the ages*, much as did the general Byzantinists with regard to the story of medieval and early modern Greece. This work is far from completed and I consider it a privilege to have contributed to it personally through my own research, whatever its worth, and through the encouragement I gave my students in the field.

II

The sharing of outside bias and of internal neglect and ignorance is, of course, the least of Greekdom's and Jewry's claim to community of historical experience. What really counts is the fact that, sharing the same geography and climate and emerging more or less simultaneously on the stage of history, Greeks and Jews developed through the ages certain basic similarities and displayed concepts of thought and action and modes of national development that run parallel throughout their respective histories. Listing them all, in however cursory fashion, seems impractical; in the present section, therefore, I shall concentrate on four major traits, while one or two of our lesser similarities will be mentioned in a later context.

Mediterranean Integration

To begin with, *we both are Mediterranean peoples* and, even though the history of later generations found the Jews scattered far beyond the Mediterranean horizon, their Mediterranean experience remained the most fundamental and the most enduring element in their historical

recollection, just as it is and always will be to Greeks wherever they are. I am deliberately using, also with regard to Jews, the term “Mediterranean” rather than “Palestinian,” because the whole Mediterranean world served as the setting for Jewry’s ancient and medieval history, much as it did for Greek history. It is the vicissitudes of the Mediterranean world as a whole, and not merely of its eastern corner, that affected and conditioned from remote antiquity to our own day the rise, decline, and rise again of Jewry’s political, economic, and intellectual creativity.

On occasion, Jews were expelled from one Mediterranean country or another, but at no time have they left the Mediterranean world at large. Even when forced to move out of their home in Spain at the western end of the Mediterranean—the most traumatic in a series of expulsions to which Jews were subjected during the Middle Ages—most of them returned to the Aegean shores and the East Mediterranean basin, to the Greek territories which were then under Turkey. Other Jews moved to Italy, to North Africa, to Palestine and Egypt, always within the comforting bounds of the familiar Mediterranean world.

It by no means was a coincidence, I believe, that Jewish messianic movements arose and flourished only in the broader Mediterranean area. Surely, some of these movements or their ramifications did eventually spread into farther regions, but their center of gravity never really shifted from the Mediterranean orbit. Even such eighteenth-century messianic Jewish phenomenon as Frankism, which arose in Poland and continued to be active for a while in Central Europe, was born under the impact of Turkish Jewish Sabbatianism and can hardly be understood without going back to its Mediterranean foundations.

Physical Continuity

In that general story of Jewry’s total integration in the Mediterranean world as a whole, Greece and the Greek territories in their historic dimensions occupy a very special place; the *physical continuity of Jewish settlements in the Greek world* is the second element basic to any review of Greek-Jewish relations. That physical continuity has at no time been interrupted. While limited local episodes of uprooting of a Jewish community from a medieval Greek city or neighborhood are not altogether lacking, never were Jews expelled from a Greek territory at large. No matter how much they were exposed to religious persecution, even forced baptism, Jews forever remained a characteristic feature of Greek society.

Indeed, not only were Jews an integral component of the population of the medieval Greek State throughout the eleven centuries of its career as a Christian Empire, and not only have they outlived the Empire and remained a permanent landmark in the human and social landscape of the Greek world both during the centuries of Greece’s bondage in early modern times and following the latter-day restoration of Greece’s liberty, but—to

go farther back in history—Jews and Judaism were embedded in the soil of Greece long before the very birth of Christianity! The role which (as Dr. Constantelos quite rightly recalled) was ascribed to Jews by all serious scholars—of having been instrumental in paving the way for Christianity in the Mediterranean—would not have been possible in the first place were it not precisely for the fact that *they were there*, physically, all along, populating the hellenistic cities of the East Mediterranean and participating to the full in their economic, social, and intellectual life. It is the hellenized Jewish communities of these cities and their pro-Jewish peripheries of “God-fearing” semi-proselytes (the *sebomenoi* or *phoboumenoi tou Theou*) that harbored the earliest Christian cells and served as bases of operation for Christian mission to the Greek world. The hellenized Jew from Tarsus who, as “apostle to the Gentiles,” has become the architect of Christian expansion was, first and above all, an apostle to the Greek *Jewish* communities. It is through Paul’s travels from one Jewish community to another that he eventually laid the foundations for *Christian* Greek communities as well and for the subsequent Christianization of the Graeco-Roman Empire.

Let me hasten to add, however, that this physical continuity of Jewry on Greek soil did not necessarily have the same effect or enjoy the same degree of social acceptance at all junctures of our respective histories. While Jewish presence in the hellenistic towns prior to the fourth century made the spread of Christianity possible, the perpetuation of that presence after the victory of Christianity was a source of constant conflict between the two camps. This conflict, we shall see, brought Greek Jewry, time and again, to the brink of disaster.

Diaspora and Homeland

But our community of experience is not limited to the two facts that the Mediterranean was the cradle and the home of both our nations and that the physical presence of Jewry in Greek lands helped transform the hellenistic world into a Christian world. We share also a third trait, the unique *experience of a diaspora*, i.e., the perpetual situation in which substantial numbers of our respective peoples carved out for themselves a home away from home, or, rather *homes* outside our national homelands. By this I do not merely refer to the physical phenomenon of uprooting and migration; there hardly is a nation that has not been subjected to a similar experience at one point or another in the course of its history. What I wish to stress is the fact that Jews and Greeks are, and always were, strongly homeland-centered and simultaneously diaspora-oriented; homeland-centered, even when by the inexorable will of history they lost control over their national territories, and diasporic, even while their national homes were enjoying full freedom and sovereignty.

There always was a Greek diaspora far and beyond the Aegean and Mediterranean shores, and there always was a Jewish diaspora, one that coexisted with the Jewish Commonwealth and eventually outlined it. Moreover, both the Jewish and the Greek diasporic existence, at different stages and in varying geographic areas, supplied the most creative ingredients to the social and spiritual experiences of our two nations. Take Jewish history in its broadest outline: it is from Mesopotamia, not Palestine, that Jews brought their monotheism and heralded its message to the ancient world. On the banks of the Nile, not the Jordan, and in the fertile plain of Goshen, rather than the barren highlands of Judea, they turned the anguish of bondage into a powerful lever by which to forge their national consciousness. In the wilderness of Sinai, not in Jerusalem, they formulated the Law and on the rivers of Babylon they canonized it into Scriptures that are holy to them and to Christianity as well. And, it was in Babylonia primarily, centuries later, that they created the Talmud, the encyclopaedic sum-total of Jewish learning and way of life. No matter how Palestine-oriented, there simply is no Jewry or Judaism without the Jewry and Judaism that arose in the diaspora!

Similarly, the coexistence of a Greek diaspora with a Greek, or Roman-Greek, Empire proved to be the foundation-stone not only of the great hellenistic civilization but also of the early church. Greek Orthodoxy was a product of Palestine and of Palestine's periphery, not of Greece. Its postulates, controversies, and final formulations came from Syria, from Egypt, and from North Africa, no less than from Chalcedon and Ephesus. The great Patriarchates of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria carried as much weight as the See of Constantinople and contributed at first far more, both in volume and in lasting significance, to Christianity's theological and other creativity than did the Greek national center on the banks of the Bosphorus. Were not Orthodoxy's great creative minds in Greece proper overshadowed by a Chrysostomos of Antioch, a Cyril of Alexandria, and an Augustine of Hippo? Was it not a diasporic theologian, John of Damascus, who gave the most authoritative formulation of Orthodoxy when the Empire was torn from within by the controversy over the icons? Much as with Jewry and Judaism, then, it was the diaspora that left an indelible imprint on Greek Orthodoxy's spiritual values, and it was this spiritual imprint that helped shape Greekdom's destiny in its most crucial hours.

Ethnicity and Religion

This leads us to the fourth basic trait which our respective historic experiences and outlooks have in common. Both Judaism and Orthodox Christianity, while *universalist* in their monotheistic concept of God, humanity, and history, were and are a *national synagogue*, a *national*

church. Their respective histories are the expression of a consistent and ever-present *synthesis of ethnicity and religion*, shaped into a nationalism in which religion performs a crucial role. That role was there all along, both when the two nations enjoyed sovereignty and when they happened to be deprived of it. Indeed, the role grew even more in significance in periods of subjugation and dispersion: with national identity blended into religious identity, Greek Orthodoxy fostered the ethnic cohesion of the Greek people in bondage much in the same manner as the Jewish faith cemented the inner unity of the Jewish nation throughout its exilic history.

Characteristically, then, just as the history of the Jewish faith cannot be presented independent of the history of the Jewish people, so also the history of Greek Orthodoxy most closely parallels the political vicissitudes of the Greek nation. No one has shown that better than our colleague Dr. Constantelos. In the little book he has written on the story of the Greek Orthodox Church, he divided the evolution of Greek Orthodoxy into four stages which he correlated, except for the first one, with periods in the national development of the Greek people. That the first stage remains outside the pale of Greekdom's national history is all-too-natural; after all, it covers the story of the early church, prior to the Christianization of the Empire. With the advent, however, of the second stage, i.e., from the time of Constantine the Great, the national and ecclesiastical histories grew forever intertwined, jointly mirroring both the high points of Imperial glory and the sad days of misery and national despair.

Thus, the second stage of Greek Orthodox history, according to that division, is the one which extended throughout the existence of the Byzantine Empire, with unity of state and church serving as the hallmark of the Greek national experience. In fact, that concept of unity could be, and frequently was, carried to a dangerous extreme. When this occurred (as we shall show in a later chapter), the state became so totally synonymous with the church that little room was left within the bounds of state trust for these groups or individuals who for purely religious reasons would not identify with the Greek Orthodox persuasion.

With the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the third stage of Greek Orthodoxy was ushered in. The success of that stage hinged very much on the extent to which the church was able to adapt to the new situation in the wake of the Ottoman conquests. Again, the church proved inseparable from Greekdom's national destiny. Substituting ecclesiastical autonomy for the trappings of national self-government, the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate under the Turks helped its people to weather not only the persistent inroads of Islam but also four centuries of national humiliation in submission to the Turkish Sultanate. In that, it very much followed the model of Jewish communal autonomy; to Jews, too, such autonomy, imposing the primacy of religious law on the way of life of the community and of each individual, became the mainstay of survival during the two

millennia of diasporic history.

This third stage lasted roughly until 1830, when Greek Orthodox history was launched in a new direction, which persists to our own days. The cut-off date is not accidental, of course. It symbolizes the transition from the Ottoman Empire's unchallenged rule over Greek territories to the revolutionary days of Greekdom's struggle for national freedom and independence. In that struggle, which is a national and political landmark in the modern history of the Greek people, the church again marched hand-in-hand with the fighters for the cause of Greek liberty. Now, the events of the nineteenth century, no matter how memorable they are and how significantly they changed the fate of Greece and of every Greek individually, were fully within the realm of modern secular nationalism; they hardly qualify in anybody's book as a turning point in the story of religion or a religious institution. To state, therefore, that this fourth and last stage in the history of the Greek Orthodox Church begins with the Greek Wars of Liberation is, in effect, another way of saying that the Greek nation and the Christian faith in its Greek version remain as much one and indivisible in modern history as they were in the past.

In a parallel vein, the periodization of Jewish history is also couched in terms that reflect the total identification of religious developments with stages in Jewry's national growth or decline. Even historians who do not follow the prevalent practice of applying to periods in our national history terms derived from the nation's religio-literary creativity (such as the "biblical" period, the "talmudic" period, the "gaonic" period, and the like) cannot fail to invoke events of religious significance as turning points in the political history of the Jewish people. Thus, the destruction of the First Temple or the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem were not only disastrous to these central institutions of worship, but must be viewed as national catastrophes as well; they mark the end of the First and the Second Jewish Commonwealths and the beginning of periods of national captivity and exile. Conversely, the modern Jewish Enlightenment movement which brought about a new look in Jewish religious forms and significant revisions in the Jewish way of life, symbolizes also the introduction of modern times in terms of Jewry's political and social evolution.

In this sense, I would venture to say, Judaism and Greek Orthodoxy are much closer to each other than is Greek Orthodoxy to the Western Church. Indeed, the historical evolution of our two nations and two faiths in the direction of a synthesis of ethnicity and religion communicated itself also to other ethnic groups within the orbit of Byzantine influence. Without exception, the autocephalous East European and Near Eastern churches, having developed along the lines of Greek Orthodoxy, performed in the life of their respective nations a role that closely resembles the Judeo-Greek pattern. Through the centuries, these churches helped preserve the

vernaculars of their ethnic stocks by making them the language of prayer and of religious creativity and shepherded their flock, under the unifying banner of religion, toward national self-determination and political independence.

III

Yet, with all that said, I think it will be historically inaccurate, intellectually dishonest, and, from the point of view of our present and future goals, utterly counterproductive if we should merely insist on emphasizing our similarities and our community of experience and feeling. One must not, even for the sake of fostering goodwill and cooperation, gloss over the explosive forces of conflict which repeatedly sent Jews and Greeks on a collision course through the ages. History is replete with successive clashes between the national and religious aspirations of Jewry and the policies and objectives of the Christian Byzantine Empire, and these clashes were all-too-serious and all-too-frequent to be explained away as mere episodes. To some extent, indeed, precisely that which we cited above as common to Jews and Greeks—the paramount function of religion in forging the unity of our respective nations—served as a built-in reminder of our inherent differences and as the propelling force behind Byzantium's anti-Jewish policies.

Forces of Conflict

Hence, rather than follow the example of Andrèades, Starr, and Sharf in passing judgment on whether the Christian Greek Empire was or was not "tolerant" toward its Jews, as Dr. Constantelos does in the preceding article, I should prefer to place the very same factors he listed, as well as some additional ones, in a different frame of reference altogether: that of an historic conflict of interest between Christian Greekdom and Greek Jewry and of solutions (or lack of solutions) to this conflict. I suggest this frame of reference first of all on the ground of relevance to twentieth-century humanity. The present-day mind no longer contents itself with anything less than complete equality of ethnic or national and religious groups as much as of individuals. Humanity nowadays repudiates the concept of "tolerance" on principle, since such a concept *a priori* implies a relationship in which one side has no choice but to seek toleration (or submit to persecution, as the case may be), while the other side has the power and, consequently, can claim the exclusive right to grant or withhold toleration.

It may convincingly be argued that earlier generations very likely reconciled themselves to considering such a state of affairs satisfactory under the circumstances, and it is not for us to judge them by the standards of our present-day expectations. In addition, from within the framework of

the legal and political concepts of those times our forebears may have even accepted the criterion of "tolerance," not merely as satisfactory, but as the only proper and just key to intergroup relationships. I myself admit that had the story of Greek-Jewish contacts been of interest to us only as an academic exercise in history reconstruction, any projection of our own criteria into the remote past would be incorrect and uncalled for. But ours is not a mere academic exercise, for we call on history to provide us with guidelines by which people in the present and the future can live. Hence, rather than transplant medieval concepts into the soil of modern political thinking, we had better find a common idiom by which to enable the past and the present to enter into a meaningful dialogue.

To be sure, my reason for suggesting a different frame of reference does not limit itself to the question of communication; it also involves practical implications. "Grading" the performance of earlier generations is a useless task. If this historical review is to contribute in any tangible measure to the shaping of Greek-Jewish understanding in the 1970's and '80's, it is incumbent upon us carefully to isolate the various points of friction which marred our mutual relations in ages past and to classify them by the degree of their continued impact on present-day realities. Such scrutiny will reveal that the causes which were at the root of some traditional antagonisms between our two nations have, for a variety of reasons and in a variety of ways, already been laid to rest by the process of history; other sources of friction, however, the passage of time notwithstanding, are still very much with us. The already-shelved animosities should, of course, be reviewed here and analyzed at some length, for they are extremely interesting and instructive, but it is the persisting points of difference that are of utmost importance to us. These must be rediscussed not only for their historical value and intrinsic intellectual interest but also with an eye to their intergroup relevance in our own day. No matter how painful, they should be brought out into the open and aired with frankness and sincerity, so that they may no longer obstruct the development of a new framework of Greek-Jewish interaction in the modern world.

No Economic Rivalry

Let me at the outset agree with Dr. Constantelos that whatever conflict there was did not lie primarily, if at all, in the realm of economic rivalry. Insofar as that area is concerned, the Jewish experience in the Greek world differed totally from that of Jewry under Western Christendom. There may have been from time to time some local economic contest pitting Greek against Jew, Armenian against Jew, Greek against Armenian. Yet, while ethnic and religious bias would inevitably tend to inject itself into neighborly economic competition, such competition of itself seldom was the prime mover of ethnic or religious hatred on the Greek scene as it was in the Western world.

Let me clarify the matter immediately, lest unwarranted conclusions are drawn from this last statement. The absence of an economic thrust to Greek-Jewish conflicts in Byzantium reflected essentially neither a "tolerant" nor an "intolerant" attitude toward Jews. It simply was the result of objective differences between the respective outlooks and life-styles of Eastern and Western Christianity. A general analysis of such differences may be an extremely rewarding exercise. For the limited purpose of the present discussion, however, the listing of three or four points of difference will suffice.

In the first place, Western Christendom's physiocratic orientation, its historic obsession with the "sinful" nature of revenues stemming from interest on loans, and, consequently, its constant harping on the theme of Jewish "usury" were intrinsically alien to the Byzantine Empire. Itself based on money economy, the Empire was, without exception, pragmatic about credit and credit rates and left the matter outside the pale of religious scruples. It was, in fact, the state (sometimes even the church) that served as the principal banker and moneylender, and it was the preservation of a strong monetary system based on gold currency—the "dollar of the Middle Ages," as Professor Lopez aptly called it—that formed the primary goal of the Empire's economic policy. Hence, the Shylock image of "the Jews the usurer" which imprinted itself so deeply on the Western Christian mind is missing on the whole from Greek literature, folklore, and song; to the extent that it does make an occasional appearance at a later stage, it is entirely due to Western influence and bias.

Secondly, in contradistinction to the Western scene, the fact that the Jews were an urban element did not set them in any way apart from, or against, the rest of the population in Byzantium. While budding burgher communes in the newly emerging European cities may have viewed their urban Jewish neighbors as threateningly conspicuous and competitive, the Greek environment regarded the Jews' concentration in town quarters as closely conforming with the general pattern of Byzantine economic life. For, while new to Western Europe, urbanization was integral to the socioeconomic fabric of the Greek Empire throughout the Empire's existence. The twelfth-century Spanish Jew, Benjamin of Tudela, best illustrates this situation. Traveling through the Byzantine territory, he needed no more than a day or two to move from one town to another, an experience surely unfamiliar to a medieval Westerner. Thus, by living in urban centers, Byzantine Jews merely occupied a modest and inconspicuous niche in a civilization and economy whose urban character was of long standing.

Thirdly, due to a deliberate economic policy of the Byzantine authorities, city quarters assigned to self-governing colonies of foreign traders, primarily Italian, were a permanent feature on the landscape of the Later Byzantine Empire and its capital. The fundamental shortsightedness

of that governmental policy has time and again been stressed by historians. Paying allegiance to their homelands which competed with Byzantium on the international scene, these colonies have proved detrimental to the Greek state and its very survival. What interests us, however, in the present context is the fact that, given the ubiquity of foreign merchants on Byzantine soil, the presence of the Jewish trader there must have been merely a marginal phenomenon. Moreover, the status of "stranger" itself had its degrees. Given Greek speech and roots of long standing in the country, the alienness of the Byzantine Jewish trader expressed itself only in a divergent religious persuasion. Essentially, the trader was, and was considered by all, a native element, who surely was less threatening to the Empire politically and less objectionable to the average Greek citizen socially and culturally than the Venetian, Genoese, Amalfitan, and other foreign merchant groups whose massive concentration loomed ominously on the other side of the Golden Horn.

Conversely, the Byzantine Jew was, more often than not, identified with certain crafts and handiwork rather than, as in the West, with finance and commerce. Ever since Diocletian's reforms, the occupational tradition of Jewish artisans in Byzantium—comprising weavers, silkworkers, manufacturers of garments, producers of leather goods, dyers, glassmakers, and the like—was characterized by remarkable continuity, from father to son, through the centuries. The Jews' concentration in specific trades was, then, by no means an expression of their supposedly monopolistic tendencies encroaching on the welfare of non-Jewish elements in the society. Rather, it was the result of conscious governmental policy and of a legislative pattern dictated by the Empire's self-interest and prejudice. If anything, such concentration frequently resulted from *anti-Jewish* discrimination, reflecting a weakness of the Jews' legal status rather than exercise of undue economic power by them. Thus, whenever anti-Jewish Byzantine State bias communicated itself to the sphere of economics, it tended to relegate all Jews to a number of particular professions, at times leaving only the lowly trade of tanners open to them. Sporadically, such biased policy would resort to forced transplantation of whole Jewish worker communities or guilds to specifically designated sites in order to ensure more stringent social segregation and greater governmental exploitation and control.

Nature of Conflict

To sum it up, then: economic factors of the kind that promoted Christian-Jewish animosities in the medieval West played only a negligible part, if any, on the Byzantine scene. On the other hand, those economic tensions which successively did tear into the fabric of Byzantine Jewish life were hardly among the causes of the historic Greek-Jewish friction; they

merely were the result of that friction, contributing in turn to its bitterness. *The Greek-Jewish clash*, be that stated unequivocally, *was national and religious in nature* and was rooted in the *conflict of political interests of long standing* which pitted the two societies against each other.

The realization of this fact is of extreme importance in our case and should by no means be diluted by pious generalizations, however well-intentioned. On the contrary, a frank discussion that will place the phenomenon in proper perspective harbors the greatest hope for our future collaboration. For, since the Byzantine Empire is no longer in existence in our time and the modern Greek state lays no claim to areas which historically were at the heart of the Greek-Jewish conflict; since, further, the Jews' religious freedoms and civil rights in the countries of their dispersion seem to be assured nowadays, at least in the civilized parts of the world, while Jewry's national aspirations have come to fruition through the restoration of Jewish statehood and independence in Israel; and since, finally, the once-rampant claims, from whatever quarter, to exclusive monopoly on religious truth have now been blunted by the secular orientation of Western society and have given way to an ecumenical spirit unprecedented, indeed inconceivable, in ages past—the road is clear at last for letting bygones be bygones and for relegating some of the basic causes of traditional Greek-Jewish antagonism to the realm of history.

Areas of Conflict

The historic confrontation lines of Greek-Jewish antagonism were four. Foremost among them, and the most difficult by far in terms of prospects for reconciliation of conflicting interests, was Palestine, a province within the boundaries of the Byzantine state, yet, unlike the other Byzantine provinces, one that occupied mutually contradictory positions in the respective consciousness of our two peoples.

The other ever-persistent and long-drawn tug-of-war between the policies and objectives of the Byzantine Empire and the Jews' influence and actions was carried on outside the confines of the Byzantine Empire. It involved the far-flung non-Byzantine Jewish diaspora with the considerable leverage it had for counteracting Byzantium's anti-Jewish designs through a variety of moves on the international scene.

In the third place, the pattern of relationships in the home provinces of the Byzantine Empire should be listed, reflecting Byzantium's treatment of its Jewish subjects and their reaction to that treatment. Professor Constantelos addressed himself primarily to that topic, but I for one feel that it cannot be comprehensively treated without first taking into account the dynamics of the preceding two sources of friction.

And, finally, the fourth encounter relevant to our theme is that which governed Greek-Jewish relations during the dark centuries of Greekdom's subjugation—partly to Venice, but mainly to the Turkish Empire—and

during the period following the ultimate restoration of Greek independence. For chronological reasons this chapter must come last, of course, but it may have generated trends and actions that very possibly are of the highest order of priority in our deliberations.

Let us now scan briefly each of these four confrontation areas and try to assess as dispassionately as we can to what extent, if at all, the historic motivations of Greek-Jewish friction are still capable today of affecting the mutual relations of our two nations.

IV

Palestine, as already stressed, was for centuries the most sensitive point in the Greek-Jewish encounter. It was there that the lopsided character of the confrontation between our two nations was most acutely felt. It was not a confrontation between two equal peoples, but one between a state-structure and a subject-community.

Since the medieval Greek state had fallen heir to Imperial Rome which stripped Palestinian Jewry of its sovereignty, that state automatically also inherited Rome's historic feud with the Jewish people. Conversely, since in their thoughts, hopes, and prayers Jews never really surrendered to the victor, they refused to submit spiritually to the victor's medieval heir as well, even though some two hundred fifty years had passed since the Judeo-Roman War. Not before long, however, the Jews came to realize that the medieval successor-state was even more formidable an adversary than the ancient Empire itself. It not only routinely assumed Rome's mantle as the "hereditary enemy of the Jewish people," but enunciated new policies which stemmed from its freshly adopted religious stance: a Christian Empire, it made the realization of the loss of Palestine even more painful to its Jewish subjects than did the pagan Empire it supplanted.

The Place of Palestine

This more extreme attitude toward the Jews was inextricably interwoven in the basic change that occurred in the Greek Christian attitude toward Palestine. Prior to the fourth century, Palestine was to the Roman Empire a rebellious, strategically important, but by all other counts utterly insignificant, distant province—a poor, barren country, populated by a peculiar, stubborn people who could, and did, offer the state nothing but trouble. Average Romans could not but share the government's assessment. To them, too, Palestine was a God-forsaken, far-off land, where women were chaste and men incomprehensibly insisted on praying to an invisible God rather than partake of the colorful ceremonies of the Imperial Roman cult—a land, in brief, which every fun-loving legionnaire must have found uninviting and to which no self-respecting administrator wished to be assigned.

Suddenly, with the conversion of the Empire to Christianity, this image of a territory remotely beyond the horizon of Roman civilization was replaced by a different outlook altogether. As if overnight, Palestine was catapulted into the forefront of Byzantine thought and assumed a place of special relevance and import in the political and spiritual conceptions of both the state and its people. It was the cradle of the new official religion, the birthplace of the Savior, the site of his Passion and entombment, second only to New Rome, to Constantinople!

Thus it happened that, beginning with the rule of Constantine and his mother Helen and continuing through the period of Justinian in the sixth century, the Empire embarked on a series of vast construction and colonizing projects in Palestine, especially in Judea and the cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, later also in Sinai: Christian Holy Places were designated and elaborately built up, churches and monasteries were perched on prominent features of the province's landscape, pilgrimages to the Holy Places were organized and encouraged (the Queen-Mother herself was the first Royal Pilgrim), and hostels were established for Christian travelers and settlers.

These developments were not as innocuous as their outwardly pietistic garb may make them seem at first glance. They were a demonstration of a deliberate, consistent, and well-planned policy, of the Empire and the church alike, to lend a Christian character to Palestine. Translated into modern political jargon, they amounted to nothing less than a state-organized Christian colonialist drive to deJudaize Palestine. For such a drive was not carried out in a void, after all; it perforce had to be coupled with the expropriation of native Palestinian Jews who, though militarily defeated by Roman might, still were concentrated massively in their ancestral home and constituted the majority population of the country.

Physical expropriation of the Jews was but one characteristic of the Christianization of Palestine; their political downgrading was another. For generations after the destruction of the Second Commonwealth, the Palestinian Jewish Patriarchate exercised full self-governing authority over the once-free Jewish homeland. Indeed, the Jewish leader, claiming descent from the House of David, was the Patriarch not merely "of Judea" (*tēs Ioudaias*) but "of the Jews" (*tōn Ioudaiōn*), thus enjoying governmental recognition of his leadership over all the far-flung Roman Jewish diaspora as much as over the Jews residing in Palestine proper. This authority was consistently eroded from the time of the conversion of the Empire; ultimately, in the early fifth century, the Jewish Patriarchate was phased out altogether.

The Holy City

The deterioration of Greek-Jewish relations in the wake of the Christianization of the Empire manifested itself perhaps most blatantly in the

story of Jerusalem. To be sure, the conflict between our two nations regarding the future of that city had its roots in pagan Roman times. With the failure of the Bar-Kochba Revolt in 135 A.D., the efforts of Hadrian the Emperor addressed themselves not merely to ruthless retaliation against the Jewish rebels and their spiritual mentors but also to erasing the Jewish identity of Jerusalem altogether. The Temple Mount was converted into a place of worship for the Capitoline Zeus; the city at large was renamed "Aelia Capitolina"; and the Jews were barred from residing in the city proper as well as in those places outside it which provided a view of the ancient capitol.

The Greek Christian Empire, by and large, perpetuated the policy initiated by the Hadrianic administration. Nevertheless, again, the fourth century served as a turning point on this particular score as well and lent an entirely new character to the conflict over Jerusalem. True, at first glance the actions of the Christian emperors may seem somewhat ambivalent to the modern observer. On orders of St. Helen, the pagan shrines defiling the Temple Mount were destroyed, while official Christian veneration shifted to the opposite hill of Golgotha. Simultaneously, the Jews, though still forbidden as before to live within city limits, were permitted henceforth to come once a year to Jerusalem on the ninth day of Ab to commemorate there the anniversary of the destruction of their sanctuary.

These two actions did not seem ambivalent, however, to the contemporaries and must not under any circumstances be viewed by us as an expression of Christian empathy with the Jews' religious sentiment for the Holy Mount or with Jewry's sense of national loss following the downfall of the Second Commonwealth. The contrary, rather, is true. While the pagan shrines, deliberately planted on the Jews' holiest of places, were turned into a heap of debris, the Temple Mount itself was in no way upgraded in sanctity. Rather, it had been assigned the sorry role of the garbage dump of the city, growing evermore in size through centuries-long accumulation of refuse and the changing of its time-hallowed topography.

Nor was the permission for annual Jewish pilgrimage to Jerusalem an act of benevolence or sympathy. The very opposite was intended. The year-after-year spectacle of mournful Jewish processions around the city was designed to provide vivid proof of the victory of Christianity; the Jews themselves, while allowed to bewail their servitude and misery when praying at the "Western Wall" of their ancient sanctuary—hence the *Christian* term "Wailing Wall"—were to be the living witnesses to the turning of God's back on the chosen people, the "Israel in flesh," and having chosen now a new people, "Israel in spirit."

Persian-Jewish Alliance

It is against the background of these developments, and not as a separate, unconnected phenomenon as Dr. Constantelos presented it in the

preceding article, that the Jewish-Persian alliance of the early seventh century must be assessed. The Jews' unswerving attachment to Palestine and their resolve that no statute of limitation be imposed on their political claim to it were a slow-burning fuse, ready to make the centuries-old smoldering antagonism explode into open warfare if and when the right opportunity came along. The Persian campaign against Byzantium provided the Jews precisely such an opportunity.

Jews were not neutral onlookers in the historic struggle between the two great world powers. Joining hands with a mighty ally such as the Persians, they felt that the political and military conditions were propitious for wresting Palestine from the hands of the Christian Empire. The messianic hopes they never ceased to cherish for ultimate Redemption assumed, as they always do in Jewish history, a vibrant political reality—culminating in the reconquest of Jerusalem in 614, with the Jews actually becoming the administrators of the city for three years.

Their success was short-lived though. After fourteen years of Persian rule, Emperor Heraklios regained control of the country, wreaking terrible vengeance on the Jews for their participation in the Persian campaign. (Though at first he promised to refrain from retaliations, he broke his oath at the entreaties of Christian clergy who took upon themselves to expiate for his sin by instituting the annual "Fast of Heraklios.") No wonder that, subsequently, Jews made their hopes hinge on the "Third Force" which burst at the very same time out of the Arabian Peninsula. That force, submerging the weary Byzantines and Persians alike, was to build in generations to come an empire of its own on a scale far grander than the empires of its former adversaries. In the early stages, however, Jewish support was of vital importance to it. Within one decade of Heraklios' bloody vendetta, Jews helped Arab Islam expel the Byzantines from Palestine and eventually were permitted to establish a quarter of their own in the Holy City. A Greek Christian state was never to control the country and Jerusalem again.

The Future of Jerusalem

There the story of Greek Christian domination in Palestine ends, and with it ends also the story of the Greek-Jewish encounter regarding the Holy Land and its capital. Across the gap of the thirteen hundred years or so that separate us from the above-recounted events, one might perhaps tend to conclude that the most irksome point of friction between Greek Orthodoxy and Jewry had finally been eliminated by the sheer force of objective international developments. However, events of our own day make such a conclusion premature. The question of Jerusalem is far from solved and can hardly be relegated to the realm of pure academic research. Indeed, though the present-day political circumstances are utterly different

from those governing the problem in the fourth or the seventh century, the future of Jerusalem will become a burning issue on the international scene sooner than we think and may subject the extent and quality of modern Christian-Jewish understanding to a severe test.

What is it that prompts a part of the Christian world to refrain from accepting the political reality of a unified Jerusalem under Israeli rule and to insist on reviving the demand for the internationalization of the city? Surely, no one has a quarrel with the practical details and manner in which the city is administered at the present, nor does anyone deny that the holy places of all three religions are now fully protected and that freedom of worship is unqualifiably assured to members of all faiths. Indeed, never has there been such religious harmony, such liberty of conscience, and such complete freedom of access to all shrines and sanctuaries in the Holy City as there has been since June, 1967.

Why then are Christian voices raised in favor of reverting to the sorry experience of past years? Is it guilty conscience vis-à-vis the Jews that makes some Christian powers and clergy recoil from the sight of restored Jewish presence on that hallowed ground? Is it because throughout the nineteen years of Jordanian rule those very powers and that very clergy silently watched the abandoned Jewish synagogues in the Old City being bombed out and defiled, the Jewish tombstones on the Mount of Olives being removed and profaned, and the Jews, much as in Hadrianic times, being physically barred from access to the Western Wall in contravention of the Armistice Agreements? Or is it a sense of guilt vis-à-vis Arab misery and backwardness under Western colonialism that makes the Christian world try to erase the shameful past, not by positive steps in helping to rehabilitate the region but by sacrificing legitimate Jewish claims and rights? Or, finally, is this Christian intransigence regarding the revival of the Jewishness of Jerusalem, consciously or not, a haunting echo of those remote days of Constantine and Helen, when mournful Jewish processions around the walls were meant to provide a theological rationale for the political subjugation of the Jews, allegedly manifesting God's will never again to restore them to their ancient city and kingdom?

It is not for me to answer these questions. All I can say is that in any Christian-Jewish dialogue, including the one we are engaged in at present, Jews perforce will be judging the sincerity of the ecumenical pronouncements of their partners by the latter's stand on Jerusalem.

V

The conflict over Palestine cast its shadow far beyond the frontiers of the Empire proper. So central and all-pervading was the Palestinian theme that the original confrontation line between the Greek Christian state and its Jewish subject-community in Palestine lengthened and widened into a major front between Judaism and Christianity in general.

Broadening the Conflict

Pitted against each other along that front were not only two adversary nations but also two contradictory eschatologies. On the one side of the front there was the Christian theological postulate which, invoking God's purported resolve to punish this stiff-necked people, insisted on denying to the Jews all hope for a future as a nation. Entrenched on the other side was the Jews' own messianic belief which, undaunted by adversities, hailed Jewry's expected national redemption as the inevitable manifestation of divine will. Whatever the intensity, then, of the Greek-Jewish encounter at a given juncture—whether merely rumbling under the surface for generations on end or erupting into full-scale war, as it did in the early seventh century—its repercussions were eventually bound to engulf the non-Byzantine Jewish diaspora and the non-Byzantine Christian world as well.

Jews from near and far rallied to keep the messianic dream alive. Conversely, Byzantine propaganda, skillfully played on Christian fears and insecurity in a changing world, knew how to whip up waves of anti-Jewish hysteria whenever international developments, harmful to Byzantium and seemingly coinciding with Jewish expectations, threatened to make Jewry's messianic dream come true. Cleverly orchestrated by that propaganda, tales of Jewish warlike exploits in the Persian campaigns easily snowballed into atrocity stories, while normal military skirmishes on the battlefield waxed ominously into alleged manifestations of religiously-motivated Jewish vindictiveness and were presented as supposed proof of all Jews' sheer bloodthirstiness vis-à-vis all Christians.

The reaction of the Christian world, as far west as France and Spain, was not long in coming. Partly under the impact of religious propaganda and partly in response to direct pressure of the Byzantine government, the spectre of expulsion was raised against French Jewry in the seventh century while legal discrimination and forced baptism became the scourge of Jewish life on the Iberian Peninsula. In the face of these adversities, the Jewish response, as always, waited for the right opportunity to arise. After decades of humiliation from the hands of Byzantine-influenced Visigothic Christian rulers, Spanish Jews welcomed the Muslim Arab invasion in the early eighth century as much as their Palestinian kindred had welcomed the Arab conquest of Jerusalem three-quarters of a century previously.

On the Empire's Periphery

While events played out on the Near Eastern scene inevitably reverberated throughout the Western Jewish diaspora, the major engagements directly enveloping Christian Greekdom and non-Greek, diasporic Jewry still remained to be fought out primarily in the East. In the specific context of the present section, however, the geopolitical designation "the East" does not address itself, as it did in the earlier story, to the eastern corner of

the Mediterranean basin, i.e., to Palestine and its orbit, but to the easternmost extremities of the Roman world in general. The *southeastern* borderlands of the Empire were one case in point; the *northeastern* frontier-territories were another. In the first, Byzantine imperial designs kept reaching out for the Indian Ocean and its trade. In the other, Byzantium set its sights on the Black and Caspian Seas' outlet to the Slavs and the Turkish peoples. In both cases, concentrations of native Jewish populations in the areas proved a formidable obstacle to Byzantine plans and, unless negotiated one way or another, had the capacity effectively to disrupt the Empire's control of the region involved or perhaps block such control altogether.

The diasporic manifestation of the Greek-Jewish encounter must be treated separately not only for reasons of geography but also because of its independent chronological bracket, as well as for political and psychological differences. In chronological terms, the confrontation in those far-off expanses did not have to wait for the Persian wars to see Jews and Byzantines clash in a head-on military collision, nor did it lose momentum after the last Byzantine soldier was forced out of Palestine and the Near East. The southeastern struggle, as we shall see presently, preceded the Byzantine-Persian campaigns in Palestine by a full century, whereas the contest for the control of the northeastern tier was still going on half a millenium later. Indeed, and here lies the most important political and psychological distinction, the conflict on the Empire's periphery was not linked to the problem of Palestine at all, nor did it bring into play Jewish national aspirations in their historic, i.e., Palestine-directed, expression. What occurred there, more often than not, was a clash between expansion-thirsty international Byzantine interests and a local constellation of Jewish Power which the native political elements of the given regions considered weighty enough to serve as a bulwark against Byzantine attack.

Jewish Power

I am using the term "Jewish Power" rather than "Jewish nationalism" deliberately for, remarkably, the development under consideration was a purely *diasporic* phenomenon, divorced from all Palestine-oriented aspirations. Jewish Power consisted of a network of well-knit Jewish communities in various territories of Jewish Dispersion, exerting decisive economic, social, cultural, and religious influence on the pagan environment and appearing, at least for a while, to offer a viable alternative to the difficulties the pagan neighbors were encountering on the international scene.

These difficulties stemmed, as they frequently do also today in the case of small nations, from the persistent encroachments of the superpowers

vying with each other for the strategic and economic advantages of the respective regions. And, again much like in present-day situations, ideology—the term was “religion” in former days—would spearhead the political and economic attack of the parties involved. Under such circumstances, the combination of political, economic, and ideological pressures had perforce to be countered by a factor that itself combined all three ingredients as well. An alliance of the native pagan majority with the politically and economically strong native Jewish community of the given country and with that Jewish community’s religion seemed to hold out the promise of neutralizing the external pressures and preserving the country’s independence.

Thus, a hundred years prior to the Byzantine-Persian wars and the rise of Islam, the ruling class of Himyar (the rich land located in the strategically prominent corner of the Arabian Peninsula which constitutes today’s Yemen) embraced Judaism. Joining hands with the country’s powerful Jewry, the rulers hoped that by advancing their state on the road to native (Jewish) monotheism they could effectively halt the two-pronged thrust of foreign subversion—that which emanated from Zoroastrian Persia, and that which was generated by the Byzantine Empire—and save the territorial and national integrity of Himyar.

The Himyarites obviously misjudged the intensity of Byzantine vested interests. In response to the above development, forces from Christian Ethiopia, spurred by the Greek Christian Empire, crossed the straits and invaded the country. Simultaneously, Byzantine propaganda was set in motion, spreading atrocity stories which alleged a campaign against Himyarite Christian communities by the newly-judaized rulers. In the face of this coordinated onslaught of the force of arms and the force of religious incitement, the “Jewish Kingdom” in Himyar had little chance for survival. Knowing quite well what his fate would be when captured, the last Himyarite Jewish ruler committed suicide in 525. The ensuing fifty years of foreign Christian rule were followed by another half-century of Persian control of the country and it was only with the victory of Islam that the region (albeit assuming a different kind of monotheism and a new political identity) returned to government by its own people.

Two centuries or so later, the ruling class of the Turkish people of Khazaria (between the Caspian and the Black Seas) also decided to convert to Judaism. Caught in a dangerous pincer movement between Islam, expanding from the east, and Byzantine Christianity, blazing its path from the west, the Khazar leaders felt that the acceptance of monotheism in its Jewish garb constituted a viable option for securing the country’s independence. Unlike in Himyar, the Jewish option in Khazaria proved viable indeed. For, by becoming a Jewish—hence neutral—buffer state between the two superpowers and world religions of the time, Khazaria survived for at least 250 years, conveniently serving also as a haven to Jewish refugees

who fled the religious persecutions of the Byzantine Empire (more on that later).

This situation changed, however, in the latter half of the tenth century. With the decline of the Abbasid Caliphate and the concurrent strengthening of the Byzantine military posture, a buffer state between the two world powers seemed no longer called for. Jewish Khazaria outlined its usefulness in terms of Byzantine interests and the long-postponed Greek-Jewish clash over control of the northern tier became inevitable. Again, as in Himyar, the Empire preferred to hire others to do the killing. With the new phenomenon of Russian danger lurking in the north (the Russians actually raided Constantinople as early as the ninth century), Byzantium extended to her menacing northern neighbors the bait of Khazaria and, by the force of Russian arms, brought the northeastern "Jewish Kingdom" to an end (though some scholars think the Kingdom survived until the mid-thirteenth century).

Assessing the Alliance with Judaism

Both Himyar and Khazaria may have been motivated in their conversion to Judaism by political expediency, and the extent of their "Jewishness" (in terms of spiritual values) is, of course, open to question; parallel doubts, to be sure, also arise when one evaluates the motives for the acceptance of Christianity or of Islam by several nations and individuals at various junctures of world history. What matters in the context of our present discussion is not the sincerity or lack of sincerity of the religious act, but the fact that an alliance with Judaism was seriously considered, and sometimes even entered into, centuries after the independent Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine ceased to exist. When the need would arise for a neutral factor on the international scene to help some peripheral ethnic groups in their struggle against Greek Christian expansion, Jewish Power could be relied upon as a natural, and sometimes even effective, ally.

True, from the hindsight of later medieval and modern realities of the Western world such an alliance with Judaism appears tenuous indeed. One must, however, under no circumstances exaggerate the strength of Christianity in those early centuries. After all, the conversion of the Slavs to the Christian faith was still hundreds of years in the future and, even in the Mediterranean and Near Eastern areas, which were the cradle of the Christian religion, the church had but a slight hold over the rank and file of the population. The recurrent waves of so-called "heresies" in the eastern provinces of the Empire were in fact expressions of regional, ethnic, cultural, and religious rebellion against the Greek-Roman authority wedded to the Greek Orthodox Church.

That anti-Byzantine religio-political initiatives on the Empire's periphery were in themselves not at all *a priori* doomed to failure is best demonstrated by the meteoric ascent of a new religion, Islam, to the status

of world power. Islam's swift occupation of the area in the seventh century through a blend of religious propaganda and military and administrative annexation was perhaps more of a "miracle" than, say, the Jews' militant posture at the same period. On the other hand, the contemporaneous Muslim example itself clearly underlines the significance of Jewish Power on the scene. Muhammad's initial wooing of the Jewish tribes of North Arabia is ample testimony to the fact that a positive attitude of the Jews in the area was considered a definite boon and was actively sought after by political realists. Conversely, Muhammad's subsequent expulsion of two tribes and ruthless extermination of another for refusing to submit to his authority indicate that the Jews' animosity could not be shrugged off with equanimity and had to be decisively acted upon.

The stakes in the diasporic Greek-Jewish encounter were even higher than they were in the struggle of Muhammad against Arabian Jewry, or so they seemed at the time. Whatever the assessment, they surely spread over a wider front and involved more numerous points of friction and vulnerability. Both the Greek Christian Empire (along with the Greek Christian colonies which were the Empire's outposts in those distant regions) and the Jews were fully aware of what each side could potentially do to the other. Their actions and counteractions in history must be viewed against the background of that awareness.

Justinian and the Jews

The military manifestations of the diasporic Jewish Power were not limited to the far periphery of the Byzantine Empire. They also flared up sporadically closer to the Byzantine home provinces. Thus, in the sixth century, the Jews of Naples were among the staunchest defenders of the city against the Byzantine forces led by Justinian's famous general, Belisarios. In the same period, Jews lent military support also to the people of North Africa in resisting the Byzantine occupation and were afterwards subjected to repressive action by Justinian's administration.

This particularly stubborn Jewish opposition to Justinian's expansionist designs in the central and western Mediterranean basins, often making Jews resort to armed struggle, was spurred, of course, by Justinian's anti-Jewish policies inside the Byzantine Empire. Though in his Code the Emperor did not deviate from the traditional Roman policy of granting Judaism the status of *religio licita*, he was in fact the first Greek Christian ruler to intervene in the *internal* workings of the Jewish synagogue. This he did in a most conspicuous way in his famous Novella No. 146. By ordering the Jews to read their Scriptures in Greek and, more injuriously, by proscribing altogether their recourse to oral law, Justinian posed in that Novella a threat to the perpetuation of the Jewish way of life as represented, organized, and guided by the rabbis. Indeed, since not the literal understanding of the biblical text but the constant reinterpretation

thereof through oral law is the heart of Judaism as we know it, the very existence of the Jewish faith was put in jeopardy. Only the Arabs' rise to power, some three or four generations later, and their conquest of the imperial eastern provinces in which the majority of the Jewish population resided at the time, saved Jewry and Judaism from being irreparably affected by Justinian's pernicious policy.

Looking at those past events from the distance of a thousand years and more, one may conclude today that the story of the repeated clashes between Greek and Jewish interests outside our national homelands proper is, for all intents and purposes, a closed book. Or is it? Can one, in all candor, insist that friction of this nature which used to play havoc with the mutual relations of our two nations is not likely to re-emerge, albeit in some different guise, in our own time? Instances of such development have, in fact, come to the fore in recent years.

Thus, the erratic foreign policy of present-day Greece towards Israel is often interpreted as being influenced by concern for the safety and well-being of Greek communities in the Arab world (especially in Egypt). Other commentators, pondering the dichotomy between the generally pro-Israeli mood of the rank and file of the Greek population and certain pro-Arab tendencies of Greece's Foreign Ministry, point to the Greek government's need to marshall the good will of some Muslim countries in support of the Greek struggle in Cyprus against Muslim Turkey. This is how vested interests of nations have always worked. Since, however, in the present-day reality of international politics the price for such support very likely will be paid by Israel, such a turn of events can hardly help promote the spirit of Greek-Jewish understanding which we here would like to see as a permanent feature of our lives.

I feel, therefore, that we all should be alert—and should alert others as well—to the potential danger inherent in such calculated alignments; the lasting value of the mutual understanding between our two nations transcends whatever temporary benefits can accrue from short-term tactical moves to one type or another. It is precisely for the sake of reminding politicians of the lasting value of a creative relationship between us that we, Greek and Jewish scholars and clergy, have assembled here.

VI

The third area of historic Greek-Jewish friction was within the Byzantine Empire proper. We have already mentioned how potentially ruinous to Byzantine Judaism were Justinian's measures in the sixth century. Jewry, of course, was not the only ethnic-religious group in the Empire whose very survival was threatened by the Emperor's policy. Even setting aside the reservations I expressed earlier regarding "tolerance" as the measuring-rod of our assessments, Dr. Constantelos' description of the "tolerant"

character of Byzantium in those times can hardly pass the test of the historical record. Indeed, one could justifiably argue that the Arab conquest of the eastern part of the Empire would not have been so fast and easy were it not for Byzantine intolerance and repression of the reassertive tendencies of the various ethnic groups populating the Empire's eastern possessions. Decried by the Byzantine government and church as "religious heresies" and summarily outlawed and persecuted, these non-Greek groups must have felt greater kinship with the new Islamic monotheism heralded by their Semitic kindred than with the dialectics of imperial theology imposed on them by Greek Constantinople.

Unity or Uniformity?

The loss of the richest, most populous, and in many ways most important provinces in the East to the Arabs lifted from Byzantium's shoulders the burden of major heresies, but by no means made the Empire a more tolerant state to live in. The contrary, rather, was true. Confronted with the constant pressure of Islamic expansionism whose forces, at one time, reached the very gates of Constantinople, Byzantium set about to fortify its unity from within better to face the external danger. Though still basically a conglomerate in terms of its demographic composition, the Empire in its new shrunken boundaries embarked on forceful and forcible Byzantinization of its varied ethnic groups in order to blend them into what fundamentally was meant to be a Greek nation-state.

This, wisely indeed, the Empire attempted to do not only through the vehicle of the Greek church but also through Greek language and culture. Thus, of these two vehicles, the Jews would readily accept the Greek language as a major means of their integration into the Byzantine society while naturally refusing to come under the panoply of the church. The Jews' immersion in the Greek culture of their Byzantine environment, as mentioned earlier, expressed itself in a variety of ways: in their use of Greek speech in day-to-day activities, in the introduction of the Greek language into synagogue liturgy, in the assumption of Greek proper names, in the production of Greek glossaries and commentaries to the Hebrew classics, and so on. Whatever the form or expression, a Greek-speaking Jewry became, as already stressed, an indelible feature of the medieval Greek scene.

On occasion, however, some Byzantine emperors seem to have considered the mere linguistic or cultural assimilation an insufficient expression of the Jews' loyalty to the Empire and identification with the Empire's national goals. Fearing the ever-growing religious impact of the new (Islamic) world power which established itself firmly on Byzantium's eastern flank, these rulers insisted on religious uniformity of all subjects as in indispensable safeguard for national unity. Thus it happened that at least

once in each of the first four centuries after the rise of Islam—from the 630's to the 940's, to be exact—a wave of persecution and forced baptism would sweep the land and plunge the Empire's Jewish subjects into the depths of despair. These sporadic outbursts of state intolerance—some of fairly short duration, others persisting for several decades—can to a reasonable degree be explained as resulting from, or reacting to, international developments.

The Four Waves of Persecution

The first one, under Heraklios (in the seventh century), was a self-defensive reflex, so to speak, in the face of the Islamic menace which began rising at the time on the international horizon—a reflex undoubtedly amplified by the recollection of the Jews' anti-Byzantine attitude during the Persian wars of yesteryear. The second wave, too, under Leo III (in the third decade of the eighth century), can be interpreted as part of the Emperor's resolve to bolster the defenses of the Empire. It came in the wake of the traumatic experience of less than a decade earlier, when Leo himself, a well-known warrior of the Anatolian province, was called to ascend the throne in order to repel the attack of Arab forces which advanced by then within sight of the Constantinopolitan walls. A frenzied messianic Jewish upheaval, some four years after the siege of the capital was lifted, may have been a contributing factor in the Emperor's decision.

In the second half of the ninth century, again, a campaign of anti-Jewish persecution and forced baptism was launched in Byzantium and its provinces by Basil I. Unlike the first two, this third phase of Byzantium's anti-Jewish policy seems to have been dictated by the contemporaneous military and missionary drive of the Empire into the territories of the Slavs and the Khazars. Finally, in the first half of the tenth century, we witness the fourth wave of persecution by Romanos I Lekapenos. Inasmuch as that persecution involved also the topographic transplantation of Jewish groups to specific quarters as well as occupational disabilities (such as limiting Jewish economic activity to the tanning of hides), its effect on Byzantine Jewry remained indelible long after the events of the tenth century were relegated to the realm of history.

Dr. Constantelos was right, of course, in reminding us that the repressive policy was extended at the time not only to Jews but also to a variety of so-called heretical groups such as the Athinganoi, the Paulicians, and others. However, broadening the list of victims to encompass non-Jews also does not really take issue with the fundamental facts as we know them; indeed, by removing the specifically anti-Jewish sting from the persecution one accentuates even more the main thrust of the interpretation offered here. Nor is the picture as we presented it altered in any way by the argument that the repressive governmental measures remained ineffective

on the whole and that the forcible conversions met with only partial success. If anything, the merely partial accomplishments of Byzantine intolerance indicate that which should have been obvious to the emperors from the outset: that, in the long run, forced religious uniformity cannot, and never did, serve successfully as the cementing factor of a national resolve in the face of adversity.

Ironically, it was the church which eventually understood this old truism and did not condone the emperors' line of action. All four waves of the persecution recounted above—be it remembered—were acts of state, not the church. True, the rather radical decision of the Second Council of Nicea in 787 to void the forced baptism imposed by Leo III was very likely dictated by that Council's opposition to the iconoclastic Emperor rather than by its concern for the Jews. Even so, the church was merely restating a well-defined and consistent position, one that was in keeping as much with fundamentals of theology as with realities of the social and political life of the Empire.

The Great Change

Not before the first half of the tenth century was over and not before certain international developments had totally and unequivocally altered Byzantium's position vis-à-vis her neighbors across the border, did the Empire embark on a course which ushered in a "period of tolerance," if we insist on the prevalent terminology; I like to think of it simply as "the great change."

The two new developments which made the "great change" enter the stage of Byzantine and Middle Eastern history precisely at that point in time were briefly alluded to when I discussed Khazaria. These were the decline and partial disintegration of the Abbasid Caliphate and the simultaneous renaissance of Byzantium's military might. Under such soldier-emperors as Nikiphoros Phokas, Johannes Tsimiskis, and Basil II the imperial frontiers were rolled back deep into the East, into territory which in pre-Islamic centuries was part and parcel of the Greek Christian state. The consequently-regained sense of security made the Empire's earlier rigid stress on religious uniformity for the sake of united self-defense plainly superfluous and, indeed, out of tune with the mood of the time.

Not that there was no Christian propaganda attached to the anti-Muslim campaigns or no new religious fervor generated, in turn, by the victories over Islam. Quite the contrary. Even though the church refused to recognize the Byzantine soldiers fallen in battle as "martyrs" of the Christian cause, the general idiom in which the martial expectations of emperor and rank and file alike were couched was so zealously and unequivocally religious that some historians tend to entitle these campaigns "the Byzantine Crusades." But the initial religious elation soon was topped by an

elation over the material gains that could accrue from the new situation. The general feeling of self-confidence and safety after three-hundred years of a constant tug-of-war with Islam communicated itself to the social and economic fields as well. With the islands of Crete and Cyprus cleared of Muslim pirates and with the vast territories of far Anatolia and Mesopotamia reconquered by Byzantine arms, the country opened up to revived East-West trade which (as already noted earlier) promoted the eventual rise of foreign merchant communities on Byzantine soil. Obviously, such general trends also favorably affected the Jews insofar as their treatment by the state and their general well-being were concerned.

Not even the predicament which the Greek people had to face two-hundred fifty years later in the tragic wake of the Fourth Crusade and of the *partitio Romaniae* could turn the clock back. True, the difficult problems which beset the partially-revived Greek sovereignty under the Paleologs had contradictory effects on Greek-Jewish relations during the last centuries of the Empire's existence. While Greek nationalism in the Empire of Nicea, reacting to external danger, may have again been responsible for some outbursts of persecution of the Jews, the Paleologs returning to Constantinople did on the whole protect their Jewish subjects, possibly guided by the need to secure the support of loyal minorities for the embattled state.

All in all, reassessing this third (intra-Byzantine) area of the Greek-Jewish encounter in history for its possible impact on the shaping of our relations, it seems to me that here precisely the chapter is closed and sealed and has little potential for influencing the future. True, history, and even more so the teaching of history, have a strange way of conjuring up ghosts from the past and making them haunt the present. I don't see, however, why responsible scholars, educators, and intellectual leaders, Greeks and Jews alike, should have any difficulty in ascertaining that the experiences of the past are studied for their historic interest only and have no effect on the healthy and forward-looking collaboration between our two civilizations in present and future days.

VII

This brings us to the fourth chapter in the story of the Greek-Jewish encounter, the one encompassing the centuries of Greckdom's subjugation to foreign powers and the subsequent struggle for, and achievement of, Greek independence. Last in our enumeration of the areas of Greek-Jewish friction and last also chronologically within the sixteen-hundred-year bracket of our overall story, this chapter must be given special consideration. For, as already hinted at in an earlier context, the lingering memories of that fairly recent past may, and do to a considerable extent, affect the present relations between our two peoples.

Facing the Conqueror

While, on first thought, one would expect oppressed peoples to set aside whatever differences they may have had in the past and join hands in fighting a common oppressor, the lesson of history belies such an expectation. Unity of action and mutual assistance seldom were the self-evident rule of behavior of subjugated population groups; the situation in Greece under the dominion of Venice or Turkey was no exception. The peculiar coexistence of neighborly conviviality and conflict of national interests, which characterized Greek-Jewish relations in ages past, continued unabated in later generations as well. However, quite tenuous already in the times of Byzantine sovereignty, that coexistence grew even more tenuous during the centuries of bondage, tilting the relations between Greeks and Jews towards conflict rather than conviviality.

Two reasons—one political, the other religious—combined to overshadow the basic sympathy and sense of kinship which the two population groups felt for each other. The first stemmed from the new system of government which the occupying powers imposed on their subjects. Not only did the system perpetuate long-standing contradictions of interests between the two groups, but often gave rise to mutually-exclusive national objectives. Shrewd moves on the part of the rulers, alternating between preferential treatment of one group or another, accelerated the polarization of loyalties and set the two subject-communities against each other. The daily struggle for economic well-being added to the increasing bitterness.

In fairness to both sides be it stated that the contradiction in the respective attitudes of Greeks and Jews toward the Ottoman victories in the Balkans was real and irreconcilable. To the Greeks, the relentless thrust of the Turkish armies, culminating in the conquest of Constantinople, spelled the death of Greek national liberty and the overthrow of the supremacy of Christianity on Greek soil. Not so to the Jews. They had no reason to fear the advance of Ottoman arms and, quite the contrary, could not help appreciating the greater freedoms and the broader economic opportunities that came on the wings of the Turkish successes. Freshly expelled from Spain by the Catholic Inquisition, the scores of thousands of Jewish refugees who flocked to the Balkans justifiably looked up to the Ottoman Sultanate as a true haven from persecution and religious hatred.

Moreover, the coincidence of Turkey's territorial expansion and her generous absorption of a growing number of Jewish immigrants from Western Christian lands set in motion an unprecedented unifying process for world Jewry. For the first time in history, the ancient Greek-speaking communities of the former imperial provinces were brought together under one roof with the growing congregations of Sephardi newcomers and with the age-old Arabic-speaking Jewries of territories conquered by Turkey in the early sixteenth century. While such a "melting pot" process may have diluted some of the distinctive "Romaniote" traits of Greek Jewry (refer-

red to briefly in the first section above), its overall effect could not be anything but positive. Under the panoply of Ottoman expansion the unified East Mediterranean grew to embrace at the time the world's largest concentration of Jews and the richest reservoir of Jewish power and creativity. The fact that Palestine, too, was incorporated in the Turkish Empire enhanced significantly that sense of unity. It linked the divergent components of Turkish Jewry with Judaism's spiritual center and placed (so to speak) the goal of Jewry's national yearnings within the reach of reality.

Also with respect to legal status, the interests of Jews and Greeks collided from the very beginning of Turkish rule. For pragmatic reasons, Mehmet the Conqueror conferred at first on the Greek Patriarch, Gennadios II, the rank of ethnarch of all former Byzantine subjects. This made Jews and Armenians come under his jurisdiction also. Quite naturally, these two minorities strove to assert themselves as autonomous religious communities and to create their own representation, independent of the authority of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate. Turkish state interests soon found themselves coinciding with the aspirations of the non-Greek groups. The transfer of the Ottoman capital to Constantinople served as the catalyst in the case. Determined to restore the city to its erstwhile glory after its population had been decimated through the long years of siege and battle, Mehmet II invited Jews to participate in the rehabilitation efforts. In fact, Jewish congregations from Adrianople, Pravado, and other localities with decades-long experience of life under the Ottoman system were summarily deported and transplanted into the vacated neighborhoods of the restored capital. In return, the Jews were recognized after 1455 as an autonomous entity, led by a *Haham-Başı*, or Chief Rabbi—although not before they agreed to pay a special tax (*rav akçesi*) for the right to separate representation. Thus, the independence of the non-Greek communities from patriarchal tutelage was formally established, surely running counter to Greek political designs and national pride.

The question of representation repeated itself on a somewhat different plane near the end of Turkish suzerainty. When, in 1875, the population of the island of Crete was granted the right to a General Assembly, the seating of a Jew, Abba Delmedigo (nicknamed Abbadáki), in the Assembly was objected to by the Greek leadership of the island. Only the firm stand of the Turkish governor preserved the right of local Jewry to have its own spokesperson in that body. Given the rising tensions between Greeks and Turks at the time, frictions of such nature greatly contributed to the acerbity of local relations and to mutual recriminations between Greeks and Jews.

The Role of Religion

Religion was the second of the two factors which played a decisive role in separating Greeks from Jews under Turkish occupation. Even in Byzan-

tine times, we recall, the church was the main vehicle of Greek unity, so much so that arbitrary imposition of religious uniformity was often resorted to in an effort to bolster the inner strength of the Empire. Such imposition was no longer feasible, of course, after the loss of Greek independence and after an autonomous status was granted to the non-Greek communities by the Turks.

Nevertheless, the role of the church by no means diminished; if anything, it assumed even greater significance. To begin with, in the eyes of the Turkish government the church always appeared as the embodiment of the Greek nation and its leaders as the heirs to the defunct Byzantine authority. Secondly, with an eye on the eventual conquest of Venetian-ruled territories which were predominantly populated by Greeks, the Sultans deliberately strengthened the Greek Orthodox Church under their control in order to use it as a tool of their foreign policy. Independent of the designs of the Turkish rulers, of course, the rank and file of the Greek population, too, did its utmost to lend to the church the lustre it had in yesteryears. It saw the greatest hope for Greekdom's survival as a nation in loyalty to the church, for, in the absence of national sovereignty, it was Greek Orthodoxy that became the unique hallmark of Greek national identity.

Thus it happened that any friction stemming from political reasons drew ever deeper on the latent sources of religious faith, and of religious prejudice. This was true of the Greek antagonism toward Jews or Armenians as much as of anti-Turkish animosity which increased with the passage of time and with the growing deterioration and cruelty of the Turkish system. And so, the Greeks' mounting hatred of their Turkish oppressors translated itself into a Christian-motivated hatred of Islam, the oppressors' religion. Inevitably also, the conflicts of national interests between Greeks and Jews shifted into the irrational sphere of religious prejudice, producing, as we shall see presently, manifestations of Greek Orthodox fanaticism seldom encountered in earlier periods.

When, at last, in the nineteenth century the Greek Orthodox Church stepped into the forefront of the Greek national struggle for independence, even less room was left for Jewish participation on behalf of the Greek cause. Being neither ethnically Greek nor Greek Orthodox, Jews were left out of the great wave of Greek revolution, no matter how deeply they sympathized with it. In fact, Jews actually suffered from discrimination in the liberated territories during the years of Greek insurrection (1821-1828), prompting many of them to flee to Ottoman Salonika. More than six decades were to pass before a Jewish community was officially recognized in Athens by the Greek government, and not until 1906 was a Jewish synagogue formally allowed to function in the capital of modern Greece.

Neighborly Relations

The progressive deterioration of Greek-Jewish relations on the com-

munal plane, due to genuine divergencies in political aims and interests, did not fail to affect contacts on the individual level also. The traditional dichotomy in day-to-day relations of Greeks and Jews—that is, on the one hand, the Jews' cultural integration in their Greek environment and, on the other, the ubiquitous manifestations of their alienness in the social and religious spheres—developed novel traits which could not but fill the Jews with deepest apprehension.

To begin with the positive aspects, attachment to the Greek language always was, we remember, the one element which Jews could unreservedly espouse as the symbol of their identification with Greekdom. Remarkably, this attachment continued unabated throughout the period of Venetian and Turkish occupations. True, Ladino, the vernacular which Sephardi Jews brought with them from Spain, would be the vehicle of *intra*-Jewish communication in most centers of Balkan Jewish population; in no instance, however, did the Turkish language replace Greek. Indeed, wherever preference of language also signified political identification, as in nineteenth-century Crete, Jews clearly opted for Greek. Greek names, both first and family names (some, in fact, unheard of in other parts of the Jewish world because of their christological connotation), persisted long into the Turkish period and were prevalent also in Greek areas under Venetian domination.

The Jews' at-homeness with, and admiration for, the Greek language in daily matters were communicated also to the legal and educational fields. Especially under Venetian dominion, Greek notaries would be called in to prepare deeds, testaments, and other legal documents for Jewish use, not only in cases of mixed litigations and transactions, but also when Jews alone were involved. Several thousands of such notarial documents are available in the State Archives of Venice (where I studied them in connection with my work on Cretan Jewry), and thousands of similar records are scattered in other archives throughout the Mediterranean. Rabbinic responsa of the period refer to such documentation frequently and as a matter of course, introducing it on a par with legal instruments prepared by rabbinic courts.

Conversely, so we learn from rabbinic literature, Spanish immigrants in the Balkans contributed considerably to the upgrading of the level of education of their new Greek neighbors; they undertook to tutor Greeks, much as they tutored their own coreligionists, in the advanced disciplines and sciences which they brought with them from the Iberian Peninsula. Such cultural borrowings were not entirely new, of course. One might view them as a continuation of a practice prevalent in earlier days, when a Jewish astronomer under Byzantium would be called in to present calendar expertise and to arbitrate in inter-church controversies over the dating of Christian festivals. In those later days, however, such exchanges matured into manifestations of genuine intellectual fellowship, bearing the humanis-

tic stamp of the Renaissance era. They brought into broader relief two values which Greeks and Jews shared even while the medieval West was still smarting under cultural backwardness and illiteracy: the *ideal of learning* as the highest objective for which any *individual* can strive, outranking acquisition of power, wealth, or social station, and the *ideal of scholarship and literary creativity* which all *communities* prized more highly than achievement in any other field.

Even the premises of neighborhood Greek churches were not an unknown ground to local Jews. Reference to that is made, for example, in an interesting document from Crete, of the year 1659, i.e., from a time when the territory was still under the Venetians. Describing the installation of the Greek Orthodox Archbishop on the island, the document relates that leaders of local Jewry participated in the celebration and brought with them their Torah scrolls in an expression of (to use the modern term) ecumenical goodwill. This last detail is the more instructive, since a procession with Torah scrolls in non-Jewish ceremonies would usually be reserved to a show of loyalty to governing authority. No such conditions obtained at the time in Crete; in a way, the measure risked interpretation by the Venetian government as ostentatiously hostile.

From far-off Turkish Smyrna, more than two hundred years later, comes a similar demonstration of genuine neighborly Jewish affinity with the Greek church. Upon the death of the Greek Metropolitan of the city, the representative of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* delivered a eulogy for the deceased clergyman and expressed the Jewish community's sense of participation in the mourning of the Christian population.

To be sure, the Smyrnan Jewish community's show of sympathy with the Greeks was not an isolated gesture. When, in 1867, during the Cretan insurrection, the Turks ransacked a Greek convent on the island and sold its church bells to a Jew in Smyrna, the Smyrnan Jewish leaders redeemed the bells and offered them in homage to the Greek Metropolitan of the city. In the accompanying letter, the Jews elaborated on what it was that moved them to perform this act of neighborly love: the pillage of the Greek church, they explained, reminded them of the pillage of the Temple of Jerusalem. Characteristically, the Greeks' struggle for independence evoked in Jewish circles historic associations with Jewry's own national struggle.

The political overtones of that act of charity were not lost on the Greek community. Expressions of gratitude and good will were tendered not only on the local, but also the national, level, and the Constantinopolitan Patriarch himself sent a letter of thanks to the *Haham-Başı* of the capital.

Bias, Old and New

Contrasted with such manifestations of goodwill and friendship, the concurrent record of religious prejudice and fanaticism looms even larger

in its bare crudity. Of course, some of the biased practices reported for that period hark back to previous generations. Their greater visibility in later times may possibly be a mere reflection of a cumulative process, compounded by contacts with Western Christendom in the wake of Frankish and Venetian hegemony in the Aegean basin.

The early demonstrations of anti-Jewish bias ranged from the market place to housing, and from purely religious accusations to assaults on Jewish funerary cortèges and raids on the Jews' burial grounds. An example or two must suffice. As we learn, for instance, from medieval travelers, Jews in the Greek territories would be forced to buy any merchandise they touched in the market, even if, on inspection, they found it unsatisfactory; "contamination" by Jewish hands made such merchandise no longer acceptable to Christians.

While the market was open to Jewish buyers, Jewish residence was restricted. Long before the term "ghetto" entered into popular use in the West, Jews in the Greek areas experienced topographic ghettoization. This phenomenon was already referred to above in the context of the tenth-century wave of anti-Jewish persecution by Romanos I Lekapenos. As time went on, residential segregation became a permanent feature of Jewish life in the Greek environment, whatever the identity of the ruling power. In fact, no later than the fourteenth century the technical terminology was finally established to denote the Jewry, i.e., the particular quarter in which Jews were allowed to reside: *Hebraikē* in Greek, *Zudecha* in Venetian, *Kahal* in Hebrew. The Turkish *Yahudi Mahallesi* was a mere translation into Turkish of a term and a situation of long standing.

In the area of religiously-motivated aggravations, accusations of Jewish desecration of the Host were widespread, some having disastrous effects on the lives of individual Jews in the given localities. While such accusations were sporadic, the custom of throwing broken potsherds at Jews or burning Judas Iscariot in effigy on the eve of the Greek Pascha came to haunt the Jews with annual regularity and made the Lenten season a period of terror and anguish for the Jewish residents of the area.

Even the sending of Jewish dead to their resting-place was a source of untold hardship and anything but rest for the living. Jewish funerals, running the gantlet of hostile Christian neighborhoods, were frequently attacked, tombstones in Jewish cemeteries carried off and utilized for building materials, and freshly buried bodies exhumed due to a folk belief that they were interred along with their earthly riches. In self-defense, Jews would resort to a number of communal measures. As we learn from extant Hebrew community statutes, Jewish women would be banned from participating in the funeral processions, both in order to ensure their own safety and in order to prevent their vocal wailing from provoking added taunts and mockery on the part of an unsympathetic citizenry. In addition, bands of Jewish vigilantes would spend the first few nights following a

funeral in the vicinity of the gravesite in order to guard it against Christian tomb robbers.

While the history of these and similar chicaneries that persisted into more recent times could be traced to Byzantine or early Venetian days, the same cannot be argued with regard to the ominous symptoms of Jew-baiting which attached themselves in the later period to the Greek Orthodox observance of the Pascha. The Pascha is, and always was, the most important feast on the Greek Orthodox calendar, so much so that a Greek refers to it simply as “*the feast*” (*hē heortē*) without having to specify that the Easter holiday is meant. Indeed, some nine centuries prior to the Turkish conquests, Justinian, resentful of the fact that the dating of the Pascha was umbilically tied to the Jewish Passover preceding it, tried to force the postponement of the Jewish holiday until after the celebration of the Christian Easter. It seems, however, that with the growing centrality of religion in Greek life under Turkish Islam, the anti-Jewish animus of the holiday assumed a dimension which outstripped even Justinian’s bias. Vestiges of this later trend are still very much in evidence in Greece today.

Any outsider who (like myself) had the privilege of staying in Greece for longer periods of time, including the Easter season, and who learned to understand that country and love it, could not have failed to take note of the gruesome atmosphere surrounding the collective commemoration of the Crucifixion, particularly in smaller, outlying localities. The feverish tension accompanying the preparation of the Paschal lamb, its slaughtering, the use of its blood for placing signs of the Cross on doorposts, and the like—all basically traceable to ancient biblical memories—invariably impress one as conducive to the incitement of the populace; the constant preoccupation with *blood* can by its own momentum grow to uncontrollable proportions. In such an atmosphere, the aforementioned annual burning in effigy of Judas Iscariot or the throwing of potsherds at Jews must be viewed as the least dangerous phenomena. The true peril, built into such excitement, comes ultimately to the fore with the rise of the blood libel.

Blood Libel: The Early Stages

It is indeed the blood libel that appears as an entirely novel occurrence in Greek Orthodox (and Armenian) Christendom under Turkish occupation. The charge, which, paradoxically, had in the early stages of the Christian era been introduced by pagans against Christians, lay dormant for hundreds of years until it was revived in the tense mood of the Crusades and was turned around against Jews. From twelfth-century England it traveled in fearsome contagion to France, Germany, and throughout Europe, making such places as Norwich, Gloucester, Bury St. Edmund, Bristol, Blois, and Fulda blood-stained landmarks on the road of European Jewish martyrdom.

And yet, remarkably, the Greek Orthodox world remained largely uncontaminated by the libel. This is particularly noteworthy, since the contemptible custom of Byzantine rulers to seize individual Jews and make them act as state executioners against Christians could have easily lent itself in popular fantasy to ascribing to Jews in general an eagerness for spilling Christian blood. The practice of forcing Jews into the role of henchmen for the state was perpetuated also in the Venetian-occupied Greek areas; there, in time, it very likely picked up some gory accretions. Whereas in its Byzantine version the Jewish assignment seems to have been limited to occasionally gouging out the eyes of political adversaries, the Venetians broadened it apparently to include regular executions by Jews of Greek criminals. In its final stage, this particularly reprehensible sort of *corvée* did, in a way, enlist the Jewish community as a whole in the service of the state's penal system: the Jewish cemetery would be made the site of the capital punishment, possibly serving also as the burial ground for the victims, and the local Jewish leadership would bear the sorry burden of procuring Jews for the performance of the task. (A sixteenth-century Hebrew record from Crete does indeed dramatically describe the terrified community's frantic search for someone willing to undertake the unhappy chore, lest the community at large be collectively penalized.)

While the awesome predicament of the afflicted Jewish population is not difficult to grasp, there is room for speculation that some of the Greek victims may have turned their wrath in despair against the unwilling and equally victimized Jewish tools of governmental tyranny. Still, no record is available linking the eruption of a blood libel to the aftermath of such executions. The blood accusation in its classical form—denouncing the Jews to the authorities for allegedly killing Christians on ritual grounds—appears for the first time under the Turks. Hence, whatever the psychological impact of the earlier image of the "Jew the executioner," one cannot help viewing the appearance of the blood accusation among the Greeks of Turkey other than in the context of the special frictions generated by the Ottoman occupation itself.

The reports on the first accusations of ritual murder in Turkey are few and far between. One such report refers to the matter as early as Mehmet the Conqueror, in the second half of the fifteenth century, though the actual record of the case is unavailable. The official texts at hand do not antedate the time of Suleyman the Magnificent: they relate the story of two blood accusations in the Anatolian cities of Amasya and Tokat in 1530. A hundred years later, in 1633, another case of a blood libel raised its ugly head—this time in Constantinople.

Whether, to judge by the above data, the accusations during the first three-hundred years of Turkish rule were only isolated phenomena or merely seem that way due to the scarcity of our sources is a moot question. There can be no doubt, however, that by the mid-nineteenth century the

blood libel in the Greek Orthodox climate assumed epidemic proportions. Chances are that the strong influence which the Russian church exerted at the time on Greek Orthodox affairs and the repeated promulgation of anti-Jewish decrees by the Czarist regime were in part responsible for that development.

Blood Libel: The Nineteenth Century

The notoriety which the so-called “Damascus Affair” and the “Affair of Rhodes” of 1840-1841 acquired in all studies of modern anti-Semitism exempts us from expatiating here on these particular cases. What is less known and must be placed on record here, in light of the objectives of our discussion, is the ominous spread of the blood libel to Constantinople and other Greek centers closer home. As a matter of fact, from the 1860’s on—yes, a mere century ago!—the blood accusation becomes an almost annual occurrence. In Constantinople alone Jews are charged with it in 1864, 1866, 1868, 1870, 1874, and so on, until as recently as 1920. In 1864 the blood libel surfaced also in Smyrna. It appeared there again in 1872 and moved on during the same year to the Greek mainland: to Adrianople, to Ioannina, to the Marmara region, etc.

The official authorities of the Greek Orthodox Church, no less than the Turkish government, were aware of the inherent danger of such excesses. Enjoined by the Jewish leadership of Constantinople and paralleling the *firmans* of the Ottoman sultans on this subject, the Ecumenical Patriarchs repeatedly published encyclicals against the blood libel. Thus, in 1864, in the wake of the first Smyrnan case, Patriarch Sophronios urgently instructed the Metropolitan of Smyrna to “be the Guardian and Protector of Israelites living in the Diocese and use all possible means to restore peace.” Such pastoral calls for calm were deemed especially useful when circulated well ahead of the Pascha season. Recalling the string of blood accusations against the Jews in 1872, Patriarch Anthimos dispatched an encyclical letter to all Greeks in mid-March of 1873, appealing for preservation of peace with their Jewish neighbors. Similar sentiments are reiterated in the encyclical of Patriarch Ioakim in March, 1874. The same Patriarch sent another encyclical on the subject as early as December, 1884, while Patriarch Constantinos contributed his own in February of 1898.

The church was not alone in fighting the libel. Aroused intellectuals, too, organized in Athens in 1901 a symposium of Jews and Christians, including Professor Papageorgios, and addressed themselves to the enlightened public with the provocatively formulated question, “Do Jews Slaughter Christian Children and Drink Their Blood?” The papers presented at the symposium were published a year later in a separate brochure and helped bolster the drive against the anti-Semitic campaign of the time.

Again, the actions of the Patriarchs were fully in accord with the

traditional stand of the Greek Orthodox Church. Dr. Constantelos has cited here the encyclical of Patriarch Mitrofanis III who, as far back as 1567, called on the Greeks of Cyprus to refrain from denouncing Jews to the authorities; a similar encyclical was addressed by the same patriarch also to the Greeks of Crete. Hence, it is not the substance of the nineteenth-century patriarchal injunctions that calls for special attention, but the urgency attached to them. The need for frequent repetition of the injunctions indicates that the church was not always able to control its flock and had even greater difficulty in eradicating the 'sources of the anti-Jewish prejudice. Indeed, much of the work is still to be done, even though the most extreme manifestations of the prejudice are hopefully a matter of history.

We have thus reached the twentieth century and, closing the circle, arrived again at the experience I listed at the beginning of this article: the tragic days of Nazi occupation, the joint suffering and resistance to the occupier, the heroic cases of Greeks saving their Jewish neighbors from the clutches of the secret police, and the fearless position of the Greek Orthodox Church, under the leadership of Archbishop Damaskinos, in protecting the Jews.

Our two nations are looking now to the future with great expectation but also with a considerable measure of anxiety. Very possibly, in the confusion of present-day politics and in the strange alliances that may arise out of the anguish of our times, Greece and Israel, Greeks and Jews, Greek Orthodoxy and Judaism may find themselves groping for a friendly hand and understanding. Let us make sure that our hands reach each other in a true covenant—a covenant dictated by our long joint history, by our common suffering, and by ideals we have shared in the past and always will share in the future.

Study and Discussion Questions

- 1 What is the significance of the anti-Byzantine bias?
- 2 What is the importance of the Mediterranean context?
- 3 Why is the "physical continuity of Jewish settlements in the Greek world" important?
- 4 What is the significance of a shared diaspora? How did the diaspora bring forth "creative ingredients to the social and spiritual experiences" of Greeks and Jews?
- 5 Why is it important to examine the conflicts between Greek Christians and Jews?
- 6 What is the place of economic rivalry in these conflicts and why?
- 7 Summarize briefly each of the four dominant areas of conflict between Greek Christians and Jews, and discuss the significance of each
- 8 What are the leftover, unresolved issues emerging from these conflicts?
- 9 What is the present significance of Israeli control of Jerusalem?
- 10 What is the significance today of the nineteenth-century blood libel?

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GREEK ORTHODOX—JEWISH RELATIONS IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Demetrios J. Constantelos

PRECIS

The task of this article is to examine the relationship between Jews and Greeks in the Medieval period. In recent times many views concerning the treatment of Jews in the Greek empire have been revised. In general, the relations between Greeks and Jews and other minorities were tolerant especially because of the multi-sectarian and multi-racial nature of Byzantium.

Specifically, the Jews fared better than many other religious minorities did. Anti-Jewish legislation was primarily social in nature and some legislation protective of Jews existed. Sometimes persecution reflected greater influence and activity of Jews, and it was even provoked by some of the actions of Jews themselves at times. The Jews differed only religiously; otherwise they were Hellenized. Much of the anti-Semitic church writings were mere rhetoric and were not carried over into the day-to-day experiences between Jews and other Greeks. The relations between them, then, were tolerant if not friendly.

The tolerance toward Jews during the Medieval period in the Greek empire has continued in the modern Greek nation.

In 1935 a state university in the American Northwest was searching for a historian to teach ancient history and the history of the American West. When the History Department of the University of Wisconsin submitted the name of a young Greek-American scholar as a qualified candidate, the answer came that "the position was closed to anyone of Greek or Jewish origins."¹ This incident illustrates that the Jews have drunk from the same cup of prejudice and indeed of persecution. Of course, the Greek and the Jewish names have been linked together numerous times in the history of Western civilization, whether for good or for evil. Athens and Jerusalem or, if you please, Jerusalem and Athens, together with a late arrival, Rome, have made up a tripod upon which the structure of Western culture has rested for many centuries. Even Christianity, one of the major institutions of Western civilization, is a fusion of Jewish and Greek ideas and

¹Peter Charanis, "The Progress of Byzantine Studies in the United States," typescript, p. 8. Used by permission of the author.

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traditions. It is a triptych with a Jewish soul, a Greek mind, and a Roman body.

While the Jews and the Greeks have met persecution and prejudice in common, the question before us is: what have the relations been between the two peoples on the religious level? My task is to examine how the Jews fared in the Greek Orthodox society in the Middle Ages.

I propose to examine the following topics which have an immediate bearing on Greek Orthodox-Jewish relations. First, an examination of the religious nature of the Medieval Greek Orthodox state is of great importance if we are to understand the place of Judaism in it. Together with the question of whether Byzantium was a tolerant or an intolerant state, we ought to look into the religious background of what may be characterized as anti-Semitic ecclesiastical legislation. On the basis of this background we shall be able to appreciate Greek Orthodox-Jewish relations. In general we believe that relations between the two ethnic and religious entities, with some exceptions, have been tolerant and peacefully coexistent, if they have not been friendly. This is the conclusion of several historical studies. And there is agreement that the conflict of Judaism with the Hellenistic monarchy of the Seleucids in the second century B.C. was an exception rather than the rule. It is interesting to remember that the Maccabees who rose against Antiochos IV have been classified among the saints of the Greek Orthodox Church. The attitude toward the Jewish religion of all Hellenistic kings since Alexander—save Antiochos IV—was one of tolerance.

Our assessment of Greek Orthodox-Jewish relations in the Middle Ages and beyond has changed appreciably since the first quarter of this century. Samuel Krauss' views representing the Jewish viewpoint, that there was much toleration in the Byzantine Empire toward the Jews, opened up new horizons and were supported by other scholars including Andre Andreaes who did a great deal of research on the Greek side. When Joshua Starr published his monograph in 1939 about the Jews in the Byzantine Empire, he attempted to modify Krauss' views stressing the intolerance of certain Byzantine periods. But not all Byzantine scholars accepted his conclusions. The distinguished Belgian historian Henri Gregoire called for a revision of Starr's book which focused on the coercive edicts of Heraklios, Leo III, Basil I, and John Tsimiskes. Those acts have been examined now under a new light by Andrew Sharf of the Bar-Ilan University in Israel, who has written a good monograph on the subject. But our views today of Greco-Jewish relations are more balanced as a result also of a reexamination of the Byzantine state's political, social, and religious character.

To be sure, the Byzantine Empire was a commonwealth, a multi-racial and multi-sectarian state. But it was a Greek commonwealth—its language was Greek, its *paideia* or educational foundations and philosophy were Greek, its institutions were of Hellenic or Hellenistic origins, its religion

was a synthesis of Jewish and Greek elements, and the majority of its people were Greek while the rest were Hellenized or greatly Hellenized. Even though the language, religion, nationality, and major educational and cultural institutions were Greek, there were several non-Greek minorities and many religious creeds. A pluralistic state cannot survive long without some basic principles binding its people into a harmonious society. And the Byzantine Empire must have achieved a balance in its social structure because it survived for eleven centuries.

Notwithstanding the dominant position of the Orthodox Church, the Greek Empire was a multi-sectarian state. We know by name some thirty-five religious minorities which existed in the Age of Justinian. In the first quarter of the eighth century, in a correspondence between Emperor Leo III and Caliph Omar II, we are told that there might have been as many as seventy religious creeds. A multi-racial and multi-sectarian state cannot afford to be biased and prejudiced against segments of its population, depending of course on the size and strength of those minorities individually or collectively. Bigotry and bias beget friction and civil war leading to the decline of the state. In spite of its several minorities and religious sects, the Greek Empire had very few racial conflicts in the course of eleven centuries.

There were tolerance and commercial and cultural relationships between the minorities. With the exception of the persecution of the Samaritans under Justinian and of the Paulician-Bogomils under Alexios Comnenos, there was no significant persecution against major minorities. Joshua Starr writes that from 641 to 1204 the Jews suffered only three general persecutions.² Starr stressed, however, that the anti-Jewish measures introduced by Leo III were especially severe. But other historians pointed out Starr's errors. First of all, Leo's anti-Jewish policy is not certain. In his review of Starr's book Henri Gregoire wrote that if Starr's conclusion "is ever revised, it will be in favor of the thesis of absolute toleration." In a paper concerning the Jews in the Byzantine Empire under the first Paleologi, Professor Peter Charanis writes that the Jews enjoyed a "remarkable degree of toleration."³

Even the old view that the Jews and non-Orthodox Christians were confined in ghettos has been revised. We now know that heretics, such as the Paulicians and Bogomils, as well as people of other religious creeds, were present in all classes of people and resided in many cities and towns.⁴

²Samuel Krauss, *Studien zur byzantinisch-judischen Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1914), A. Andreades, "Hoi Hevraioi en to Vyzantino Krateri," *Epeteris Etairias Vyzantinon Spoudon*, 6 (1929) 23-43, Joshua Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire 641-1204* (Athens, 1939)

³Henri Gregoire, *Renaissance*, 2-3 (1945) 481, Peter Charanis, "The Jews in the Byzantine Empire under the First Palaeologi," *Speculum*, 22 (1947) 75

⁴See Nina G. Garsoian, "Byzantine Heresy: A Reinterpretation," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 25 (1971) 85-113

The Jews alone could not have been confined in isolated ghettos even though we find Jewish neighborhoods in Constantinople and Thessalonike. The belief that religious minorities were alienated and harassed in confined ghettos was based on answers given by hierarchs concerning religious minorities. For example, John Bishop of Citrus (end of twelfth century) wrote a letter to Constantine Cabasilas, archbishop of Dyrachion (Durazzo), who had asked whether Armenians were freely allowed to build churches of their own in the cities where they lived. John answered: "People of alien tongues and alien beliefs, such as Jews, Armenians, Ismaelites, Hagarites and other such as these were permitted from of old to dwell in Christian countries and cities, except that they had to live separately and not together with the Christians. For this reason quarters located either within or without the cities are set apart for each one of these groups that they may be restricted to these quarters and may not extend their residence beyond them."⁵

Once again we must observe that John's reply referred to the practice of the past and it did not necessarily correspond to contemporary reality. On occasions church leaders protested the state's tolerance of heretical groups or non-Orthodox minorities. For example the very strict Patriarch Athanasios (thirteenth century) wrote a letter of protest to Andronikos II because of the Emperor's tolerance toward the Jews, the Armenians, the Turks, and other non-Christian or Christian sects who were permitted to build temples and houses of worship among the Orthodox Christians. Athanasios accused a state official named Kokalas who gave the Jews "great power."⁶ But in contrast to Athanasios, there were other patriarchs who protected the rights of the Jews and exerted every effort to avert any persecution. For example, when the Jews of Crete complained to the patriarch against the Orthodox Christians who molested them there, the ecumenical Patriarch Metrophanes in 1568 wrote an encyclical urging the inhabitants of Crete to abstain from insulting the Jews or accusing them unjustly. In fact, the patriarch stated that those who raised hands against the Jews or insulted them be anathematized, excommunicated, and condemned to eternal punishment.⁷

To be sure, canons had been issued against the Jews and other religious minorities. But we must remember that the canons arose out of pragmatic community needs and reflect existing conditions. The canons were not preconceived theological or religious notions, although when issued they were based on beliefs and doctrines of the church, and were not directed against what one did. Thus the association of Christians with Jews must have been very common to the extent that the church was alarmed lest the

⁵G Rhalles-M Potles, *Syntagma ton theion kai hieron Kanonon* (Athens, 1855), V, p 415.

⁶F. Miklosich-J. Muller, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca* (Vienna, 1887), V, p. 83.

⁷M Gedeon, *Kanonikes Diataxeis*, II, pp. 70-71

Jews adversely influence the Christian flock. It was for the same reason that the church had issued canons in the Synod in Trullo against practices of ancient Greek origin. The Jews themselves might have instigated or caused the issuance of anti-Semitic canons and laws, for they were not passive citizens but exerted influence on trade, business, politics, learning, and religion. At times there was a great deal of interest in Judaism. In fact, around 1066, Andreas, the Archbishop of Bari, became so much interested in Judaism that he eventually left the priesthood and converted to Judaism. And there was more than one conversion from Christianity to Judaism and vice-versa.⁸

Jewish exporters and merchants prospered and economic opportunities for the Jewish smallholder were equally available.

The lot of the Jews in Byzantium was much better than the lot of the Samaritans, Manichaeans, Montanists, Tascodrougites, Borborites, Ophites, Paulicians, and Bogomils, and several other religious minorities. Most of the ecclesiastical legislation referring to the Jews dealt with social issues. No Jew, for example, could acquire a Christian as a household servant. Any Jew attempting to circumcise a Christian would suffer property confiscation and exile.⁹ Intermarriage between Jews and Christians was forbidden. Except for these restrictions, the Jews enjoyed all the liberties that were available to the rest of the citizens and their faith was guarded by legislation.

Violation of the Jewish synagogues was punishable. For example, Justinian retained a previously-issued law which protected the inviolability of the synagogue.¹⁰ The Jews could adhere to and practice their faith. It was forbidden to molest them on the Sabbath, to violate their ceremonies, or to compel them to appear in court on the Sabbath day.¹¹ When legislation prohibited them from serving in public offices and the army, it was not because there was discrimination exclusively against them. This legislation was directed against all religious minorities for security purposes. In fact, when compared to other creeds, Judaism was in a much more privileged position.

It is interesting to note that the Greeks were, in theory at least, more severe against Christian heretics and schismatics whom they considered apostates than against followers of non-Christian creeds. Sometimes, when persecution occurred, it was the result of Jewish activity against either the state or the church. For example, the persecution of 634 was caused because of the cooperation that the Jews had given to the Persians who, upon the capture of Jerusalem in 614, had put to death some

⁸Andrew Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry* (New York, 1971), p. 124

⁹Justinian, Codes, Bk. I, 10, *Corpus Juris Civilis* (Ed. P. Krueger, Berlin, 1929), I, p. 62, cf. Codex I 9, *ibid.*, pp. 61-62

¹⁰Justinian, Codex I 9, p. 61

¹¹*Ibid.*

60,000-90,000 Christians. The state came to distrust them because of this. Many Jews had participated in the assassinations of Christians.¹² Several years earlier the Jews of Naples supported the Ostrogoths when Belisarios laid siege to the city (536) when the Byzantine armies took Naples by storm; they met stubborn resistance from Jewish soldiers who guarded one section of the wall. This Jewish resistance affected Justinian's policy toward religious dissidents.

But these are two of many illustrations which tell us that the Jews themselves, either because of their own political agitation or for other reasons, caused anti-Semitic feelings and brought persecution upon themselves. George Ostrogorsky explains the anti-Semitic policies of Leo III, in the eighth century, on the basis of Judaism's role at the time. He writes: "The persecution of the Jews under Leo III, one of the relatively rare persecutions in Byzantine history, should be regarded rather as evidence of an increase in Jewish influence at the time."¹³

Likewise, the anti-Semitism of Alexios Comnenos was provoked by Jews. Alexios ordered drastic measures against the Jews at Cherson, because one or many Jews there had crucified a slave, the monk Eustratios, as well as the local eparch, a convert from Judaism, and because the Jews had violated state and church legislation and possessed Christian slaves.¹⁴

Gregoire's views of "absolute toleration" may not be accepted at their face value, for we know that there was sporadic persecution and anti-Semitic legislation and action. There were other reasons which contributed to anti-Semitism. We all know that the early church was Jewish but soon the church encountered two major adversaries, the Jewish synagogue and the Greek temple. From as early as the Apostolic Age the synagogue was condemned by Christian writers. In fact, the condemnation of Judaism by the Early and the Medieval Church was based upon Old Testament prophecy and interpretation. Church fathers and Christian apologists found the Old Testament prophetic denunciations of the Jewish nation which had paid heed to mere externalism in religion, limiting itself to the observance of feast, ceremonies, and externals.¹⁵ The exclusiveness of the Jews was also viewed as misanthropic and antisocial or as hostile to non-Jews.

To be sure, there was anti-Semitism in the writings of church fathers, as in John Chrysostom and Photios, and there were anti-Semitic canons. But we must remember that canon law had not singled out the Jews; it was directed against Jews and "Hellenes" (Greek pagans) and against heretics and schismatics. For example, the fourteenth canon of the Synod of Chalcedon forbade mixed marriages between pagans or Hellenes and

¹²Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. by G. de Boor, I, p. 301

¹³George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 2nd ed. (New Brunswick, 1970), p. 161

¹⁴Starr, *Jews*, p. 9

¹⁵Mt. 27:25

Christians unless there was a concrete promise that the non-Christian would be baptized.¹⁶

The eighth canon of the Seventh Ecumenical Synod indicates that there were half-hearted Jewish converts to Christianity (perhaps as a result of Leo III's coercive legislation). The canon was not issued to discriminate against the Jews but against the hypocrisy of some people. They had to be either Christians or Hebrews.¹⁷

The eleventh canon of the *Penthekte* or the Synod in Trullo is severe indeed against Jews of the medical profession. But it remained a dead letter, for we know that Jewish physicians practiced their profession without difficulty. There is no evidence that laity were excommunicated or that clergy were defrocked because they bathed or associated with Jews. The canons reveal what was actually practiced and the desire of the church to put an end to what seemed to church fathers unlawful practices. But the Greek East has not known the concept of *auctoritas*. Canons were frequently violated, and there is ample evidence corroborating the opinion that canon law was one of the least popular disciplines in the life of the Orthodox Church. As a rule, the Jews had adapted themselves in the Empire which they considered their home and their country. They lived a normal life participating in the politics, the prosperity, and the revolts of the population. The persecution which they suffered was rather sporadic, and with few exceptions they enjoyed undisturbed toleration, at least until the Fourth Crusade which initiated a period of vicissitudes for Greeks and Jews alike. Even Joshua Starr admits that ninety percent of the period from 641 to 1204 was free from general and serious persecution.

But even the persecutions of Heraclius, Leo III, and Basil I were not directed only against the Jews. They treated other dissident groups, such as the Manichaeans, Samaritans, Paulicians, Athiganoi, etc., with an equal if not greater degree of harshness.¹⁸ But as a whole all minorities enjoyed a great degree of toleration and even prosperity. For example, the Jewish Karaite had founded several prosperous and intellectually creative centers in the Greek Orthodox state of Byzantium. While they prospered there, they never succeeded in establishing any centers under Western Christendom. Even though "the unparalleled growth of Karaism" in tenth-century Byzantium may be attributed to external forces as Professor Ankori indicates, we should observe that the growth and the prosperity of a minority in any given state requires favorable internal conditions and propitious circumstances for growth and diffusion.¹⁹ Tolerance and acceptance on the part of the state and the citizens are basic elements for the development of a minority.

¹⁶A H Alivizatos, *Hoi Hieroi Kanones* (Athens, 1950), p 54

¹⁷Ibid, p 125

¹⁸Starr, *Jews*, p 8

¹⁹Z Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium* (New York, 1959), p 85

Furthermore, the very fact that in the early years of the eleventh century there was an influx of Jews from Moslem Egypt because of the persecution there under the Caliph al-Hakim (and another "enthusiastic influx" of Jews in the twelfth century) indicates that the Greek Empire enjoyed a reputation for stability, tolerance, and opportunity.²⁰ It was not the first time that the Empire had served as a haven for dissidents and religious minorities.

It is true that Benjamin of Tudela, who visited several Greek cities in 1168, writes that in his travels he found hatred against the Jews. Even though hatred and violence hardly require justification, the change of the Greek attitude toward the Jew in the twelfth century and later has been attributed to the changes and the influences of the Crusaders upon Greek tolerance. The Greeks were forced to hate everything foreign, an attitude which resulted in the persecution of 1182 against all foreigners, including the Jews.²¹

But official persecutions or decrees against non-Christians of Leo VI or Romanos Lecaperos had little effect on the everyday affairs between Jews and Greeks whose relations were peaceful, if not friendly.²²

There were many Jewish communities in the Medieval Greek Empire, in cities such as Constantinople, Nicea, Abydos, Amorium, Ephesos, Synnada, Chonae, Seleucia, Thessalonike, Kastoria, Thebes, Corinth, Sparta, in Greek Italy (Siponto, Bari, Oria, Otranto, Rossano, Tarento, and Venosa), in smaller towns, and in islands, such as Patras, Naupaktos, Kerkyra, Chios, and Samos.

The total Jewish population in the Empire's historical heights (early eleventh century), diffused in some 1,000 communities, has been estimated by the late Professor A. Andreades to have been 15,000 to 20,000. His study is based on the account of Benjamin of Tudela and other medieval travelers.²³ Others, including Professor Ankori, have raised the number to somewhere between 45,000 and 85,000 people.

Apart from theoretical anti-Semitism of church canons or legislation, there were no mob action, systematic persecution, confiscations, or massive deportation. The anti-Semitic canons and decrees must be seen from a religious viewpoint. Both the church and the emperor, as vice-regent of God on earth, were concerned with the salvation of their subjects' souls. Thus when they acted against religious minorities they claimed to act in the name of love and concern for their subjects' salvation.

On the popular level, the people often refused to abide by the legislation of either the church or the imperial court. For example, the church had forbidden the faithful to visit Jewish physicians, but the canon went un-

²⁰Ibid., p 167, cf note 307a

²¹Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry*, p 157

²²Ibid., p 102

²³Andreades, "Hoi Hevraioi," p. 27

heeded. There were even emperors or members of the imperial family who were attended by Jewish physicians, such as the Emperor Justin II.²⁴ When the famous missionary Nikon the Repentant in the tenth century asked for the expulsion of the Jews from Sparta as a condition for his visit there, the Spartans refused to accept Nikon's terms. We learn that there was real sympathy and friendliness between Spartans and Jews in Laconia.²⁵

There were emperors who reversed the anti-Semitic policies of their predecessors. Constantine V had been accused as "*joudaiophron*," and Michael II (Travlos) as a friend of the Jews because he was favorably disposed toward the Jews and was tolerant of all heresies (Athinganoi, the Sabbatians, and others).²⁶ Later in the thirteenth century, Michael Paleologos became a friend of the Semites while his son Andronikos II forbade any distinction to be made between Christians and Jews. He ordered, for example, that the Jews of Yannina be as free and undisturbed as the rest of the inhabitants.²⁷

That the Jews enjoyed freedom in the Byzantine Empire was testified to by non-Greek writers. Thus, Elisa of Nisibis was greatly amazed at the freedom the Jews enjoyed in the Empire. He writes: "The Romans (Greeks) tolerate many Jews living in their lands, protect them, allow them to officially conduct their religious ceremonies and to build synagogues. In this state the Jews can freely state: 'I am a Jew.' Each one of them is free to follow his religion and to pray even in the public without any fear of any obstacle in his way."²⁸

The Jews differed only in religion from the rest of the people, for they had been totally Hellenized. Many had adopted Greek names, including names of Greek antiquity such as Herakles. Krauss writes: "Nowhere in Europe, including Spain and Italy, did the Jews feel so much at home with the native language and civilization as they did in Byzantium. No other land has left so many deep impressions upon the language, the poetry, the liturgy of the Rabbinical literature as Medieval Constantinople did."²⁹

²⁴Vita S. Symeon Stylites, 208, Ed. Paul van den Ven, *La Vie Ancienne de S. Symeon Stylite le Jeune* (Brussels, 1962), I, p. 179

²⁵N. Bees, "Hoi Hevraioi tes Lakedaimonos kai tou Mystra," *Noumas*, 3 (1905) 166, Andreades, "Hoi Hevraioi," pp. 25-32

²⁶Theophanes, *Chronographia*, I, p. 404, Theophanes Continuatus, 48, Michael Syros, 72

²⁷S. Lampros, "Chrysovoullon Andronikou I Palaiologou hyper tes Ekklesias Ioanninon," *Neos Hellenomnemon*, 12 (1915) 38-40

²⁸Elisa of Nisibis, *Demonstration of the Truth of the Faith*, p. 42, cf. S. Liebermann, "The Martyrs of Caesarea," *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, 7 (1939-1944) 395-445, esp. 428

²⁹Krauss, *Studien*, p. 99

Conclusion

It is a fact that there is anti-Semitism in the writings of certain church fathers and in liturgical books, and there were laws and canons discriminatory to the Jews. And, occasionally, Jews became scapegoats when the Christian population tried to explain an epidemic or a natural catastrophe. But much of patristic or liturgical anti-Semitism was rhetoric and neither church nor state ever emphasized what had been legislated by Heraclios, by the Council in Trullo, or by other emperors. The Jews were an integral part of the population and had identified themselves with the empire.³⁰ When decrees or canons were issued against religious minorities, including the Jews, they were issued in order to safeguard the security of the empire and to reinforce imperial authority by eliminating the dangers of religious dissent. Thus anti-Semitic decrees were seldom enforced and their application and consequences were extremely limited. When the Jews suffered because of occasional outbursts, usually they suffered "for their participation in some general movement against the authorities."³¹

As a rule, explosions of *misalodoxy* (hostility to foreign beliefs) were paroxysms rather than the normal behavior of the Greeks. Sometimes their intolerance was a retaliation, as was Heraclios's policy against the Jews who cooperated with the Persians or with the Arabs in the eighth century. For obvious reasons, the Jews at home were distrusted and suffered the general consequences. It is interesting to note that there were some parallels between the policies of Antiochos IV, Heraclios, Leo III, and Basil I. The policy of Hellenization or forced baptism which they had adopted was a means to make their subject population more homogeneous and more actively loyal.³²

Contact between Jew and Greek Orthodox was close if not necessarily friendly; business with Jews was normal, if not welcomed. The Jews were not isolated from the issues which concerned the interests of the state or even the church, and they enjoyed the same freedom of movement that all citizens enjoyed within the empire. A Jew in any Greek city could say without any fear, "I am a Jew."³³ The Jews fared much better in the Greek Christian East than in Western Europe and enjoyed better conditions there.

The tolerant policies of the Medieval Greek state were continued by the modern Greek nation. The Greek constitution guarantees the personal as well as the collective rights of Greek Jewry. It is beyond our present scope to demonstrate the concern of the Greek Orthodox for the survival of the

³⁰Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry*, p. 74

³¹Ibid., pp. 44-45, 48, 53-56

³²Cf. M. Cary, *History of the Greek World from 323 to 146 B.C.* (London, 1959), pp. 227-228

³³Cf. Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry*, pp. 117-118

Jews in the 1940's who were persecuted by "civilized neo-barbarians" of Western Europe.³⁴

In the spirit of these broad and tolerant Greek Orthodox-Jewish relations, I conclude that the past belongs to the past and cannot be brought back to correct its evils and its faults. But we must look forward because both Greeks and Jews are heirs of eternal values and a heritage which can enrich modern humankind. If modern Greeks and Jews cannot love each other from the heart (*extenos*), as a Christian Jew wrote in the first century of our era (1 Pet. 1:22), they should "tolerate each other in love," as a distinguished Hellenized Jew wrote in the first century to the congregation of the Greek city of Ephesos in Asia Minor (Eph. 4:2). A genuine and searching understanding between Greek Orthodox and Jewish theologians can set the pace for other Christian and non-Christian theological discussions. Nothing is more important in modern history than a sincere and thoughtful dialogue.

Study and Discussion Questions

- 1 What is the thesis of the article?
- 2 How has the perspective on the history of Greek-Jewish relations changed in recent years, and what accounts for this change?
- 3 What was the context of the Greek-Jewish relationship?
- 4 What was the significance of the multi-racial, multi-sectarian nature of the Greek empire?
- 5 What was the nature of the persecution that did exist?
- 6 What did periods of persecution show about the Jewish minority?
- 7 The author claims that sometimes persecutions were brought upon the Jews by their own activities, explain and evaluate this assertion
- 8 What was the distinction between official ecclesiastical proclamations and the daily living reality of the attitude toward Jews?
- 9 What is the ecumenical significance of this study on Greek-Jewish relations? Can parallels be delineated in the relations between other disparate religious traditions?

³⁴Jeanne Tsatsos, *The Sword's Fierce Edge*, trans by Jean Demos (Nashville, 1969), p 56

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THE INFLUENCE OF JEWISH WORSHIP ON ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN WORSHIP

George S. Bebis

PRECIS

Contemporary theological, liturgical, and historical research has uncovered the Jewish roots of Christian worship. Christian daily and weekly services and the ecclesiastical calendar reflect Jewish practice. These profound similarities as well as the points of difference deserve further study not least from Greek Orthodox scholars.

Among the problems to be faced are: (1) the relationship of the Eucharist to the Passover meal; (2) the Old Testament background of Christian worship; (3) the relationship of the Christian sacraments to Jewish "sacred acts"; (4) the interdependence of the great Jewish-Christian feasts of Easter, Pentecost, and Sabbath; and (5) the possible anti-Semitic expressions in Orthodox liturgical books and hymns.

I am pleased to have this opportunity to discuss during this meeting of Greek Orthodox and Jewish scholars the impact and the influence of Jewish worship vis-à-vis Christian worship. I shall try to offer some points for discussion hoping that other opportunities will make it more appropriate to present more fully the many sides and aspects of the topic.

There is no question in my mind but that there is an inner relation, a profound inter-dependence, between Jewish and Christian worship. There is also no doubt that the study of Jewish roots in our Christian worship has been neglected, especially by Greek Orthodox scholars. Even great Protestant theologians, such as Adolf Harnack, were mainly interested in the so-called "Hellenization" of Christianity, but what about its Jewish historical basis and substratum and its theological framework upon which Christian worship has built its beautiful edifice?

Christianity's Jewish background in general, and the Jewish roots of Christian worship in particular, came into a new focus in contemporary theological and historical research, as well as in the liturgical studies and discussions, through the work of Protestant Rudolph Bultmann and Roman Catholic Cardinal Jean Danielou. From the Greek Orthodox point of view, the eminent Greek theologian Panagiotes Trembelas, Professor Emeritus of the University of Athens, studied the Jewish background of

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Christian worship,¹ but a more thorough Greek Orthodox study is necessary, both in depth and in breadth, so that the Jewish contribution toward the formulation of Greek Orthodox liturgical life might be more properly appreciated.

Not all Christian scholars agree on the precise nature of what really constitutes the historical and theological relationship between Jewish and Christian worship. Liturgical scholars of renown such as Battifol² and Duchesne³ deny the presence of the Jewish-originated daily circle in the early Christian liturgical calendar. It is interesting to note that Oscar Cullman, a "pillar" of New Testament scholarship, said the early church knew only two forms of cult, those of the common meal (Eucharist) and baptism.⁴ Cullman does not find any Jewish influence in early Christian worship, except for the Jewish prototypes upon which the eucharistic service and Christian baptism have been developed.

Gregory Dix, one of the greatest contemporary liturgical scholars, takes a completely different stand. He writes that all the private meetings in the early church were gatherings of "selected persons" and not "corporate assemblies," and that the synaxis and the Eucharist were overwhelmingly a world-renouncing cultus, which deliberately and rigidly rejected the whole idea of sanctifying and expressing toward God the life of human society in general, in the way that Catholic worship after Constantine set itself to do.⁵ Dix continues by asserting that "in the circumstances of the time, official corporate worship *could* only take a smaller part (quantitatively) in the living of the Christian life. . . ."⁶ Dix, moreover, stresses that monks or hermits of the post-Nicene era retained the liturgical lifestyle, so to speak, of the pre-Nicene period by adhering to the infrequency and the forms of this pre-Nicene corporate worship.⁷ In other words, Dix seems to reject the basic Jewish concept of the sanctification of time, or the close relation between God and the human society in general.

Even so, Dix does not fail to mention that the use of the Psalter, or most specifically its regular recitation, "in course" began in the desert, among the desert Fathers during the post-Nicene era. Moreover, he stresses the fact that the early church in its pre-Nicene era used the Psalter in private and corporate worship although, he claims, "selectively and as comment upon the other scriptures."⁸ So, even though Gregory Dix overwhelmingly stressed the eschatological character of early Christian liturgical life in the

¹Panagiotēs Trembelas, *Archai kai charakter tes Christianikes latreias* (Athens, 1962), pp 1-70

²P Battifol, *Histoire de Bréviare Romain* (Paris, 1895), p 28.

³L Duchesne, *Origines de cultu chrétien* (Paris, 1925), p 469.

⁴O. Cullmann, *Le culte dans l'Eglise primitive* (Paris, 1944), p. 30

⁵Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia. Westminster, 1945), p. 326.

⁶Ibid

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid , p. 327.

church, thus rejecting the Jewish concept of history, he could not avoid accepting Jewish influence on early Christian worship.

In any case, modern liturgical scholars forgot to mention the Jewish background of Christian worship. For instance, P. Freeman,⁹ J. Jungmann,¹⁰ and C. W. Dugmore¹¹ discussed the influence and the interdependence of Jewish and Christian worship. The Jerusalem Temple, the so-called synagogue variation or the synagogue forms of worship, and the Jewish calendar are basic formative structures upon which Christian worship based its own roots. In other words, early forms of Christian worship originated from Jewish worship. Thus there is no doubt that the daily services, the weekly services, and the yearly ecclesiastical calendar of the early church are by-products of the Hebrew Ordo.

Orthodox liturgiologist Father Alexander Schmemmann proposed "a cultic synthesis" between the "eschatological" theory of Dix and the historical or pragmatic theory of Dugmore by underlying the "definite liturgical theology" of Dix and the "genetical link" between the Christian cult and the liturgical tradition of Judaism.¹² I think that Father Schmemmann correctly states that "the liturgical connection between the Church and Judaism has for a long time been simply unnoticed"¹³ and that "we must see the liturgical dualism of Judeo-Christianity not as the accidental phenomenon of a passing era, but as the primary and fundamental expression of the Christian *lex orandi*."¹⁴

Although I personally do not like to speak about any kind of "liturgical dualism," Father Schmemmann's position is sound. The whole question of Jewish influence on Christian worship, and more specifically on Greek Orthodox worship, needs a close examination in order to determine the Jewish influence and its extent in all facets and levels of our liturgical life and practice. Is there, for instance, any Jewish influence on all the Christian sacraments, or on the monastic life of the church, or on church architecture, or even on our liturgical vestments?

Now we all know that apart from the fact that Christ and the disciples were Jews, the first nucleus of the Christian church flourished on Jewish soil. We do know that Christ and the disciples worshipped in the Temple of Jerusalem and in synagogues, and we all are aware of the great stormy discussions among the apostles and the early Christian community as far as the position which the church had to take in facing the "triangle" of the Jewish-pagan-Christian relationship. The problem was serious because Christianity could have remained merely a Jewish "heresy" or a "Jewish

⁹P. Freeman, *The Principles of the Divine Office* (London, 1893).

¹⁰Josef A. Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy* (Notre Dame, n.d.), pp. 11f.

¹¹C. W. Dugmore, *The Influence of the Synagogue upon the Divine Office* (Philadelphia Westminster, 1964).

¹²Alexander Schmemmann, *Introduction to Liturgical Theology* (Portland, n.d.), p. 43.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 51.

sect." We must remember that until 200 A.D. the Romans regarded Christianity as a Jewish phenomenon, and many Jews saw it as Jewish apostasy.

The problem we face here is fundamental and it concerns the very life and the liturgical experience of the church faithful. There are some basic problems which need careful critical analysis in order to comprehend the profound similarities, or the "genetic inter-connection," as well as the profound dissimilarities and/or "the points of departure" between Jewish and Christian worship.

1. One such problem is the nature and structure of the eucharistic service. Not long ago, the whole debate was limited to whether Christ and the disciples ate a Jewish Paschal meal or a plain evening meal. Scholars such as Dix¹⁵ and Hans Lietzmann¹⁶ have introduced the theories that Christ might not have eaten a Passover meal after all, but rather a friendship or fellowship meal, a *chaburah* or *kiddush* meal. It is interesting that none denies the Jewish background of the Eucharist. Unfortunately, the discrepancies between the accounts of the synoptics and that of St. John cannot help us arrive at an absolutely certain conclusion. However, during the last decade, Ann Jaubert published her famous book *La Date De La Cène*,¹⁷ in which she brought forth historical information unknown to us before Qumran. Using the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Ethiopic edition of the so-called *Testament of Our Lord*, as well as other sources, she found that during the time of Jesus Christ there was in use among the Jews more than one liturgical calendar. Even Christ followed a kind of priestly calendar, probably associated with the strict monastic order of Qumran or the Essenes. Jaubert advanced the theory that on the basis of the material at her disposal, and in association with the astronomical framework of the years of Christ, the phenomenal contradiction between the synoptics and St. John can be resolved by assigning the Last Supper to Tuesday night of the Passion week, not Thursday night. It is an attractive theory, provided that we accept Jaubert's theory that Christ ate a Paschal meal. But as Dr. Athanasios Theohares suggested, Jaubert's theory, although satisfactorily resolving the chronological problem of the Last Supper, creates others of substantial nature, theological as well as historical.¹⁸

A few years later Evangelos Antoniadēs, Professor Emeritus of the University of Athens, published a book in which he examined the character and the nature of the Last Supper in association with the Eucharist.¹⁹

¹⁵Dix, *Liturgy*, pp. 50f

¹⁶Hans Lietzmann, *Mass and Lord's Supper*, trans. by Dorothea H. G. Reeve (Leiden, n.d.), pp. 316f

¹⁷A. Jaubert, *La Date de la Cène* (Paris, n.d.); Eng. tr., *The Date of the Last Supper* (New York: Alba House, 1965)

¹⁸Athanasios Theohares, "To chronologikon provlema ton pathon tou Kyriou hypo to phos archaion tinon martyron kai tes synchronou ereunes," *Deltion Vivlion Meleton*, 1 (1971) 34-51

¹⁹Evangelos Antoniadēs, *Ho character tou teleutaiau Deipnou tou Kyriou kai ho artos tes Theias Eucharistia* (Athens, 1961), pp. 61-71

Professor Antoniadēs acknowledged the difficulty in the attempt to harmonize the accounts of the synoptics and of St. John, but he dismissed all the arguments and the debates among Orthodox and Roman Catholic theologians about the nature of the Last Supper by cutting the Gordian knot with the simple declaration, "So what!" The Lord and the disciples might have participated in a Passover meal and therefore might have used unleavened bread according to the Jewish customs of their times. The Lord had also been circumcised! There is no need to reject the Jewish framework of the Last Supper, Professor Antoniadēs contends. The Last Supper has a deeper meaning. It marked the beginning of a new era. The Jewish Passover became the Christian Pascha, the "medicine of immortality" to use the words of St. Ignatius of Antioch.²⁰

2. The second point which I want to make is the Old Testament background of the Christian worship. Of this Professor Eric Werner has spoken more than convincingly. But I must point to the Old Testament models which are found in the Christian liturgy. Examples are St. Basil's Liturgy where the great Father of the Greek Orthodox Church prays and asks the Lord to accept the eucharistic sacrifice as Abel's gifts, Noah's sacrifices, Abraham's firstfruits, Moses' and Aaron's priesthood, and Samuel's supplications were accepted.

3. The third problem which requires discussion is the relationship between the Christian sacraments and the Jewish "sacraments" or "sacred acts." There is no doubt that in Jewish liturgical practice there was a ceremony of initiation with the use of water. The laying on of hands for ordination of the Jewish clergy is well known. Many theologians in the past gave undue emphasis to the similarities (rather external) between the pagan mysteries and the Christian mysteries. But what about the Jewish "sacraments"? Of course the basic difference between the Christian sacraments and the Jewish sacred acts is their theology. Some Christian theologians claim that there is no theology behind the Jewish sacred acts. Is that true? And if it is not true, to what extent has Jewish theology influenced Christian liturgical theology?

4. We have already mentioned the interdependence of the Christian and the Jewish calendars. Although during the first century A.D. powerful forces wanted to disassociate Christian worship from Jewish devotions, the impact of the Jewish liturgical calendar on the Christian calendar hardly needs any discussion. Daily and weekly services and the yearly calendar with great feasts of Jewish origin such as Easter and Pentecost prove, without a doubt, the early Christian could not avoid the influence of the Jewish liturgical praxis. Even the Sabbath took its proper place in the church's liturgical life during the third century.²¹

²⁰ *Epistle to the Ephesians*, ch 20

²¹ See the discussion of the whole historical setting for the place of the Sabbath in the Christian calendar in C. W. Dugmore, *The Influence*, pp 28f. St. Basil the Great in his letter

5. The fifth point which I would like to make concerns Greek Orthodox hymnography. Many Jewish scholars find anti-Semitic attitudes expressed in the hymns. Scholars have indicated that some Eastern hymn writers were of Semitic background and therefore their strong language does not really betray flagrant anti-Semitic racial feelings. The whole question is rather theological. The Greek Orthodox Christian does not furnish any anti-Semitic feeling, but simply remembers the crucifixion of Christ in its proper historical perspective. Orthodox Christianity believes its members are the new people of God regardless of racial or geographical background.

What can we do here? Should we follow the example of the Second Vatican Council which denounced and removed from its liturgical books all anti-Jewish expressions? I have begun a systematic study of our liturgical texts and books in order to locate and explain anti-Semitic expressions. I have the impression that some "anti-Semitic" expressions should only be taken in the context of Orthodox christological doctrine. Expressions or phrases which have merely poetic significance could be eliminated by the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Holy and Great Synod of the Orthodox. We must remind ourselves that our liturgy is the linking bridge between Judaism and Greek Orthodoxy. If liturgical experience makes life more meaningful, then there is a genuine irenic "rapprochement" between Judaism and Orthodox Christianity, in the sense that both Orthodox Christians and Jews share a common inheritance of immeasurable value.

We must remember the great esteem the Fathers of the Church had for great Jewish scholars and theologians such as Philo and the great respect they felt for saintly people of the Old Testament. The work of St. Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis*, is a sufficient example at this point. It is also significant that for the first time in the recent history of Greek Orthodox biblical scholarship, the publishers of the Old Testament used, as the basis of their translation into Modern Greek, the Massoretic text.²²

This paper did not exhaust the subject. Far from it. We must make clear our Christian convictions and our commitment to our Lord Jesus Christ as the Logos and our Saviour. Nonetheless, the hopeful fact remains that Jews and Greek Orthodox must co-exist and live in harmony, as they did for many generations. There is no doubt that our dialogue will create a new atmosphere of more understanding and love and will constantly remind us that both Jews and Orthodox Christians have a common background which both must honor and treasure with affection and respect.

to the Patrician Caesaria, on Communion (Letter No 93), states that he takes communion four times each week, on Sunday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday. St Basil, *The Letters*, trans. by Roy J. Deferrari (Cambridge, MA), II, 144

²² Athanasios Chastoupes, *He Hagia Graphe, Palaia Diatheke*, ed. by S. Demetrakos (Athens, 1954)

Study and Discussion Questions

1. Do you agree with the author that the study of the Jewish roots of Christian worship has generally been neglected? Discuss
2. The author mentions some Christian scholars who have studied the relationship of Jewish and Christian worship. Are you familiar with Jewish scholarship in the same area? Discuss
3. Discuss what way Cullman and Dix differ in their assessment of the relationship between early Christian and Jewish worship
4. Offer examples to prove the assertion that "early forms of Christian worship originated from Jewish worship."
5. According to the author, what problems surface in connection with a study of the relationship of the Eucharist and the Jewish Passover meal?
6. How should one understand the expression "Jewish sacraments" as used by the author? Would this be an acceptable expression in Jewish-Christian dialogue?

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sacramental marriage was sealed by Christ when the couple received Holy Communion and received a brief blessing from the bishop or priest. Even in the oldest liturgical manuscripts dating from the eighth and ninth centuries which indicate the beginnings of independent rites for the Service of Betrothal and the Service of Coronation or Crowning one finds extremely brief rites containing only a few prayers.⁶ The beginnings of the longer form which is in use today are traced back to the tenth century at the earliest, although the definite influence of the longer rite comes only after the twelfth century. The liturgical manuscripts show an interesting variety of divergent forms, changes, and local practices with regard to the marriage ceremony down to the sixteenth century when the present-day rite seems to have reached full development.

Today the marriage ceremony is held before the altar near the *iconostasis*.⁷ The earlier practice of an official dialogue between the priest and the couple regarding their mutual consent to be married and the verification of the absence of any marriage impediments is now usually omitted.⁸ The Betrothal Service begins with the groom and bride holding lighted candles⁹ and standing before a lectern table on which are placed

44-53. However, the historical evidence regarding the close association of marriage and the liturgy is not clear. Much work needs to be done on this issue.

6. For this and what immediately follows, see Trembelas, pp. 9-27.

7. According to an earlier tradition the Betrothal Service was held in the narthex if the Service of the Crowning was to follow immediately (which was then performed in the main sanctuary). If the Crowning was not to follow, then the Betrothal Service was also done in the sanctuary. Although the sanctuary was preferred, the Betrothal Service was sometimes performed in the home. For the above, see Trembelas, p. 19. Practical considerations (small narthex, pews, several movements) probably led to the present blessing of the whole marriage in front of the *iconostasis*. In Russian liturgical practice the earlier tradition is preserved and thereby a more explicit distinction between the betrothal and the sacrament of marriage is maintained. See A. Schmemmann, *For the Life of the World: Sacraments and Orthodoxy* (St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1973, enlarged edition), pp. 88-89, who sees the betrothal in the narthex as the blessing of "natural" marriage and the solemn procession into the sanctuary as the entrance of marriage into the Church and the Kingdom of God.

8. This is now done in the Church office where the couple meets with the priest, talks about marriage, and signs the ecclesiastical papers for marriage. For the earlier practice see Trembelas, p. 20. The asking about the mutual consent is still recorded in the rubrics of the present-day Euchologion of the Church of Greece, but it is not actually done to the writer's knowledge. The coming of the couple to the Church for marriage, and all the previous arrangements and preparations, are assumed as indicating mutual consent. Russian liturgical practice retains the earlier tradition and places the mutual consent at the beginning of the Service of the Crowning.

9. Various interpreted as signs of nuptial joy or virginal purity. Symeon of

the book of the Holy Gospels, the Cross, the rings, and the crowns. The larger setting is the whole sanctuary with the icons of Christ, the Theotokos, the Apostles and saints, and the living icons of the priest, the groomsmen, the bridesmaids, and all the people of God who have come to be joyful witnesses of this communal event. The priest begins with the invocation: "Blessed is our God always, now and ever, and to the ages of ages."

The great litany of peace which follows is familiar from the Divine Liturgy and from many services of the Orthodox Church. The full litany itself is a fairly late addition to the Betrothal Service according to the manuscripts. The petitions offered specifically for the betrothal ask the congregation to pray for

- 1) the couple's salvation
- 2) the granting of offspring for the couple's propagation¹⁰
- 3) the granting of all the couple's requests which lead to salvation
- 4) the granting of perfect and peaceful love and divine help to them
- 5) their blessing with concord and strong faith¹¹
- 6) their preservation in blameless conduct
- 7) the granting to them of an honorable marriage and undefiled conjugal life.

The two subsequent prayers are very ancient and already occur in the *Codex Barberinus* dated in the late eighth or early ninth centuries.¹² They are both brief. The first calls upon God to bless the couple and to lead them to every good work (cf. Col. 1.10). This blessing is invoked against back-

Thessalonike interprets the candles as symbols of the prudence (*σωφροσύνη*) of the couple and the action of divine grace in them, *P.G.* 155:509B. One is reminded of the Parable of the Ten Virgins in which the Groom is awaited with lighted lamps. So the groom and bride anticipate the coming of Christ and His blessing of their marriage. Symeon also reports that the priests as well held lighted candles as signs of festive joy.

10. Εἰς διαδοχὴν γένους is general but probably in the context (*παρασχεθῆναι αὐτοῖς*) is more closely related to the couple. In the main prayer of the betrothal one finds another reference to the propagation of all humankind.

11. In some manuscripts this petition is unnecessarily repeated, the first petition calling for their "protection"/"preservation" (*φυλαχθῆναι*), while the second for their "blessing" (*εὐλογηθῆναι*). "Βεβαία πίστις" should probably be translated "strong" or "secure" rather than "sound" faith since the assumed context is not heresiological but general.

12. Trembelas, p. 9.

ground references to the eternal God Who has brought divided things into unity (perhaps a general reference to the brokenness of human life after the Fall),¹³ Who has established an unbreakable bond (i.e., in marriage),¹⁴ and Who blessed Isaac and Rebecca and made them heirs of His promise (Gen. 26.4, 24; 25.23?). The second prayer, which is read just before the act of betrothal itself, for the first time mentions τὰ μνηστρα (*sponsalia*, the 'betrothal')¹⁵ on which it invokes God's blessing. In this prayer the significant background reference is a Christological one: Christ's anticipated betrothal of the Gentile Church (ὁ τὴν ἐξ ἐθνῶν προμνηστευσάμενος Ἐκκλησίαν παρθένον ἀγνήν, cf. Rom. 9.25-26; Eph. 2.11-22; 3.3-6; Hos. chaps. 1-2). Thus we have here the connection of the betrothal to the same mystery of Christ and the Church as in the case of marriage. The connection is implicit, yet clear, and should be theologically exploited. The reference in the prayer to the Church as παρθένος ἀγνή¹⁶ easily calls to mind the heightened theological description of the Church in Ephesians 5. Accordingly, the prayer calls for the blessing of the betrothal and the union (ἔνωσον) of the couple against the background theme of Christ's betrothal of

13. The writer could find no possible biblical background for the statement: ὁ τὰ διγερμένα συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐνότητα (Eph. 2.14ff.?). P. Evdokimov, ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΓΑΠΗΣ, μετ. Σ. Ὁρφανοῦ (Ἀθήναι, 1967), p. 139, finds an echo of Did. 9.4—the gathering of the Church into one Body as the gathering of the grains of wheat from the hills into one bread—an interesting but very distant echo. One is reminded of God's promise to gather His people from all nations, and to gather all nations as well, recurrent in the Prophets, especially Isaiah.

14. Σύνδεσμος διαθέσεως is also difficult. Διάθεσις, unlike διαθήκη, is not a Septuagintal term, although it has several occurrences especially in II-IV Maccabees which follow the Greek usage. Nor does it occur in the New Testament. The Greek term means 'placing in order,' 'arrangement,' 'composition,' 'disposition,' 'state,' 'condition.' It can also mean specifically disposition of property, will, or testament. So Liddell and Scott. According to Sophocles and Lampe, the Byzantine and patristic usage is generally the same, but they do not report any instances of 'disposition of property, will, or testament.' In the above prayer the 'marriage arrangement' or 'state' is obviously in point. But the "unbreakable bond which God established" must be a reference to creation and the first 'marriage' of Adam and Eve. This motif is more clearly brought out in the first prayer of the Crowning Service (καὶ ἀμφοτέρους αὐτοὺς ἐν μέλῳ ἀναδείξας διὰ τῆς συζυγίας). So the translation "bond of covenant" should be preferred, though still awkward, for σύνδεσμος διαθέσεως (as in the edition of *The Sacrament of Holy Matrimony*, printed by Williams and Norgate, London, 1929). I. F. Hapgood less accurately translates "bond of love."

15. Μνηστρα in plural is the usual Greek term for the institution of the betrothal, derived from μνηστεύω, to 'woo,' 'betroth,' 'espouse,' 'entrust,' and the like.

16. Both the language and the application of this image to the Church are St. Paul's, II Cor. 11.2.

the Church. The prayer concludes with the call for the protection of the couple in peace and concord.

The high point of the Service of the Betrothal is the pronouncement of the betrothal blessing and the giving of the rings. The priest takes the rings, makes the sign of the Cross on the forehead of the groom and bride and pronounces the blessing in the Name of the Holy Trinity ('Αρράβωνίζεται ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ. . .). He then places the rings on the right hands of the groom and bride, and the best man or maid of honor exchanges them. This whole act, of which the blessing in the Name of the Holy Trinity is fairly recent in the tradition, shows great diversity in the manuscripts.¹⁷ Central is the giving of the rings as a pledge of the betrothal. A variety of traditions has been associated with the rings as well.¹⁸ The older codices finally say nothing of the participation of the groomsman or maid of honor in the exchange of rings.¹⁹

17. The present form "ἀρράβωνίζεται ὁ δοῦλος" is missing from most codices. Some codices contain only the blessing "In the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" or other diverse blessings. In some codices the priest gives the rings to the groom and bride without saying anything. In one codex, after giving the rings and pronouncing the blessing in the Name of the Holy Trinity, the priest also says, "Ἀρμόζεται ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ" and conjoins the hands of the couple. See Trembelas, pp. 20-21 and 36-37. So also Symeon of Thessalonike, according to whom the couple's hands were subsequently separated and again conjoined during the Service of the Coronation, *P. G.* 155:508D and 509C.

18. Already in Jewish betrothals a monetary gift or a ring was involved as an act of the groom's acquisition of the bride. The groom gave the ring to the bride and he recited: "Behold, you are consecrated unto me with this ring according to the law of Moses and Israel." By accepting it the bride showed her consent to be his wife. See *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 11, 1032, 1041-42. In the Christian tradition Clement of Alexandria (*Paid.*, 3. 11) reports that a ring was given to the woman as a sign of authority in the disposition of domestic affairs. More than a thousand years later Kritopoulos interprets the giving of rings (in plural) as a sign of mutual offering on the part of the groom and bride. See. K. Καλλίνικος, ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΙΚΟΣ ΝΑΟΣ ('Αθήναι, 1958), p. 549. The references to rings in the great betrothal prayer interpret the ring as a sign of authority and honor, or as a sign of the truth of something (Tamar). In the betrothal ceremony the ring is the visible sign of the betrothal vows or pledge—the symbol of the betrothal. Two rings made of gold, silver, copper or iron may be used, according to the codices, the ring of greater value given to the groom. One codex speaks of a single ring which the priest gives to the groom, who then gives it to the bride, kissing her on the forehead, while she kisses the groom's hand as a sign of reverence and obedience (Trembelas, p. 21). The rings are basically the visible pledge of the betrothal anticipating marriage. See also Symeon of Thessalonike, *P. G.* 155:508AD.

19. Completely omitted by all the older codices, this custom seems first to arise in connection with the coronation. One codex informs us that the groomsman participated in the giving of the common cup to the groom and bride (see below, note 42). The liturgical participation of groomsman in the marriage rite is probably based on their active role in the 'match-making' and the contractual arrangements for a

The great prayer of the betrothal which follows is also of recent origin²⁰ but now serves as the main blessing. It may form-critically be divided into four parts (εὐλόγησον/στήριξον . . . βεβαίωσον . . . ἐπίβλεψον/στήριξον . . . εὐλόγησον), apart from the final doxology. The first part refers to Isaac and Rebecca and then calls upon God both to bless the couple and to make firm their spoken vow (τὸν παρ' αὐτῶν λαληθέντα λόγον). It has been noted, however, that the mutual consent is now generally omitted. The second part of the prayer refers to God's creation of male and female and to the uniting of woman to man for purposes of support and procreation, and asks God to establish the couple in a holy union which is His gift (παρὰ τοῦ ἀρμόζεται ἀνδρὶ γυνή). The third part contains general references to God's promises granted to generations of the elect and calls upon God similarly to look with providential care upon the couple and to strengthen their betrothal in faith, harmony, truth, and love. The final and longest part of the prayer is a composite one containing references to pledges by rings mostly in the Old Testament, to the power of God supporting Moses by the Red Sea, and to God's mighty word by which all things were created. It then invokes God's blessing of the betrothal (δακτυλοθέσιον, literally the 'putting-on-of-rings') and God's protection of the couple throughout their lives. The concluding doxology ends the Service of the Betrothal.²¹

Thus the Service of the Betrothal, presupposing both the family arrangements and the canonical stipulations, is an ex-

marriage. Symeon of Thessalonike, p. 224, who has a single groomsmen in view, usually an older person, sees him as a kind of second father and guide of the couple, and it is for this reason, he says, that the groomsmen should be God-loving and Orthodox. Obviously we have here a parallel to the institution of sponsor in baptism, which may also be a precedent for the groomsmen's participation in a marriage. In some codices and printed prayer books the groomsmen is called σύντεκνος in connection with his serving as the sponsor of the couple's first child at baptism, and later, ideally, as the groomsmen of that child's future marriage, and thereby sharing parental responsibilities for the child. See Kallinikos, p. 546. For Symeon of Thessalonike, the priest exchanges the rings (P.G. 155: 508 D).

20. In its present lengthy form it is missing even from some fifteenth-century codices. Earlier and briefer forms of it, however, occur steadily in codices of the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries. So Trembelas, pp. 9-11.

21. After the giving of the rings and before the conclusion of the Betrothal Service one codex reports that the couple received Holy Communion from the Pre-Sanctified Gifts and were then dismissed, the marriage to be done at a later date. See Trembelas, p. 37.

tended rite which calls upon God to bless and protect the betrothal. God is the Creator of man and woman and the One Who joins them in an indissoluble bond as part of His redemptive work in bringing all things into their proper unity. In the betrothal two purposes of marriage according to the Genesis narrative are affirmed: the woman's support of the man and the propagation of the human race. Several references to children, purity of conjugal relations, and human procreation occur in the rite. Many more petitions and prayers speak of God's blessing for the stability and well-being of the betrothed couple.

The most essential act is the liturgical pronouncement of the betrothal in the Name of the Holy Trinity and the giving of the rings as a sign of the unbreakable commitment of the couple, presupposing their mutual consent, and sealed by the sign of the Cross. The betrothal takes place against the theological background of Christ's betrothal of the Church, which, however, is not emphasized in the rite. Yet this is a legitimate theological connection which, just as in the case of marriage, draws the betrothal into the same mystery of the union of Christ and the Church.

The term ἀρράβων ('betrothal'; cf. also the verb ἀρράβωνιζῆται in the betrothal benediction) is quite significant in this regard. An ancient Semitic loanword, it is used in Hellenistic times as a legal and commercial technical term meaning "earnest money," "down payment," or "first installment" validating a contract and securing a legal claim to something. Through St. Paul's decisive use of this term for the eschatological gift of the Spirit (II Cor. 1.22; 5.5; cf. Eph. 1.14), ἀρράβων takes on predominant theological significance in the patristic tradition signifying the present blessings of salvation in the Holy Spirit, the new life in Christ, and the redeemed life of the Church. With regard to marriage, ἀρράβων signifies the betrothal as a 'first pledge' or first guarantee toward marriage. Certainly this pledge is not simply legal and commercial, but above all personal and spiritual, sanctified by the Holy Spirit in the Service of the Betrothal. Against the theological meaning of marriage as an image of Christ's union with the Church, the betrothal (ἀρράβων) is theologically suggestive as the image of Christ's betrothal of the Church by the gift of the Holy Spirit—the gift

of the Holy Spirit as a token of each believer's salvation, anticipating the future fullness of salvation in the messianic Kingdom. This connection was in fact made in the patristic tradition by Symeon the New Theologian and Gennadios Scholarios, who compare the two-step event of betrothal and marriage to the two-installment experience of salvation.²²

The Service of the Crowning

The Service of the Crowning or Coronation (Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Στεφανώματος)²³ is also a self-contained service greatly elaborated since the ninth century when the sacrament of marriage developed into an independent rite. According to the *Codex Barberinus* and other early codices, the oldest rite simply consisted of a few petitions for peace, the third prayer (Ὁ Θεός ὁ ἅγιος, ὁ πλάσας ἐκ χοῦς τὸν ἄνθρωπον), the coronation, another brief prayer (Κύριε ὁ Θεός ὑμῶν, ὁ ἐν τῇ σωτηριῳδίᾳ σου οἰκονομία), the prayer of the common cup, and nothing else.²⁴ Even the scriptural readings are omitted by the oldest manuscripts. The Divine Liturgy obviously influenced the development of the rite ("Blessed is the Kingdom . . .," the great litany, and the Lord's Prayer).²⁵ But Trembelas finds that in particular the Liturgy of the Pre-Sanctified Gifts influenced the marriage rite (e.g., the *ektenes* after the biblical readings, followed by the petitions which lead up to the Lord's Prayer and other aspects.)²⁶ The codices show an even greater degree of diversity in the sequence of the prayers, symbolic acts, various modifications and reports of local practices in the development of the marriage rite than in that of the betrothal.

22. Ὡσπερ . . . οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν γάμων ἀρραβῶνες οὓς ἀλλήλοις οἱ γαμοῦντες διδόναι, ἐγγίνονται τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα . . . οὕτως . . . καὶ ἡ "ἀπαρχὴ τοῦ Πνεύματος," τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ μερικὸν τοῦ Πνεύματος χάρισμα, ὃ "ἔστιν ἀρραβὼν τῆς κληρονομίας ἡμῶν," τὴν ἐπὶ καιροῦ δοθησομένην καθόλου χάριν ἡμῖν βεβαιοῦ. *Frag. Rom. 8.26; P.G. 85:1700A.* For Symeon the New Theologian, see ΦΙΛΟΚΑΛΙΑ, Τόμος Γ' (Παπαδημητρίου: Ἀθῆναι, 1960), pp. 250-51.

23. So in the oldest codices. In others also as follows: Ἀκολουθία γάμου ἡγουν στεφανώματος. Ἀρχὴ τοῦ στεφανώματος. Ἀκολουθία εἰς γάμους. Τάξεις ἐτέρα τοῦ στεφανώματος. Κανὼν ἐκκλησιαστικὸς εἰς γάμον. Ἀκολουθία εἰς στεφάνους τοὺς ιωμίμω γάμω συναπτομένους.

24. Trembelas, p. 10.

25. Meyendorff, p. 31.

26. After the Lord's Prayer many codices also contain the invocation: "Τὰ προηλασμένα ἅγια τοῖς ἀγίοις" and the people chanted "Εἰς ἅγιος, εἰς Κύριος" as the couple received Holy Communion. Trembelas, pp. 15-16.

The Crowning Service opens with Psalm 127 (LXX) which in previous times was chanted during the procession of the couple into the sanctuary.²⁷ This Psalm offers blessings for the well-being and prosperity of those who follow the ways of the Lord, that is, for the couple. After the doxological invocation ("Blessed is the Kingdom"), which is characteristic of the beginning of the sacraments in the Orthodox Church, the great litany of peace follows. The petitions specifically related to the couple begin with the significant reference to the "communion in marriage" (τῶν νῦν σαναπτομένων εἰς γάμου κοινωνίαν—"those who are now being united in the communion of marriage"). These petitions offer prayers for

- 1) the couple's salvation
- 2) the blessing of their marriage as that in Cana of Galilee
- 3) three petitions about propagation:
 - a) σωφροσύνη ('prudence,' 'decency,' 'self-control')²⁸ and procreation to good benefit²⁹
 - b) delight of sons and daughters
 - c) enjoyment of (fair) children³⁰ and a blameless life
- 4) the granting of all their requests leading to salvation.

Thus the couple's union in marriage, their salvation, happy procreation, and a prudent life are at the forefront of these petitions.

The first long prayer of the marriage already appears in the codices of the eleventh century with numerous minor variations.

27. Many codices also include Psalms 8 and 20 (LXX) at various places during either the Betrothal or Coronation Service from which today are retained only the following verses: "Ἐθηκας ἐπὶ τὴν/ὰς κεφαλὴν/ὰς αὐτοῦ/ῶν στέφανον/ἄνους ἐκ λίθων τμιῶν" and "Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῶν, δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ στεφάνωσον αὐτούς." In one codex the curious tradition is reported of girding the groom with a sword while the priest chanted "Περίξωσαι τὴν ῥομφαίαν σου" (Ps. 44.3 LXX), probably as a symbol of authority (perhaps first done in the case of kings). It should also be noted that in the same codex the priest asks the couple about their mutual consent, a tradition preserved to this day in the Slavonic tradition. Trembelas, p. 22.

28. Σωφροσύνη has strong connections with sexual modesty.

29. Πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον is difficult. Hapgood's translation "as is expedient for them" smacks of modern utilitarianism and contraceptive convenience. The edition by Williams and Norgate has "as is fitting," which is so vague it is almost meaningless. Συμφέρον is that which is "beneficial," "profitable," "expedient," "advantageous," "useful." In the prayer, πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον in general applies to the couple as also probably to children—a general reference to child-bearing as a blessing.

30. A bit redundant following the previous petition. Εὐτεκνία comes from the archaic εὐτεκνέω, which means to be happy in children. Εὐτεκνιος is one blessed with children. Εὐτεκνία therefore can mean the blessing of children, fruitfulness, or happiness in having children. Sometimes the adjective εὐτεκνος is used for 'fair' children.

The prayer builds on Gen. 1.28; 2.21-24, and Mt. 19.6, concerning the creation of Adam and Eve, their blessing to multiply and dominate the earth, and the indissolubility of the conjugal bond (*ἐν μέλος διὰ τῆς συζυγίας*), and continues with many references to God's blessings of Old Testament couples and their procreation down to the birth of John the Baptist, the Virgin Mary and Christ Himself. The prayer then asks God/Christ³¹ to bless the couple's marriage as He blessed that in Cana of Galilee, thereby showing that lawful marriage and procreation from it is according to God's will. The particular blessings asked of God are: peaceful life, longevity, prudence, mutual love in the bond of peace (cf. Eph. 4.3), long-lived posterity, the gift of children,³² and the eschatological crown of unfading glory. The prayer may originally have ended here with the eschatological reference. In its present form it includes additional requests for longevity, unassailed conjugal relations, and abundance of spiritual and material blessings. With regard to material goods, the prayer significantly asks that the couple may abound in them so that they may also share them with others in need. This is a well-placed reminder of the fact that Christian marriage involves not only an inward, but also outward, movement.

The second and longest prayer, also present as the second prayer in the Slavonic tradition, is of later origin, but Trembelas cannot firmly date it.³³ The prayer begins with references to God as the Celebrant of mystical and pure marriage (i.e., sacramental marriage, perhaps an echo of Eph. 5), the Law-giver of physical marriage, and the Provider of all spiritual and material blessings. It then builds on the creation story adding Gen. 2.18 and 2.23 to the basic texts of Gen 2.24 and Mt. 19.6 which already occur in the first prayer. Thus this new element is added that the aloneness of Adam, underscored by his joyful welcome of Eve (Gen 2.23), is corrected by the creation of woman in order to support man (Gen 2.18). Against

31. As in the case of the betrothal prayers, so also in the prayers of the Crowning Service, a prayer often begins by addressing God and then clearly develops into an address of Christ without sharp differentiation.

32. *Τὴν ἐπὶ τέκνοις χάριν* could also mean "grace on the(ir) children" but not "gratitude from their posterity" as in Haggood's translation.

33. He finds no evidence of whether the prayer derives from the older Constantinopolitan tradition or from the time of the printed prayer books in Venice, p. 12.

this new background God is asked to bless the couple and to grant that the woman be subject to her husband in all things and that the husband be the head of the wife,³⁴ and that they might both live according to God's will. The next lengthy portion of the prayer form-critically develops on three verbs (*εὐλόγησον . . . διαφύλαξον . . . μνημόνευσον*). It calls for God's blessing, protection, and remembrance of the couple as in the cases of many Old Testament couples and figures. Exceptionally are mentioned the Empress Helena and her joy at finding the Holy Cross, and also the Forty Holy Martyrs who received incorruptible crowns from God on account of their martyrdom. Additionally, there is a petition for the parents "whose prayers make firm the foundations of houses" (cf. Sir. 3.9) as well as a petition for the groomsmen who share in the joy of the wedding. The prayer concludes with another blessing of the two persons and many requests to God on their behalf. These include offspring, the possession of beautiful children,³⁵ concord of soul and body, exaltation, fruitfulness, abundance of material goods, so that they may also carry out philanthropic deeds, longevity, multiplication of the clan, and generally that the couple may live in a fashion pleasing to God so that they might shine like stars in the eschatological Kingdom (cf. Phil. 2.15).

The third prayer is the briefest and oldest. In this prayer God, the Author of marriage, is asked to unite the couple. The prayer contains three basic verbs involved in marriage and the act of crowning: *ἄρμωσον* (the conjoining), *σύζευξον* (the yoking or uniting), and *στεφάνωσον* (the crowning). One codex reads *ἐνωσον* (for *στεφάνωσον*) which is probably a more ancient reading.³⁶ While the priest symbolically joins the right hands of the couple he asks God to unite them in the bond of marriage and to grant them offspring and happiness in children. The brief background references are to God as the Creator of man and woman, the joining of woman to man as a helper, and

34. These two particular elements, however, are derived from Eph. 5 and not directly from Gen. 1-2.

35. *Καλλιτεκνία*. So Liddell and Scott. The root *κάλλος*/beauty in *καλλιτεκνία* should be brought out.

36. My conjecture on the basis that *ἐνωσον* is better suited than *στεφάνωσον* to the following phrase *εἰς σάρκα μίαν*. However, Theodore the Studite, who quotes a version of this prayer already in the early ninth century, *P.G.* 99:973CD, reads *στεφάνωσον*. Perhaps *στεφάνωσον* was introduced by influence of the Coronation which was done in connection with this prayer.

to the divine will that man should not be alone—motifs which, as has been noted, are greatly expanded in the second prayer above.

The actual coronation now takes place, a rite which is marked by astonishing diversity in the codices.³⁷ The simple crowning in the Name of the Trinity, which parallels the betrothal rite with the rings, is of recent origin, nowhere to be found in the older codices. It is immediately followed by the chanting of one verse from Psalm 8 (“Lord our God, crown them with glory and honor,” Psalm 8.6 LXX). The act of crowning itself is very ancient. However, the symbolism of the crowns is diverse.³⁸

Two scriptural readings follow the coronation. Ephesians 5.20-33 (in some codices Phil. 4.4-7 or Heb. 12.28-13.8 are reported) contains the following points: 1) submission of Christians to one another in the fear of God; 2) the sub-

37. According to one codex the priest performs the coronation and says nothing. According to another he makes the sign of the Cross on their heads three times, then takes the crowns and says, “Ἐθηκας ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν στέφανον ἐκ λήθων τιμίων (Ps. 20.4b, LXX), and then crowns the groom and bride. According to another, the priest recites all of Psalm 20 and then crowns them. According to many others, the priest recites Ps. 8.6 LXX, applying it to both groom and bride (στεφάνωσον αὐτὸν/στεφάνωσον αὐτήν. One codex simply says “στέφει ἀμφοτέρους καὶ λέγει: Χριστὸς στεφανοῖ.” Another has a more elaborate rite in which the priest says “Ὁ Πατὴρ εὐλογεῖ, ὁ Υἱὸς στεφανοῖ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον συνευδοκεῖ καὶ συμμαρτυρεῖ” and the congregation repeats it three times. The priest also chants Ps. 8.6 and 20.4b LXX. Similar diversity is found with regard to the giving of the couple to each other by the joining of their right hands, the crowns, the common cup, the sequence of these acts and prayers. See Trembelas, pp. 23-25 and 55-59.

38. Tertullian (*De corona* 13) seems to be negative about the use of crowns, viewing them as a pagan custom. However, the biblical references to crowns and the impressive aspect of the coronation assured their early prevalence in Christian tradition. Chrysostom interprets them as symbols of virginal victory “ὅτι μὴ καταγωνίσθησαν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς” (*P. G.* 62:546). So also Symeon of Thessalonike interprets them as symbols of virginal purity, *P. G.* 155:505A. Psalms 8 and 20 (LXX) used during the coronation suggest the symbolism of kingly authority (in creation as in the second prayer *θέμενος αὐτὸν ὡς βασιλέα τῆς κτίσεως*). So T. Zannis, “Τὸ Μυστήριον Τοῦτο Μέγα Ἑστὶ” in *ΕΡΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΜΟΣ*, ed. X. Γιανναρᾶς (Ἀθήναι, 1972), p. 28. The crowns also symbolize the glory and honor of marriage (cf. Ps. 8.6 LXX). The very word ‘crown’ is often used in Scripture for anything conferring honor or authority. In this connection, a recent popular interpretation is that the coronation of the couple marks the crowning of the king and queen of a new household. In the marriage rite significant references also occur to the incorruptible crowns of the martyrs and to the incorruptible crowns preserved by God in heaven for every groom and bride, provided they lead lives worthy of God. In this regard P. Evdokimov, p. 144, makes the provocative reference to Jesus’ crown of thorns and remarks that perfect love involves crucifixion. All of these interpretations are rich and suggestive. The basic meaning of the crowns has probably to do with the honor and festive glory of the couple in marriage. The blessing in the Name of the Trinity and the references to incorruptible crowns significantly ‘Christianize’ the symbolism.

mission of the wife in all things to the husband who is her head, just as the Church submits to Christ, its Head; 3) the total love of the husband for the wife to the point of death, as Christ Himself died for the Church and its redemption—this love of the husband for the wife, repeated several times, is the most emphatic point of the Epistle Reading; 4) the union of the husband and wife into one body on the basis of Gen. 2.24; and 5) the typological interpretation of Gen 2.24 as prefiguring the great mystery of Christ's mystical union into One Body with the Church. The Gospel Reading taken from John 2.1-11 recounts Jesus' presence at the wedding in Cana of Galilee and the wine miracle by which His disciples believed in Him. The prayers and petitions make repeated reference to Christ's presence at the wedding in Cana as a sign of His blessing of marriage, but no reference to the wine miracle, a strange omission given the symbolism of wine. With regard to the Epistle Reading, the elements which are given attention in the prayers are clearly the submission of the wife to the husband who is her head and less clearly the theological parallel between the mystical and physical marriage in the second prayer of the marriage rite (ὁ Θεός . . . ὁ τοῦ μυστικοῦ καὶ ἀχράντου γάμου ἱεουργός, καὶ τοῦ σωματικοῦ νομοθέτης). Of course the contents of the scriptural readings have their own validity and stand just as they are: God's holy word recited in the sacrament.

The next part of the current marriage rite has been taken from the Pre-Sanctified Liturgy, according to Trembelas, and is comprised of a litany, a series of petitions, the Lord's Prayer (and in many codices is followed by the invocation "Τὰ προηγιασμένα ἅγια τοῖς ἀγίοις" and the giving of Holy Communion to the couple while the people chant "Εἰς ἅγιος, εἰς Κύριος, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός").³⁹ The litany (ἐκτενής) and the series of petitions (πληρωτικά) are well-known for their use in many services of the Orthodox Church. The part directly relevant to the marriage is the ancient prayer (Κύριε ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν τῇ σωτηριώδει σου οἰκονομία) which occurs after the litany and mentions Jesus' presence at the wedding in Cana indicating the honorableness of marriage. It then asks Christ by Whose good pleasure the couple has been united: to guide the couple in

39. Trembelas, pp. 15-16. Thus it is obvious that whenever the couple received Holy Communion it was from the Pre-Sanctified Gifts.

peace and harmony, to grant them an honorable marriage, to preserve their conjugal relations pure, to keep their life together (*συνβίωσις*) spotless, to grant them longevity, and to help them all the while to observe His commandments in purity of heart.

Prior to the common cup of wine given to the couple there is another ancient prayer. This prayer calls upon God, as Creator and Sustainer of all things, to bless the cup and Himself to offer it to the couple now united in marriage. The tradition of the common cup is a very ancient one, occurring in Jewish marriages.⁴⁰ Therefore it is not clear that the common cup as a liturgical custom in Christian marriages arises only after the marriage rite became detached from the Holy Eucharist and as a substitute for Holy Communion. During several centuries both Holy Communion and the common cup were offered to the couple.⁴¹ In due course, however, because Holy Communion was offered to couples less and less, and finally not at all, the common cup came in practice to replace Holy Communion. The rite of the common cup, in which now the priest blesses the cup and then takes it to the groom and bride to share from it, shows interesting diversity in the codices.⁴² The basic symbolism of the common cup is the sharing of a common life by the couple now united into one bond.

40. See *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 11, article on "marriage," and Kallinikos, p. 555. A custom of breaking the common cup after drinking from it is found in Jewish marriages and is also reported in several codices of the Christian rite of marriage. Trembelas, pp. 25, 66, 68.

41. Already a cup of milk and honey, immediately after the cup of Holy Communion, was given to the couple in the times of Tertullian and Hippolytus (late second and early third centuries), Trembelas, p. 26. The codices of the marriage rite variously report Holy Communion, the common cup of wine, and also a cup of honey with almonds or walnuts. Some codices stipulate that Holy Communion is to be given "if the couple is worthy" (in one codex, only of the sacred Body). Such is the practice presupposed by Symeon of Thessalonike, *P.G.* 155:512D-513A, who reports also a common cup as established practice. For Symeon, "to be worthy" meant chiefly to be married for the first, not the second, time. Second-marriage couples received only the common cup. A thorough historical study of the origins and practice of the common cup is needed. For Trembelas' comments and manuscript evidence, see his book, pp. 12, 25, 60-69.

42. According to some codices the priest holds the cup while the groom and bride partake of it, then he gives the cup itself to the groom, who drinks all of the remaining wine and gives the empty cup to someone other than the priest, or the priest takes it and breaks it! According to another codex there are two cups of wine. The priest pours the wine from both cups into each other thus mixing the wine, gives the cups to the groomsmen, who in turn give them to the couple. According to other various traditions the couple is sprinkled with wine from the cup, the remaining wine is poured out into the ground, and bread pieces or almonds or

The ceremonial procession or dance which immediately follows, as an expression of nuptial joy, more originally involved an actual procession to the house of the couple, headed by the priest, while various hymns were chanted on the way, including "Rejoice, O Isaiah" (Ἦσαΐα χόρευε).⁴³ There the priest removed the crowns from the couple's heads saying a prayer.⁴⁴ The three hymns chanted today during the ceremonial procession around the lectern table while the priest holds the book of the Holy Gospels make references to the joy of the birth of Christ by the Virgin, to the Holy Martyrs who were crowned because of their victory in martyrdom, and to Christ as the boasting of the Apostles and the exaltation of the Martyrs.

The conclusion of the marriage rite involves two laudatory blessings over the groom and bride (Μεγαλύνῃτε Νυμφίε/Νύμφη) which are of recent origin, the removal of the crowns and an older prayer for the removal, a final Trinitarian blessing, and the dismissal. The laudatory prayers, mentioning the three Patriarchs and their wives, wish the groom and bride similar lives of blessedness, joy, fruitfulness, and righteousness. The prayer for the removal of the crowns calls again for Christ's blessing of the marriage as of that in Cana of Galilee, the providential protection of the couple, their material prosperity, and the preservation of the couple's wedding crowns in God's eschatological Kingdom. The Trinitarian prayer is a final blessing of the couple that they may be granted longevity, happiness in children, progress in life and in faith, material blessings, as well as the promised eschatological blessings in God's Kingdom.

Thus in the Crowning Service the "communion of marriage" between a man and a woman is blessed by God. The couple

walnuts dipped in honey are given to the couple. Various brief prayers are said and, in the case of the two cups which are mixed, a whole psalm (Ps 74 LXX) is recited. In one codex, followed by the Slavonic tradition, the joining of the couple's hands occurs after the common cup. See Trembelas, pp 25-26, 63-69.

43 See Trembelas, pp 17 and 69ff. Thus a sometimes popular idea that marriage is not made valid until the completion of the ceremonial dance, reported by Kalinikos, p 555, is erroneous and derives from the attitude that, as in the case of the Liturgy, a single supreme moment of validation must be identified in the sacrament.

44 The removal of the crowns also variously occurred three or eight days after the wedding either at the couple's home or at the church. See Trembelas, p 75 and Kalinikos, p 556.

is crowned as husband and wife in a most glorious fashion worthy of God's attention to Adam and Eve in the story of creation. By first impression the prayers and the Epistle Reading give a certain precedence to the husband. The prayers seem also to place an accent on procreation. But the heart of marriage is the oneness of the husband and the wife (*ἐν μέλος διὰ τῆς συζυγίας*). This oneness established by God (Gen. 2.24), confirmed by Christ (Mk. 10.8-9), and repeatedly invoked by the marriage rite is decisive: a oneness not only of body but of total life—a true and full *κοινωνία γάμου*. Only such emphasis on the bond of marriage as a sharing union can lead to a correct interpretation of the precedence of the husband and also of the accent on procreation. Marriage exists above all for its own sake as a full communion of two persons apart from all other considerations, including child-bearing and the mutual roles of husband and wife. In the context of the oneness of marriage, the precedence of the husband, as much as the submission of the wife, are also God's gifts!⁴⁵ But they are gifts deeply rooted in the total union of love where there is no room for exploitation or subjugation in either direction, but only welcome space for mutual obedience and selfless service. Selfless service, however, involves also service to others—children, older parents, persons in need, community, and society. God-given marriage leads not to isolation but to an outward movement based on the inner strength of the marriage. Accordingly, the creative affirmation of life through the joy of children (*κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον*)⁴⁶ is among the first fruits of the bond of marriage. Still, a childless marriage is also a full and complete marriage without apology.⁴⁷

45. But God's gifts always imply tasks. Thus if a husband has the leadership of the family, this privilege implies an awesome responsibility and in no way an arbitrary authoritarianism. Is your wife happy? Are your children happy? You are both responsible and accountable for the happiness of your wife and the well-being of your children. On the other hand, the 'obedience' of the wife by no means implies being a 'door-mat' or a 'servant-maid' for the husband, but a responsible partner in marriage who contributes essentially to the partnership of the marriage. The case is not infrequent that, by strength of Christian character, the wife 'saves' a marriage and a family where the husband fails!

46. "To good benefit." See above, footnote 29. This would imply a responsible attitude toward child-bearing, possible limitation of the number of children (not at all envisioned by the rite) and elective contraception.

47. We must learn to be more sensitive with regard to many childless couples in the Church. Such couples need not feel apologetic nor should we feel awkward, about their not having children. Their marriages, too, even without children, are

A gift, sharing, personal fulfillment—such is marriage ordained by God. The marriage rite speaks of harmony of body and soul, well-being, stability, purity in conjugal relations,⁴⁸ joy, exaltation, progress in life, material benefits, and longevity. All these are blessings for the enjoyment of the couple. Above all husband and wife are to share and enjoy each other in the communion of marriage—companionship, trust, mutual support, and the total bond of love. In their oneness, the joy of Adam at beholding Eve (“This at last is bone of my bones!” Gen. 2.23) is equally reversed (“And you, O Bride, rejoice in your husband!”). The love of the husband for the wife, as well as the obedience of the wife to the husband (Eph. 5.22-33), are also reversed and become a dialogic process of love and mutual submission to each other in reverence for Christ (Eph. 5.22). In the true bond of marriage there is a common leaving of father and mother, a common clinging to each other, and a common union of love (Gen. 2.24).⁴⁹ In this, the awesome majesty of marriage is revealed as being the most primary relationship of life.⁵⁰

But marriage is also a task, a sacrifice, and a communal responsibility. The prayers of the rite also speak of requests leading to

complete and fulfilling, without apology, provided of course there are legitimate grounds for not having children, and not just selfishness. That mutual fulfillment, and not child-bearing, is the primary justification for marriage, see Meyendorff, pp. 15, 48 and Karmires, p. 206. Some Church Fathers, however, see marriage in a negative way as resulting from the Fall and chiefly for the purpose of procreation and guarding against fornication (partly influenced by Paul).

48. The references to pure conjugal relations both in the betrothal and the crowning rites imply marital sexual fidelity, and not any negative connotations about sex in marriage. Although there is in Christian marriage such a thing as marital modesty, what St. Paul would call treating each other in honor and holiness (I Thess. 4:4), sex in marriage is God's gift and should in no way be impugned but enjoyed. Scripture, the marriage rite, and the great Fathers of the Church as well, such as Chrysostom, affirm the joyful holiness of sex in marriage, which in no way should be associated with the abuse of sex in various ways and degrees outside of marriage. However, there is also a strongly negative tradition about even conjugal sex, especially in monasticism. See, for example, George Khodre, “A Great Mystery: Reflections on the Meaning of Marriage,” *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 8 (1964), 31-37.

49. For a superb interpretation of the three verbs of Gen. 2:24, “leaving,” “cleaving,” and “becoming one flesh,” as applied to the total reality of marriage, see Walter Trobisch, *I Married You* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971).

50. I fully agree with G. MacDonald, *Magnificent Marriage* (Wheaton: Tyndale House, 1976), p. xxii, who writes: “The relationship of a man and a woman in marriage is the prime relationship of all mankind, superseded only by that relationship which man establishes with his God.” Thus the husband-wife relationship has precedence over the parent-child relationship, which we often forget!

salvation, progress in faith, blameless conduct, philanthropic deeds, a life worthy of God, and obedience to Christ's commandments. Here is the test of marriage. The common cup of which the groom and bride partake is as meaningful as their common struggle as husband and wife for God's truth in the world, as they face obstacles, problems, sin, and death. The references to the Holy Martyrs in the marriage rite and the recurrent blessing with the sign of the Cross are essential.⁵¹ Christian marriage is a witness (*μαρτυρία*) of God in the world. God crowns the husband and wife in an ideal human relationship and gives them kingly authority over all things. On their part husband and wife assume the responsibility of being co-workers of God in Christ. They follow the way of the Cross. Their chief goal in life is their salvation and the salvation of others. In such terms, marriage becomes one of God's primary ways of redeeming the world. The crowns of the husband and wife are in these terms crowns of victors who by God's grace will be worthy of receiving imperishable crowns in God's eschatological Kingdom.

Theological Issues

In this last section several issues related to the sacramental character of marriage will be briefly considered, including the question of mixed marriage and divorce: This section will conclude with an appeal to the Church for more conscious and systematic pastoral care regarding marriage, and also with comments on spiritual renewal in Christ as the foundation of Christian marriage.

1) What first is the relationship of the above rite, largely a development of the second half of the Christian era, to the theological interpretation of marriage in the previous patristic tradition? A definitive answer to this question cannot be given because a thorough study of the theology of marriage in the Church Fathers is lacking.⁵² However, on the basis of our lim-

51. Symeon of Thessalonike. pp. 222-23, counsels that the sign of the Cross should be marked several times even on the papers of the marriage contract to show that everything is done by God's will and that marriage begins with Christ. Later, p. 226, commenting on the hymns of the wedding procession, he also says that the groom and bride belong to the communion of Christ and His saints, especially the martyrs. Further on the Christian meaning of marriage, see Chrysostom's "In Praise of Maximos," *P.G.* 51:225-41, and Homily XX in his commentary on Ephesians. See also Schmemann's incisive remarks, pp. 90-91.

52. The best reference which came to my attention while writing this paper, thanks to Robert Taft, is K. Ritzer, *Le mariage dans les Eglises chrétiennes du Ier*

ited knowledge two preliminary answers may be offered which a more extensive study may well corroborate. The first is that the development of the present rite did not take place in a theological or liturgical vacuum but precisely within the living tradition of the Church. Orthodox bishops and theologians of the late Byzantine era were very aware of their tradition, especially in Constantinople, which was most influential in the development of the present marriage ceremony. One would naturally expect that the growth of the rite, the content of its prayers, and its theological meaning—given some exceptions and a degree of diversity—are in basic continuity with the theology of the earlier Fathers.

The second, certainly not venturesome, answer is that the patristic theological interpretation of marriage is largely based on the Bible. Even if pastoral exigencies occasioned patristic theological reflection, it was usual for the Church Fathers to consult Holy Scripture for normative statements or principles in order to address pastoral questions. Key texts such as Genesis chaps. 1-2; Mt. 5.31-32, 19.3-12; Jn. 2.1-11; I Cor. chap. 7; Eph. 5.22-33 and others—but certainly a limited number of texts—would probably provide the backbone of a patristic theology of marriage. But such texts are also the background or building blocks of the current marriage rite with regard both to the prayers and the scriptural readings. Thus on the basis of the above two points a continuity between the patristic interpretation of marriage and the current marriage rite is established.

2) The central theological question is the meaning of marriage as a sacrament. Marriage is a natural custom, a legal institution, but also a sacrament, at least for all Christians of the catholic tradition. What elements in marriage render it a sacrament? This question is crucial for many other issues regarding marriage, for example, its indissolubility, the problem of inter-faith marriages, divorce, second marriage, and the very purpose of marriage itself. Three fundamental elements must be con-

au XIe siècle (Paris, 1970), a translation of the German original *Formen, Riten und religiöses Brauchtum der Eheschliessung in den christlichen Kirchen des ersten Jahrtausend* (Münster, 1962). This fine study offers valuable sections on the history of the institution of marriage and the development of the rites of marriage in the ancient Church up through the third century, as well as in the Orthodox Church up through the eleventh century. It is not a patristic theology of marriage as such, but certainly an extremely valuable background contribution to it.

sidered: a) God's creation and His blessing of man and woman into a conjugal bond—the institution of marriage; b) the couple's new life in Christ; and c) the couple's sharing in the life of the Church, the Body of Christ. An Orthodox sacramental marriage embraces all three elements. For Orthodox Christians marriage is not simply a social custom or a legal contract but above all a gift of God, redeemed by Christ, and lived in the life of the Church.

Theodore the Studite writes that the first conjugal blessing is that of Adam and Eve by God (*Καὶ εὐλόγησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεός*, Gen 1.28) which the Studite connects with the benediction of monogamous marriage.⁵³ This patristic view is most consistent with the above Orthodox marriage rite which in both its Betrothal and Crowning Services holds to God as the Creator and Ordainer of marriage and calls upon Him to bless in a similar fashion the conjugal bond of every new couple. God's creation and blessing of man and woman in marriage is therefore the theological basis for the mystery of monogamous marriage. Jesus, too, views God as the Ordainer of marriage by quoting Gen. 1.27 and 2.24, and He, too, confirms the monogamous ideal (*ὁ οὖν ὁ Θεός συνέσχευεν, ἄνθρωπος μὴ χωριζέτω*, Mk. 10.6-9/Mk. 19.4-6). The classic passage of Eph. 5.22-33 also quotes the decisive text of Gen. 2:24 about the oneness of the conjugal union which according to Eph. 5.32 foreshadows the great mystery of the union of Christ and His Church. Accordingly, a theological understanding of marriage must take very seriously a theology of creation as the fundamental basis for both the institution and meaning of marriage as a sacrament.

From this viewpoint it is not quite correct to state that Christ 'raised' marriage to a sacramental level.⁵⁴ Christ Him-

53. "Αὕτη οὖν ἡ εὐλογία τῆς γαμικῆς συναφείας, ἀφ' ἧς πᾶσα εὐλογιστία (i.e., εὐλογία) μονογαμικῆς συζεύξεως ἐπεὶ καὶ μονόγαμος Ἄδάμ· ἐπιτηρητέον δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἡ στεφανικὴ ἐπὶ κλήσις ἐκεῖθεν ὥρμηται," P.G. 99: 1092D- 1093C.

54. This is the opinion of many Orthodox theologians, for example, John Karmires, in his article on marriage in *ΘΡΗΣΚΕΥΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΗΘΙΚΗ ΕΓΚΥΚΛΟΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ* Vol. 4 (Athens, 1964), p. 206. On the basis of such a notion the Jewish view of marriage is often erroneously disparaged. The fact is that in Judaism, too, marriage was a sacred relationship before God and not a mere legal contract devoid of spiritual content. According to Rabbinic teaching, marriage was essentially monogamous, an ideal human state, and a metaphor for other perfect relationships, e.g., God and Israel, Israel and the Torah, or Israel and the Sabbath. In the Mishnah it is written that if a husband and wife are worthy, God dwells in them (*Sot.* 17a). But in practice plural marriages and easy divorce were allowed by the Jewish Law. See Ben-Zion Schereschewsky's article on marriage in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 11, 1026-31.

self held monogamous marriage as God-given and called for fidelity to the ideal established by God. This dominical affirmation finds corroboration in the fundamental patristic principle that divine grace is at work in the Old Testament and that therefore monogamous couples in the Old Testament who are obedient to God and in communion with Him maintain a blessed marriage.⁵⁵ The recurrent mention of Old Testament couples in the Orthodox marriage rite confirms this theological position.⁵⁶ God is asked to bless the marriage of every new couple as He did that of Isaac and Rebecca, Jacob and Rachel, and many others down to Zachariah and Elizabeth who gave birth to the Forerunner. Every marriage of persons who are in communion with God, even in the Old Testament, is sacramental in the essential sense of being a locus and vehicle of the holy presence of the living God.

What of Christ? What occurs in Jesus Christ is the work of salvation—the decisive victory over sin, evil, corruption, and death—which *restores*⁵⁷ all things and makes them new, including marriage. The New Testament nowhere concentrates on marriage as a special subject for renewal or, much less, as a special institution consciously raised to the status of a sacrament.⁵⁸ Rather the case is that marriage itself, along with all

55. Orthodox theology shares neither the ancient Marcionite nor modern Lutheran inhibitions about the reality of salvation in the Old Testament. The patriarchs, prophets, and all the righteous of the Old Testament enjoyed communion with God and are saints in the Orthodox Church. Christ does not bring 'new' grace but a decisive victory over the cycle of sin and death. In Him we have the assurance of salvation and the fullness of grace.

56. Unfortunately, even though he affirms the purity of marriage blessed by the Church, Symeon of Thessalonike, *P.G.* 155:504D-505B and 508CD, seems himself to be a bearer of the negative patristic view of the overall understanding of marriage as a concession so that humanity may not be lost after the Fall. He therefore interprets the mention of Old Testament couples in the wedding rite as a negative sign that marriage really does not belong to the period of grace and was blessed by Christ only as an accommodation to human weakness. According to him marriage is not a preeminent work (*προηγούμενον έργον*). The perfect goal of the Gospel is one: virginity and incorruptibility. However, the marriage rite, which Symeon also knew, amply testifies to references from the period of 'grace,' such as Christ's presence in Cana, Holy Communion, the image of the bond of marriage as an image of Christ's union with the Church (Ephesians), the Apostles, Martyrs and the blessed Helena. These of course are not 'couples.' The choice of Old Testament couples is favored probably because they are biblical and loom large in the sacred history, whereas neither in the New Testament nor in the earliest Christian tradition do we have any 'famous' couples.

57. So also Schmemann, pp. 82 and 88, with regard to marriage.

58. Though of course the New Testament insists on the monogamous ideal. Even in Eph. 5 marriage does not receive isolated attention but is part of a larger

aspects of life, is now gradually understood and lived in the context of the new life in Christ. Thus, as far as marriage is concerned, along with a theology of creation, the New Testament also presupposes a theology of redemption. The new element now is none other than the life in Christ itself which redeems the couple in marriage, just as it does in all other aspects of their life, by the power of the Holy Spirit.

The third element of marriage as a sacrament is that it is an important part of the life of the Church. The new life in Christ is concretely lived in the life of the Church, His Body. Through baptism a believer becomes engrafted to the mystical Body of Christ and his life is then inherently sacramental insofar as Christ dwells in him by the power of the Spirit ("As many of you were baptized into Christ have put on Christ"—the baptismal hymn and Gal. 3.27). The new life in Christ is then continually renewed through the Holy Eucharist, as well as through many other blessings in the life of the Church, and also the personal life of prayer of the believer, his attitude of repentance and humility, and righteous living in the world.⁵⁹ This is in harmony with the compelling ideal in the life of the Church to embrace outwardly the totality of the everyday life of the believer and 'baptize' it in the liturgical cycle through various services and prayers. Thus there are Church blessings at the birth of a child, at its naming, at the excavation for the foundation of a home, at the moving into a new home or to a home for the first time, when starting on a trip, or beginning a new project, and, most recently, even a prayer for a new car.

With regard to marriage as a sacrament, both of the above principles are at work, the inner and the outer. The marriage of two Christians, who are by baptism united with Christ and are continually renewed by the Eucharist with their personal sharing

exhortation concerning 'household duties' (Eph. 5.22-6:9). Meyendorff's statements that "the New Testament introduces a totally new concept of marriage" (p. 18) or that one can speak about "the absolute norm of the New Testament doctrine of marriage as a sacrament" (p. 23) are rather bold.

59. There is a tendency among Orthodox theologians to identify all spiritual life with the Divine Liturgy. This is expressive of a 'cultic pull' in the Orthodox tradition, even if it is articulated in sophisticated terms. The fact is that the new life in Christ is larger than the Liturgy and is also significantly nourished outside of the Liturgy through the personal life of prayer and holy living in the world. We do not wish to suggest dichotomies between Liturgy and life, but only to point to a certain one-sided convergence on Liturgy which should be redressed.

in the new life in Christ, is intrinsically sacramental because their whole beings are in communion with God by the power of the Holy Spirit.⁶⁰ At the same time, as a significant event in life, much more so than the building of a house, marriage is blessed by a special benediction which is now an extended rite. In the early Church no such benediction existed. Ephesians 5 itself, which for many Orthodox theologians is a classic text for a sacramental marriage, quite probably did not presuppose a special blessing!⁶¹ Rather, this passage rests its sacramental view of conjugal relations on the reality of the Christian life which embraces the total life of the husband and wife.

The story of the development of the liturgical benediction of marriage of course cannot here be pursued.⁶² The relationship of the external blessing to the Eucharist also needs a thorough study.⁶³ Here one can only briefly summarize and try to interpret the main outlines of the development. In the early second century A.D., Bishop Ignatius of Antioch counseled Christian couples that they must receive the bishop's consent for marriage. Gradually this consent no doubt included a blessing of some kind. Tertullian later reports that a marriage was blessed by the oblation (Holy Eucharist). Clement of Alexandria states that, in contrast to pagan and perhaps Jewish special rites for marriage, Christians were cleansed for marriage by conversion/repentance, baptism and Holy Communion—they had no special rites. A marriage was according to him sanctified in the Logos when submitted to God in sincerity of heart and fullness of faith.

60. Meyendorff, p. 24, well emphasizes this point by drawing attention to the fact that in marriage we have *two Christians* who are already united with the Body of Christ through the Eucharist.

61. If it did, it was most likely a Jewish blessing or a civil rite depending on whether some of the recipients of this Epistle were Jewish or gentile Christians.

62. See Meyendorff, pp. 18ff., 23ff., 27-32; Constantelos, pp. 44-53, and especially Ritzer, pp. 81-141 and 163-213.

63. That many marriages in the ancient Church were blessed during the Holy Eucharist is undoubted. Yet not all marriages, and some received no Church blessing at all. What is the true relationship of Eucharist to the marriage rite? Is there 'a' true relationship? I do not believe that today, given the development of the marriage rite and human customs, we should just combine the Liturgy and the marriage rite or that necessarily a marriage should be blessed during the Eucharist, although it certainly could be blessed then if so desired. Holy Communion could be restored to the marriage rite just as it occurred in the late Byzantine period. Canonically compelling couples to be married during the Eucharist will not convert them into spiritual beings unless they are already converted into appreciating the spiritual treasure of the Eucharist. See also Meyendorff, pp. 23-27, who holds some different convictions.

Yet special benedictions and the presence of the bishop or priest continued more and more to prevail during the following centuries for several good reasons:⁶⁴ a) the precedent of God's benediction of Adam of Eve; b) added liturgical defense of marriage against heretics who repudiated this institution as sinful; c) the communal character of the Church requiring the pastoral care of the bishop; d) the personal relationships between bishops or priests and couples who were taught by them or were raised under their care, as for example orphans; and e) not the least the honor of having a bishop or priest at a marriage. Thus Chrysostom is a strong witness that marriage blessings (*εὐλογία* or *εὐλογίαι*) were standard but not yet a requirement in his times. Eventually, however, for all the above reasons and the powerful ecclesial impulse to embrace all important moments of life in the liturgical cycle of the Church, special blessings for a marriage not only became predominant but finally became a civil law in ninth-century Byzantium when the identity of Church and Empire probably reached a sufficiently high consciousness. From that time a marriage, to be legally valid, had to receive the external blessing of the Church through the priest or bishop, its ordained representatives. It is from the ninth century on that the marriage rite as we know it today began to develop toward its present form.

The necessity of the external blessing heightened the theological value of the marriage rite in the consciousness of hierarchs, priests, theologians and the people to such an extent that marriage without it was gradually regarded as 'sinful.' This is the context of the tradition so strong among Orthodox people to this day that a marriage, even of Christians, without a Church blessing is to be shunned, and those involved in such a marriage were called "uncrowned" (*ἀστεφάνωτοι*). What is here involved is an almost complete externalization of the sacrament over many centuries, probably accentuated by the development of an excessively lengthy rite. The rite itself seems to become the sacrament because it is seen as conferring through the bishop or priest matrimonial grace uniting the couple in marriage. The extreme form of this externalization in modern times is the concern to find a particular moment during the marriage rite when the marriage is indissolubly sanctified by an

64. For all that follows, I am dependent on K. Ritzer. See above, footnote 52.

external blessing. The couple itself, two baptized Christians who are already leading inherently sacramental lives and are an essential part of the sacrament, is almost forgotten! What seems to have occurred over the centuries is a whole development from a state of high consciousness that the new life in Christ of the two Christians sanctifies marriage without an external blessing, to a state of an impressive rite conferring matrimonial grace as it were externally—without much consciousness of the new life in Christ as being important for the sanctification of marriage. This process must today be corrected. Both of these elements, the inner and the outer, must be equally stressed as necessary. Two persons who are Christians are already living sacramentally because they are united with Christ in the Holy Spirit. This is an essential basis of the sanctification of their marriage. At the same time it would be unthinkable that marriage should not be blessed by a rite in the Church expressing both the couple's integral participation in the life of the Church and the Church's (bishop's) authority overseeing the life of all members of Christ's mystical Body.

3) In the above perspective, what then of the discussion concerning who is the 'minister' of the sacrament? In the Orthodox-Roman Catholic dialogue in the United States, no doubt reflecting a wider theological discussion of marriage among Orthodox and Roman Catholic theologians in theological scholarship, the focal point has been whether the mutual consent of the couple (according to the Roman Catholics) or the blessing by the priest (according to the Orthodox) is decisive for marriage as a sacrament. Both sides, of course, equally require mutual consent and the presence of a priest for an ecclesiastically valid marriage. Yet, it is asked, who, couple or priest, is the 'minister' of the sacrament? It is astonishing that on the Orthodox side such a framing of the question—either/or—has been accepted as a legitimate context for discussion. *Both* the mutual consent of the couple and the blessing of the priest are *equally* required for the validity of marriage according to the teaching of the Orthodox Church.⁶⁵ Here, of course, we have also to be

65. So, for example, according to Karmires, p. 207; Χ. Ἀνδρούτσου, ΔΟΓΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΤΗΣ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΥ ΑΝΑΤΟΛΙΚΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ (Ἀθήναι, 1907), p. 398; Π. Τρεμπέλα, ΔΟΓΜΑΤΙΚΗ, ΙΙΙ (Ἀθήναι, 1961), p. 343; and Ν. Μίλας, ΤΟ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΟΝ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΥ ΑΝΑΤΟΛΙΚΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ (Ἀθήναι, 1906), pp. 825-26. The last also calls for the expression of the mutual consent during the marriage rite.

concerned with the canonical notion of validity and the external signs of it, which complicates the whole matter. The writer cannot here enter this discussion, nor is he competent to do so. Theologically, however, one may observe that mutual consent itself is not merely a legal or canonical notion but above all a spiritual act—it is the mutual consent of *two Christians* who are already united with Christ. It is not that mutual consent as a legal notion or in a magical way of itself confers grace and makes marriage a sacrament, as if two pagan Roman citizens could make their marriage sacramental by their mutual consent! The full significance of mutual consent is seen only in the essential context of two Christians who are by baptism already members of the Body of Christ. Their mutual consent thus carries the full implications of their spiritual standing and spiritual commitment in the decision for marriage—a decision taken in sincerity of heart, fullness of faith, and before God and Christ! Mutual consent is rightly indispensable and should by all means be restored in the Orthodox marriage rite. But as a human decision it cannot of itself transform marriage into a Christian sacrament except on the theological basis that the two persons are already baptized Christians, integrally live the redeemed life of the Church, and submit their decision for marriage to the spiritual care of the Church.

But the presence of the priest—of course not in isolation but in the presence of a congregation—is also required. Is it possible for two Christians to ignore the spiritual, canonical, and liturgical factors in the life of the Church, much less to resist or disobey them, and still contract a sacramental marriage by their mutual consent? No, it is not possible. The presence of a bishop or priest indicating the presence of the Church is therefore just as necessary as the mutual consent of the Christian couple for a valid sacramental marriage. It is not one or the other but both, even if historically the theological significance of the element of the external blessing gradually matures in the consciousness of the Church. This is a genuine contribution of Tradition to the theology of marriage in the Orthodox Church and cannot be given up as mere 'historical development.' Yet, on the Orthodox side, the priest should not be isolated as the presumed 'minister' of the sacrament either. It is not the case that he or the external blessing which he gives alone

confer irresistible matrimonial grace uniting a couple in sacramental marriage in isolation of the couple itself as two persons who are baptized and communicating Christians. Surely it is not only the rite as an external ceremony that constitutes the sacrament but the total event of marriage of the two *Christian persons* who join lives before God in the life of the Church—this is the total *μυστήριον γάμου* in the Orthodox Church! Yet, we must also be cautious on the Orthodox side not to laud marriage as a kind of sacrament of the Kingdom in the same rank as Baptism and the Holy Eucharist.⁶⁶

Thus marriage as a sacrament totally involves the couple as practicing Christians as well as the blessing of their marriage in the liturgical life of the Church. Neither couple nor priest should be isolated. And furthermore, they should not be isolated either as alternative constitutive components of the sacrament or as factors in themselves detached from the life of the Church. The notion in Orthodox theological scholarship that the priest is the ‘minister’ of the sacrament of marriage should once and for all be laid to rest as a probable reaction to the Roman Catholic teaching that the couple is essentially the ‘minister’ of the sacrament and as a telling error of the ingrained habit of doing theology by eager refutation of others. The true minister of the sacrament is God. God—Who works both through the couple and the liturgical life of the Church—is the “Celebrant of mystical and pure marriage,” i.e., marriage as a sacrament. The Orthodox marriage rite correctly again and again invokes God/Christ to bless and unite the couple into the conjugal bond against the background both of a theology of creation and a theology of redemption.

4) Another issue which has received central attention in the Orthodox-Roman Catholic consultation is the problem of ‘interfaith’ or ‘mixed’ marriage, and specifically marriages contracted between Orthodox and Roman Catholic Christians. The underlying concern is whether or not such interfaith marriages which are canonically permitted by both the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches could be allowed to be blessed in

66. So, it seems to me, Meyendorff at times in his book, when he refers to marriage as a sacrament of the Kingdom. True, if this means that marriage, as any other aspect of human life can express the mystery of God's presence. But marriage does not have the salvific powers of Baptism and the Eucharist, which unite us with Christ.

either Church—the choice to be determined by the couple in consultation with their respective priests—or only in the Orthodox Church as the latter strictly requires and the Roman Catholic Church now allows.⁶⁷

Here again, what emerges from the historical development⁶⁸ as theologically crucial is an ecclesiological principle. It is not simply a question of how far this or that doctrine or teaching on marriage approximates or even is identical in Orthodox and Roman Catholic theology. Prolonged discussions on the theological meaning of marriage and on the problem of who is the minister of the sacrament have erroneously tended to presuppose, or at least to suggest that, if agreement were reached on that level, the issue would essentially be solved. But that decidedly is not the case. Although theological agreement on the meaning of the Eucharist, Holy Orders, marriage, and many other things, is very important because it would compellingly point to the few decisive things that theologically separated the two great Churches, what is at stake in the issue of interfaith marriages is the question of 'intercommunion' among Christians who are members of divided Churches. In other words, the relevant issues are: a) in what sense the Orthodox Church can affirm ecclesial reality in the Roman Catholic Church and b) in what sense the Orthodox Church could permit an Orthodox believer to receive an official benediction such as in marriage from another Church not in communion with his own.

The Church as an institution is sometimes selfishly strict in such matters not because it cares so much about the welfare of a couple but because of strategic reasons—not to lose members to another Church. But this is a moral and spiritual failure with regard to the pastoral attitude of the Church. The true theological question still remains. It is whether or not the integrity of the life of the Church is unacceptably compromised, and the personal salvation of an Orthodox Christian imperiled, by the spiritual commitment to have his marriage blessed within the life of the Roman Catholic Church. Of course, the fact that the Orthodox Church even allows interfaith marriages, so long

67. With the permission of the local bishop.

68. See Constantelos, pp. 54-61; Meyendorff, pp. 38-42; and Lewis Patsavos, "The Sacrament of Marriage in Theory and Practice," an unpublished paper presented to the Orthodox-Roman Catholic consultation.

as such marriages are blessed in the Orthodox Church, is in itself already an accommodation of its theological consciousness to the inexorable realities of life. But to permit the blessing of an interfaith marriage in the Roman Catholic Church, and much less in another Church with which it does not share the great catholic tradition, is for the Orthodox a theological leap of a different order, a signal of sacramental intercommunion without full dogmatic agreement, which runs counter to every fiber of the Orthodox Church's integrity as Christ's true Church. This, therefore, is the problem, not who is the minister of the marriage, but the ecclesial setting. And not the ecclesial setting in general or abstract terms, but concretely the Orthodox ecclesial setting! This is the decisive factor—the life of the Church—for the Orthodox sacramental marriage. If such is the case, the writer cannot see how an ecclesiological principle of such magnitude can in good conscience be compromised as long as the divided great Churches remain divided and do not reach union by God's grace on other both wider and deeper grounds.⁶⁹

5) The problem of divorce and second or third marriage, allowed by the Orthodox Church but not by the Roman Catholic Church, has also been discussed in the Orthodox-Roman Catholic consultation. The theological problem raised by divorce and remarriage is a very serious one. Ironically, here Orthodox theologians find themselves usually concerned with defending the Church's correctness in condescending to second and third marriages while Roman Catholic theologians try to find legitimate theological and psychological grounds on which the Church may be able to nullify a first and thus permit a second marriage. I think that the continuation of the discussion on this issue may bear important implications for the theological perceptions of each about plural marriages: for the Roman Catholic side it can make clear the spiritual obligation to support divorced per-

69. If I may be permitted a personal note, I recognize as an Orthodox Christian ecclesial reality in the Roman Catholic Church and I believe that Roman Catholics and other Christians who live the new life in Christ are saved. Moreover, I have at times experienced a closer spiritual affinity with some Roman Catholic Christians than I have with some Orthodox Christians. Nevertheless, as long as the Churches are not in sacramental communion with one another because of dogmatic differences, I cannot see how theologically an Orthodox Christian can be married in the Roman Catholic Church without compromising his own integral communion with his Church. I say this with pain and I deplore the tragedy of division between the great Churches of the East and West.

sons in a second marriage; for the Orthodox side it can redress a lack of sufficient seriousness with regard to the theological problem raised by divorce and plural marriages.

The teaching of Gen. 2.21-24 and the teaching of Jesus unambiguously hold to the ideal of indissoluble monogamous marriage by God's will. The Orthodox tradition affirms the same position. Chrysostom, for example, in his interpretation of Jesus' words (Mt. 19.4-6, *Comm. on Matthew*), states that Christ showed that one man must forever dwell with one woman and never break off from her (and no doubt the reverse). According to Chrysostom, this is the teaching of God in Genesis not only by words but also by creation, for God did not create one Adam and two women, one to send away and another to bring in as a second wife. Also, quoting the Prophet Malachi (cf. Mal. 2.14ff.), Chrysostom again shows that God explicitly castigates conjugal faithlessness and divorce.⁷⁰ Elsewhere interpreting Eph. 5.22-33 (Homily XX, *Comm. on Ephesians*), Chrysostom exaltingly suggests the eternity of marriage when he rhetorically counsels a couple to live the ideal of marriage as Christians so that they may in God's Kingdom be both with Christ and with each other enjoying more abundant pleasure. Marriage thus, for one of the greatest Fathers of the Church, is an indissoluble covenant between husband and wife established and sealed by God.

Yet from ancient times, already in the divorce clause of Matthew (5.32, 19.9) and in the admission of the possibility of divorce, but not re-marriage, by St. Paul (I Cor. 7.10-11), concessions are made to human imperfection. For various reasons the Orthodox Church came to permit, not without imperial pressure, a plurality of consecutive marriages up to the third and had to struggle against permitting a fourth marriage. However, such concessions ought not to be interpreted as facile accommodations to human convenience, but rather as a redemptive refusal to abandon divorced persons in their weakness and/or sin. In ancient times, second and third marriages were not crowned, involved a different rite, and the re-married couple was admitted into Holy Communion only after a penance of several years. Today a second penitential rite is canonically and liturgically designated for second and third marriages. But

70. *P.G.* 51:220-21.

such pastoral sanctions were not strictly observed even in the days of Theodore the Studite, who insists that not only should there not be a coronation for second marriages but the priest as well should not even attend the wedding banquet of such marriages (*P. G.* 99:1093A).

Over the centuries such disciplines were gradually relaxed and even, unfortunately, abandoned. I say unfortunately not because second or third marriages do not deserve to be supported by the Church once they are inevitable. Indeed I should like to affirm that second and third marriages are redeemed by God's grace depending on the faith, repentance, and Christian lives of the spouses. Provided that there is a serious spiritual struggle, these marriages, too, are sacramental. The Church should by all means be ready in every possible way to work for the redemption of such marriages. What is unfortunate about the abandonment of remedial sanctions is the lack of sufficient seriousness on the part of the Church regarding the tragedy of divorce as a grave spiritual sin. Behind divorce there *is* a previous spiritual deadness in Christian marriages about which the Church must care. Two Christian spouses who live the new life in Christ, and who know of the the power of forgiveness, love, and reconciliation, cannot be divorced—*μὴ γένοιτο!*—at least not unless one or both of the spouses either impulsively or gradually becomes spiritually dead, which is a grave sin. The Church needs to become far more conscious of the fact that a Christian marriage, i.e., a true sacramental marriage in Christ—as long as both the spouses are in communion with Christ and do not abandon their faith and their commitment to Him—cannot fail, simply because Christ never fails! But if one of the spouses or both become spiritually dead, are divorced, and then seek second and third marriages, how can they then be re-married to others in the Church without pastoral attention for the cure of their spiritual deadness? This is a grave lapse in the pastoral ministry of the Church.

6) The final issue which I would like to consider is that of pastoral care for marriages in the Orthodox Church. Chrysostom once wrote that as marriage is a haven, so it can be a shipwreck (*ὥσπερ οὖν λημὴν ἐστὶν ὁ γάμος, οὕτω καὶ ναυάγιον*).⁷¹ A theology of marriage, beyond theological talk, must be directed

71. *P. G.* 51:217.

to reality. The Church has a pastoral responsibility toward marriage. The Church is not merely to bless marriages, but also to give guidance to couples toward well-chosen marriages and to strengthen present marriages. Marriage is a gift but also a task, as has been noted. We need to explore far more deeply the nature of it as a task. The sacrament of marriage has been so externalized and almost totally identified with the religious rite that couples are almost passive participants hoping that somehow a Church blessing may portend good things for them in their life. For many couples the experience of a Church marriage is signing papers in the Church office, paying their financial obligation, and having a colorful ceremony on their wedding day. Where then is the *μυστήριον γάμου*? We must raise people's consciousness with regard to the depth of marriage and the riches of its blessings. But such a heightening of consciousness must be done at the people's level—with long-term pastoral care through revitalized preaching, Christian education, seminars, effective encounters and retreats, competent personal consultations, helpful readable literature on marriage, and above all with burning faith in Jesus Christ, the One Who has betrothed the Church and alone can renew Christian couples.

The Church has a tremendous spiritual investment in marriage. Christian persons make Christian couples. Christian couples make Christian marriages. Christian marriages make Christian homes. Christian homes make Christian families. Christian families make up the Church. To build solid marriages, to support weak ones, and to help marriages to grow means to build up the Church in the intrinsic sense: to redeem people and to offer to them life in communion with Jesus Christ. Young people must continuously be taught to anticipate marriage as life's greatest spiritual event—far beyond the choosing of a career, buying a house, or achieving material success—and to prepare for it by growing to maturity through their faith commitment. Parents must be made more conscious to allow the 'leaving' of their children when they are ready for marriage, a leaving which is both a physical and emotional process. If they do not leave, how can they ever succeed in becoming 'one' in their own marriage?

We must help couples through guidance and concrete programs to grow toward companionship, mutual love, and sup-

porting submission to each other based on the strength of their life in Christ. Marriage involves commitment and spiritual growth—it follows the ways of the Cross and of the Gospel just as the groom and bride follow the liturgical book of the Holy Gospels in the marriage procession—before marriage can truly be crowned with all the blessings of the wedding rite. The gift of being united into ‘one’ by marriage involves a task which in reality is a *process*. It is a life-long process of mutual cleaving and continually becoming ‘one’ at different levels, physical, emotional, mental and spiritual. The task can only be accomplished by God’s grace and the couple’s freely-chosen and deliberate pursuit to overcome selfishness.⁷² The depth of Christian marriage is in various degrees only found, just as in the case of the couple’s relationship with God, in free surrender to each other on the basis of their faith, trust and love. Then the theological ideal of Ephesians 5 regarding marriage is transformed into empirical reality. Such a marriage is already the best gift that a husband and wife can in their lifetime offer to their children, whom they decisively influence by the quality of their marriage relationship.

In Ephesians 5.22-33 the important text of Gen. 2.24 which speaks of the becoming “one flesh” of Adam and Eve is interpreted as pre-figuring the mystery of the union of Christ and the Church. This union is now no longer a hope but reality! So also the ideal of Christian marriage is not a dream but reality. Chrysostom movingly writes on Ephesians 5 (Homily XX) that as Christ leaves the Father to become incarnate, to betroth the Church, and become one Spirit with it, so also in marriage two young people leave father and mother—and everyone rejoices!—to be joined together in a precious and everlasting relationship. How much Christian marriages ought to be gloriously fulfilled in Christ! What is the key to a true Christian marriage? The new life in Christ is the key to a fulfilled marriage. The couple’s care for continuous spiritual renewal is the golden key which unlocks marriage as a sacrament. Let Christian couples be united with Christ in the Holy Spirit and let them in Christ be fully united with each other as they continually grow in the communion of marriage—that indeed is a great mystery.

72. This idea, as well as others in these paragraphs, I owe to Gordon MacDonald and Walter Trobisch. See above, notes 49 and 50.

Recommendations

On the basis of the above study, I would like to make three specific recommendations regarding Orthodox marriage.

1) The diversity in the development of the marriage rite as evidenced in the manuscripts suggests a fundamental fluidity in the liturgical texts which never seem to try to reach some absolute canonical norm as often supposed. The liturgical texts are always in process. They respond to the life of the Church rather than to some ideal canonical liturgical formation. Therefore, the historical development of the marriage rite invites liturgical revision. My recommendation is that the current marriage rite most definitely needs revision especially for the sake of brevity, the elimination of repetitions, and enrichment through prayers that are closer to the lives of the Orthodox faithful. Of course, the basic structure and beauty of the rite should not be changed.

2) We noted as well the importance of the participation of the Orthodox couple in the sacrament of marriage. In this connection, it is crucial that the betrothal and/or marriage vows be restored to the rite. The mutual consent of the couple, a constitutive factor in the sacrament of marriage, is extremely significant and must be given liturgical expression. Otherwise the Orthodox couple remains totally passive in the blessing of their own marriage, perhaps a signal to the passivity toward their marriage as a sacrament for the rest of the spouses' lives.

3) A final related recommendation is that clergymen, theologians, and Christian teachers should more often articulate the total view of the sacrament of marriage involving personally the couple itself. The sacrament of marriage, as we noted, is not merely the text of the rite, or the external blessing, but above all the persons who are married by God's grace. The sacrament of marriage (as also the other sacraments) does not exist *in vacuo*. It exists always in married people. Sacramental marriage continues as a spiritual reality throughout the spouses' lives. Blessed by God, their whole life is the sacrament of marriage which may be deepened and experienced in its total fullness as the spouses grow in Christ.

JOSEPH J. ALLEN

THE ORTHODOX PRIESTLY CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE 70's AND 80's

Introduction: Consciousness and Entrance

The first impulse for the Orthodox writer, particularly as he explores one subject such as "The Orthodox Priestly Consciousness," is to turn to sources under which our entire ethos is subsumed. We are, after all, a Church of the great *παράδοσις*, the great Tradition, and thus we appeal to our sacramental life, the great Fathers of our Church, and Holy Scripture, which comprise that great Tradition.

One cannot deal with the "Orthodox" perspective of Priestly consciousness without some degree of study and synthesizing of the various patristic reflections. However, it should be stated here that reference to the works of the Fathers in such a study must speak about more than the 'shoulds' and 'woulds' of the Priesthood, e.g. Chrysostom's *On the Priesthood*. I refer to what the Priesthood *means* in terms of 'consciousness' for today.

Particularly important, then, are those patristic reflections which deal with Baptism and the Eucharist as *ἡ εἵσοδος τῶν ἁγίων σου*, the "entrance of the Holy ones." This is true because our 'consciousness' as Orthodox Priests, which we will shortly define, must ultimately deal with the concept of a continual 'entrance' *ἐν Χριστῷ* with its varying implications.

St. Paul, in Romans 6:1-11, aptly set the stage for both the need for seeing the Priestly consciousness in relation to the concept of entrance as begun—but not ended—at the Baptismal event, and the Fathers' use of such Baptismal imagery as it relates to the task of the Priesthood.

Specifically, a task such as this would have to include implications, beginning with Baptismal images, which extend from the Pauline Epistles, through the Apostolic Fathers and Apologists, e.g. St. Ignatius of Antioch, through St. Irenaeus' theory of 'recapitulation,' St. Athanasius' early theory of *Θέωσις*, St. Hippolytus of Rome, and most particularly for the Orthodox, St. Cyril of Jerusalem (the *Mystagogical Catechesis and Proto-*

catechesis), the Cappadocians, St. John Chrysostom—and even, in part, Theodore Mopsuestia.

For these Fathers, whose own consciousness was pregnant with the idea of *ἡ εἰσόδος*, Baptism was only the beginning of an ongoing configuration of every individual life to Christ's death and Resurrection. It was to be celebrated *pas encore*, but its action, i.e., the 'event,' was related to and fulfilled in the 'process' of continual growth. Their consciousness was inundated with this life-task.

The writings of the Fathers, then, are probably where any Orthodox writer would begin; it is good and proper to do so. In fact, timely with this point, we could refer to the recent issue of the *Theological Review*, published by this School, to see a very succinct review of the Priesthood as seen through the writing of the Three Hierarchs (see "The Image of the Priest According to the Three Hierarchs" by Lewis J. Patsavos). Furthermore, it seems by the title of the subjects which were presented before this talk, many such points which deal around the 'woulds' and 'shoulds' of the Priesthood will have been developed.

The title of this particular paper, however, compels a presentation in light of both that which we have received, i.e., the great Tradition, and its application to our present and most complex situation 'in the 70's and 80's.' I daresay that it is that latter part of the title which represents the greatest problem and demands of us, again, more than a patristical exposition, for example, of the 'shoulds' of the Priesthood. In short, the title implies more than 'removing the dust from the furniture,' important as that may be as a beginning point; we must investigate how those 'shoulds,' given to us by our Orthodox Tradition, can be applicable to a consciousness in which life is to be directed toward 'entrance.'

The course of that which follows will be to investigate first the *meaning* of Priestly consciousness, and secondly, what it is that we (as Priests) are to have a consciousness of.

The Meaning of Consciousness for the Priesthood

Before we continue we must side-step for a moment in order to first understand exactly what we mean by 'consciousness.' In order to do so, we must make two important points which will reveal its meaning.

First, the word 'consciousness' as it is meant in a presentation such as this refers to the ability to 'discern'; increasing consciousness means increasing discernment. As an example, one can argue that the world is there whether or not one knows it. But the world is there *for man when he discovers it*. Joan Reviere meant this when she said: "The baby cannot distinguish between 'me' and 'not-me.'"¹ The infant, which can be for us an example for this point, is not able to 'discern'; he is not conscious of *his own self* apart from, for example, his mother's breast.

For the infant not yet 'discerning,' there is not even awareness of reality *outside himself* (The Narcissus Myth speaks the 'truth' about this human condition in which one is only aware of, and enraptured by, his own self). The infant, since his self and the outside source of his nourishment are one, finds himself in a state before any subject-object differentiation; he has not discovered his world or his place in that world. He has no sense of his own 'identity' as a separate entity. One, therefore, cannot 'discern' even opposites or differentiate phenomena at all where there is yet no light of consciousness.

Phylogenetically, like the above ontogenetic aspect of consciousness, the condition of Adam and Eve before 'the Fall' meant this condition before discernment and differentiation. That, in turn, means the condition *before* "the knowledge of good and evil" which was surely needed by all of us after 'the Fall.'

Owing to the orientation and scope of this presentation, however, little more can be said here, but this is surely how one such as Berdyaev can even say, "moral distinctions are a result of the Fall."²

I have taken the time to make these points here because all that follows with regard to the consciousness of the Priesthood needs such an understanding; much more could be explored and developed were this a discussion solely of 'consciousness.' These understandings, more specifically, are important because they point up the fact that consciousness for the Priesthood *also* means certain qualities of discernment: one's sense of self, one's self-possession, one's being, one's identity—all of which refer to *the image one has of himself and of his task* in the world.

1. Joan Reviere, "Hate, Greed and Aggression," *Love, Hate and Reparation* (London: The Hogarth Press, Ltd., 1967), p. 9.

2. Nicholas Berdyaev, *The Destiny of Man* (New York: Harper and Row, 1960), p.35.

Furthermore, the *operation and function* of one's consciousness proceed from a relatively permanent pattern. As one functions, then, certain structures are released. Thus, arithmetic skills form one structure, medicine another, language another, etc. One's 'state' of consciousness is composed of all the structures that are released within a person at any given moment. Out of all the components of what it is that shapes a 'personality,' we can say that one's consciousness lies in the forefront.

What does all this have to do with the Orthodox and Priestly consciousness as it confronts the problems of the 70's and 80's, and in its attempt to continue in the process of ἡ εἰσόδος? In other words, about *what* do we have to be aware, sensitive and 'discerning,' especially if we believe that the real *locus theologicus* of the Fathers which guides us to guide others is the 'history of salvation?' How are our lives in the Priesthood supposed to be a transparency, a 'symbol' in the purest sense, which makes visible, audible, and even tangible, the presence of Christ?

These are 'identity' questions which deal at this level of consciousness. They are complicated by the fact that the Orthodox Priest cannot be "now a Priest, now not a Priest," in the professional sense of the word. His person, his being, indeed, his very personality, are all forthcoming from a *life* (rather than an occupation or profession) which has a relatively permanent pattern and structure. It seems that both the writings and the lives of the Fathers of our Church testify to this truth: the consciousness of the Priesthood is a *life*-consciousness.

The second point with regard to the meaning of the consciousness of the Priesthood has to do with the fact that consciousness is always consciousness *of something*. Contrary to many contemporary theories of 'self-realization' and psychological liberation, it is *not* something in itself which then enters into a relationship with something else. The relationship to the 'other' enters into the very essence of consciousness, and it is thus codetermined by the term to which it is related. Said simply, *there is no self-contained consciousness*.³ The consciousness of the Priesthood, i.e., the self-awareness of the Priest, cannot be separated from the 'other'—God, man, Church, cosmos, etc.—who helps to formulate his very own consciousness.

3. Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. Colin Smith (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962), p. VIII.

This is even true as the Priest deals with God; God in His essence may remain *ἀκατάληπτος*, 'incomprehensible,' but that very incomprehensibility becomes a part of his consciousness. In fact, it is precisely on that account, i.e., God as the *Θάτερον*, the 'wholly Other,' that one like St. Gregory of Nyssa claims man's consciousness is formed as he engages his life in the process of *ἄπαντος πορεία* ("endless seeking").

Having made these points, if only in part due to the limitations of this particular paper, about the *meaning* of consciousness, and in particular the Priestly consciousness, we can now turn to *how it relates* to the problems of the 70's and 80's as it endeavors to bring man to God, that is, as it attempts to fulfill the Baptismal challenge of continual 'entrance.' We thus move from what it *means*, to what we are, in fact, to have a consciousness *of* in this life.

We can locate three of the many areas of how the Priestly consciousness is to deal with our times. The three areas, at one point or another, must deal with both the Priestly consciousness of *itself*, or of one's own Priesthood, and a consciousness of the 'other' with which he must deal.

These three areas of consciousness are: 1) the Priestly consciousness of the personhood of 'other,' 2) the Priestly consciousness of self, and 3) the Priestly consciousness of Christ.

The Priestly Consciousness of the Personhood of 'Other'

All these three areas are most important in terms of consciousness today, especially as we face the dilemma of the immediate future. Considering the Priestly consciousness of personhood, one only has to remember the stunning prospects of Alvin Toffler's *Future Shock*: genetically prescribed babies bred in test tubes and 'purchased' in a baby mart; the development of 'super-brains' to engage in horrible warfare; 'cloning,' i.e., physically copying a living organism from genetic material, etc. He says, further, "... it may then become possible to combine the human brain with a whole set of artificial sensors, receptors and effectors, and to call that tangle of wire and plastic a human being."⁴ No person can say where this really will end. What kind of blurred definition of 'man' is this? In this bicentennial year, to what "inalienable rights" can we refer, in

4. Alvin Toffler, *Future Shock* (New York: Bantam Books, 1970), p. 209.

the face of such control by the arbitrary wish of the technologist? Can we hope that someone, somewhere, will believe that something which *can* be done, should not *necessarily* be done?

All this seems to be a bizarre fantasy. It may be. For sure, these are, in a sense, 'new' problems, and along with the current problems of deciding who is living and dead, i.e., problems of Euthanasia, of laws which freely allow abortion, or possibilities for organ transplantation, etc. (before all of which our Fathers would surely have been left mind-boggled!), we are called to the greatest concentration of value definition, of knowledge of spiritual error, and of application of the timeless laws of our faith.

As was earlier mentioned, each answer for each question cannot yet totally be had. But the one timeless law that we must tenaciously stick by is "the law of personhood." All of what we have hitherto proposed as futuristic and frightening leads to a condition of objectification and depersonalization of human life. Here is where the teaching of the Fathers surely applies: man created with the *imago dei*, one who by that definition can cooperate freely in the process of *συνεργεία* with God's grace. Our consciousness of the Priesthood can never accept any idea of 'other' who is depersonalized. We are to lead to 'entrance' not objects, but persons; *τῶν ἁγίων σου*, thy holy ones, are selves, persons, saints! Our priestly consciousness of 'other,' in terms of this ultimate condition of depersonalization and objectification of human life, although it may not have each individual *answer*, can be a challenge in the form of this question: Can a Church, so rooted in the Christ-like encounter (*ἡ εἰσόδος*), develop from that rootedness in those universal teachings of the Fathers, the Liturgy, etc., a strategy for one such future? Can our great *παράδοσις* speak clearly in its face? Losing our sense of balance before such possibilities, will we be caught up in such extreme polarities as the belief that the Fathers are either a panacea for all our contemporary problems, or conversely, that they are completely worthless? The continual asking of such *questions* is only the beginning of arriving at some sort of *answers*, but these questions must be asked *ab origine*. Of course, we must then find the means and the instruments of decision and communication for the Orthodox consciousness to speak to these problems. One can only hope that Orthodox hierarchy and seminaries will initiate these discussions and procedures quickly.

we can easily miss this pervading condition in those whom we serve as Priests.

It is very easy to get an audience if one preaches against conceit and pride in one's self, for most people feel so empty and convinced of their lack of worth anyway, that they readily agree that the one who is condemning them must be right.⁸

How difficult it is for one to live the ideals of Christian life when caught up in this condition! Charles Reich in the *Greening of America*:

We have all known the loneliness, the emptiness, the plastic isolation of contemporary America . . . and what caused the American system to go wrong in such an organic way? The first crucial fact is the existence of a universal sense of powerlessness.⁹

It is known by many names: apathy, passivity, boredom, alienation, anxiety—in fact, one could well call it *legion*—all different ways of referring to the experience of meaninglessness and insignificance. Our Priestly consciousness of the personhood of 'other,' that is, the one whom we serve as Priest, will constantly be faced with the possibility of his inner experience of impotence, of having the conviction that even if he *did* act, his actions would be ineffective and make no difference.

We have already alluded to the fact that there is a great difference between pride and the feeling of self-worth. The central core of our ministry, as we are to lead the Baptized self, is to deal with this loss of 'the sense of self,' of the undermining of his experience of himself *as responsible*, of his will and ability to make decisions, of the lack of faith in the effect of his action.

This feeling of self-worth which we must continually pass on to Baptized selves also has moral implications beyond those which we have just mentioned. What one does or desires, since it seems to make no difference in any case, will finally arrive

8. May, p. 85.

9. Charles Reich, *The Greening of America* (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 10.

Meaninglessness and Insignificance

But there are also less phenomenal aspects of dealing with the Priestly consciousness of the personhood of 'other,' and it is closely related to our previous point on depersonalization. We mean here the problem of *meaninglessness and insignificance*. It is related to the former because the 'other' whom we serve and whom we want to lead to 'entrance,' in fact depersonalizes *himself* when he suffers from this condition by not realizing the value of his own self.

The Church is built upon each self, whom St. Peter called the λίθα ζῶντες, the "living stones" (I Peter 2:5). One suffering from this condition of meaninglessness can hardly see himself as a part of, or operate within, the Church as a 'living stone.' Our Priestly consciousness must constantly confront this condition by helping 'other' to question and discover that his life has meaning and significance.

In his introduction to Victor Frankl's book, *Man's Search for Meaning*,⁵ Gordon Allport comments that Frankl would sometimes ask those whom he was trying to help: "Why do you not commit suicide?" This is a very important question about one's meaning in life.

It is doubtful whether anyone really begins to live, that is, to affirm and choose his own existence, until he has frankly confronted the terrifying choice that he could wipe out his existence, but *chooses* not to. Since one is free to die, he is free also to live.⁶

One chooses 'not to die' when he has decided to live, that is, when his life has meaning. Hermann Diem further comments about the task of our Priestly consciousness of the meaningfulness of the life of 'other.' "Humanity can be healthy only when each man is passionately concerned with the way he should live his life."⁷

The implications of such meaninglessness and insignificance are all around us. In our preaching against the evil cause by 'pride,'

5. Victor Frankl, *Man's Search for Meaning* (New York: Washington Square Press, 1963), p. IX.

6. Rollo May, *Man's Search for Himself* (New York: The New American Library, Inc., 1967), p. 146.

7. Hermann Diem, *Kierkegaard* (Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1970), p. 176.

at a 'numbing' stage in which he withdraws into apathy. The moral outcome of one's loss of self-worth, of insignificance, etc., is captured by the following example, albeit in the extreme condition of the concentration camp, where the fall into complete 'numbing' can be seen:

The man with the corpse approached the steps. Wearily he dragged himself up. Then the body: first the feet, then the trunk, and finally—with an uncanny rattling noise—the head of the corpse bumped up the two steps. My place was on the opposite side of the hut, next to the small, sole window, which was near the floor. While my cold hands clasped a bowl of hot soup from which I sipped greedily, I happened to look out of the window. The corpse which had just been removed stared in at me with glazed eyes. Two hours before I had spoken to that man. Now I continued sipping my soup.¹⁰

It is *care* which stands against hopelessness; there is no hope if one does not care. As elementary as it seems, we as Priests must have a consciousness of *care* as the beginning of teaching others to do likewise. This lesson has been given to us: the Christian has hope because God, through Christ and the Holy Spirit, *cares* about him. Thus, man must care about self, his destiny, others.

In terms of our consciousness of the personhood of 'other,' we cannot forget that for one to care, one must first feel 'cared for'; we have come to realize that to be 'cared for' and to 'care about' are not easily separated. If we expect them to 'care about' self, others, God, 'entrance,' etc., we must genuinely 'care for' them.

The Priestly Consciousness of Self

The second consideration of the Priestly consciousness deals with the awareness or the 'discernment' of our *selves* as Priests. It is inextricably bound to our consciousness of 'other.' As we have just mentioned, there is no self-contained consciousness; 'other' is a very part of 'self.' For the Orthodox, for example,

10. Frankl, pp. 34-35.

those who speak of 'self-realization' must come to know that Christ must be a very part of the self which must be realized. In short, if 'other' is Christ, we then come to realize that self-consciousness cannot be disassociated from Christ-consciousness. Furthermore, this Christ-consciousness is the true dividing line between popular religion in general and the Christian Faith. Such ideas of general 'religion' as good, helpful, democratic, etc., so popular in this bicentennial year, may even be demonic and in need of exorcism. It is Christ-consciousness bound to self-consciousness which reminds us that Orthodox Christianity has a 'content' and, although it may be phenomenologically and cosmologically in continuity with 'religion,' is different from it.

More particularly, as to our awareness of ourselves as persons who are Christ-conscious and thus leading others to 'entrance,' we can turn to two of the many images which can lead to that awareness. The first awareness focuses upon our role-awareness, the second upon the awareness of our own humanity.

Role-Awareness

In a recent and most enlightening book, *Pastoral Care in the Modern Hospital*, the author compares, quite deliberately and not cynically, the hospital chaplain with a *clown*. The manner in which he does that speaks of these points of role-awareness as Priests.

His point is that the clown is a necessity in the circus since he brings continuity to it. It is the clown who is the genuine *human* thread that runs throughout the entire circus, holding it together as a coherent and meaningful process, rather than a mere series of unrelated and expert acts. Staying with this analogy for a moment more, are we not as Priests in this life, just as the clown is to the circus, the genuine human thread which is to be the continuity and the 'holding together' in the face of the entire gamut of emotions? Do we not have to weave together in a meaningful and depthful manner an experience of sorrow as expressed by St. John of Damascus in the Funeral Service, "I weep and I wail when I think upon death . . .," and also the joy as expressed in the Marriage Sacrament, "Crown them with glory and honor"? Do we not have to offer coherence to a life which extends from birth, to baptism, to growth, to marriage, and even a perspective that enables us to see beyond this life?

In this way, our consciousness of ourselves in the "arena of life" to which St. John Chrysostom refers in his *First Homily to the Catechumens*, must be like the consciousness of the clown in another arena, that is, as he (the clown) is

to show the ability to find the genuine, the authentic, on the edges of life: the wry smile in the face of failure; the strange victory of the man who recognizes his weakness, his powerlessness and failure, and accepts it as a part of the scheme of things; the little man who continues to have faith in something indestructible.¹¹

We, as Priests, certainly have to be rooted in the tenets of our Faith, the truths about life, death, resurrection, Baptism, the Eucharist, etc., as we live in these boundary situations of our existence: anxiety, grief, the absurd, setbacks.

Of the clown, it can be said that he has an

Openness and sympathy in love; a feel for the fringes of human life; a kind of inner freedom; the ability to share suffering, compassion; humor . . . ; a great deal of patience and wisdom.¹²

Since, as we have said, our Priestly consciousness is to be a life-consciousness, our entire life must be, at once, person and symbol, i.e., person who must point beyond himself to a greater reality. Above such a model of our person, i.e., one who has a consciousness of his 'self' as such a symbol, is the question, "Can we lead others to where we are not?"

Awareness of Our Own Humanity

Besides our role-awareness with the Priestly consciousness of self, we must also have an awareness of our own humanity. Unless that awareness is part of our structure of consciousness, we will be more 'sheriff' than shepherd.

We, as Priests, for example, must not only be aware of the presence of the Evil One—the Devil—who is operative in our external world, but must also come to realize the need to struggle with the sign of the old Adam *within*, with a kind of *possibility to do evil* which exists in our "inward parts," as *Psalms 51* says.

11. Heije Faber, *Pastoral Care in the Modern Hospital* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971). p. 82.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

The problem with many of us Priests is that we fail to even *recognize* it; we do not bring it into our consciousness, and thus we feel immune; it belongs 'out there' with the parishioner. Unless one recognizes this capacity to do evil as a possibility in his own life, and as part of his humanity, *it controls him* instead of his controlling it.

Our Liturgy is full of this recognition of that 'dark side' of our lives. Every "Lord, have mercy" speaks of it. The Communion Prayer of St. John Chrysostom, "I believe, O Lord, and I confess that thou art the Son of the living God who came into the world to save sinners of whom *I am* chief . . ." Or the Cherubic Prayer: "Look down upon me, a sinner, thine unprofitable servant, and cleanse my soul and heart from an evil conscience . . ."

Such consciousness of our humanity, of our limitations, of our possibility to do evil, etc., is not a 'put down,' as some critics of the Church have claimed She is interested in doing. They claim the Church deprives us, makes us neurotic, pushes man down. Not that 'put down,' but rather, it puts man right back there with the first Adam (before he 'fell'), when his initial vision of himself was as one who is *limited, dependent, created*—in the deepest sense—*caused*, standing before Him who is unlimited, who is the *Causar*.

Only *after* the recognition that we are limited do we as Priests know *from* where to begin; the Priest knows his identity as a man created and thus is able himself to move, to create, to be a 'causer.'

Consciousness of one's limitedness as a Priest is related to the very movement of the Liturgy. In the Liturgy, we move from the Greek Ektenia and its supplicative words of limited beings, along with the prayer of the Trisagion and its most important words "ὁ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ οὐτος" ("who has creat out of nothing"), up to Στῶμεν καλῶς ("Let us stand aright—" or beautiful, or even in this same *sense* of the Liturgy—"reborn"), all of which indicates that only after the expression of our limitation can we be the Priest who 'offers' and who stands again at the center of the cosmos as the primordial Priest and lifts up the gifts.

This is absolutely crucial to the Orthodox vision of our own selves as Priests. If we are to lead other Baptized selves to ἡ εἰσοδος, if our mission and ministry is to reconcile man and God,

we must first engage in the struggle to *reconcile ourselves*. This struggle entails a recognition and consciousness of our own inner lives as limited, dependent and human.

We can only ask here: how many Priests are cut off from the 'depths' of those they serve, because they are cut off from their own 'depths'? How many Priests 'act out' in a surface way, i.e., as a 'form,' because they are truncated from their own depths. And yet, we are reminded that it is from those very depths that we indeed struggle before God: "Out of the depths have I cried unto thee, O Lord" (*Psalm 130* and *Vespers*).

For us Americans, this recognition of our capacity to do evil is even more difficult. It was St. Paul who said, "Wretched man that I am, Who will deliver me . . ." And again he says, "The things I don't want to do, that is what I do!" He recognized the reality of the 'old Adam,' the defect, the mark—and his ministry reflected that kind of humility. The same idea is difficult for us as Americans, because we somehow think we have reached the 'objective right.' Our hero is a Popeye and Superman, a Batman who is the 'proper citizen.' How shocked we are that a Watergate could happen!

However, it is imperative that we Priests avoid delusion. How else can we 'listen'? One who is not in touch with his own inner depths cannot listen; he *hears*, but he hears only words and not meanings. And we mean here to listen to both God and man.

When someone who is suffering deeply comes to us, he is saying more than the words are speaking; his whole body speaks; his heart and mind hurt; and we must 'listen' at *that* level to encounter his pain. He who is not in touch with his own pain cannot listen in this depth.

This is a type of 'listening with the third ear'—a passive awareness and sensitivity to all these phenomena. These are often called *metacommunications*. With this deep communication, this true 'listening,' we touch closely the image that Christ Himself gives us as shepherd and counselor. There is here a 'compulsion to surrender.' With the Priesthood, we surrender to those we love like the artist surrenders to his art, the craftsman surrenders to his craft, the mother surrenders to her child. Such complete listening, which begins with one's own human limitedness, requires such a surrender to this 'other,' allowing him to enter into us!

Healing can happen no other way. We would rather not get involved, rather not communicate with his pain; better to remain at the surface level where we do not get hurt. This is true because to listen like this is like a wound. A wound is an opening in the walls—a passage through which we may also become infected; it hurts. But precisely here is the image of Christ as the ‘wounded healer,’ the one who heals by his own wounds. We, too, as we deal with the Priestly consciousness of self, must be in touch with our own humanity, and then, ‘listening,’ must be wounded healers.

The Priestly Consciousness of Christ

The third and last aspect of the Priestly consciousness is the consciousness of Christ. We have already said much about this. Just to be mentioned now, however, is the reminder that in the Liturgy, the Sacrament of the Eucharist represents the redemptive acts of Christ with the same ontological reality which it had when it was elicited by Christ on earth. In the same sense in which we can see that the act which gives to us the Sacrament happened in one moment, we can understand that, in fact, it also continues as a kind of *interior disposition*, a stable *habitus*; our *act* of the Sacrament as Priests must carry this dual dynamic. More than any particular act, then, our consciousness must live in this *habitual disposition* which is rather the *source* of action.

Finally, however, returning to our previous point of ‘listening,’ we as Orthodox Priests must at times be more like Mary than Martha. None of the points which were hitherto presented can be realized without taking that time, like Mary, to stop all the activity and hustle in order to sit at the feet of Christ and listen. Unlike Martha, who was “troubled over many things,” we, like Mary, must choose as the scripture says, “the good part which shall not be taken away from her.”

THOMAS FITZGERALD

THE PATRIARCHAL ENCYCLICALS ON CHRISTIAN UNITY 1902-1973

Introduction

The Ecumenical Movement is one of the most important aspects of contemporary Christianity. Not since the schism between the Church of Rome and the Church of Constantinople in the eleventh century or the Reformation in the sixteenth century has there been a more important ecclesiological event to touch the lives of layperson, cleric, and theologian. In the years which have passed since the beginning of this century, we have witnessed the achievement of more toward the understanding of the various Christian traditions and the overcoming of the barriers which divide those traditions than in any period of equal length in the history of the Church. Only in this century have persons from every major tradition of Christianity come to reaffirm the conviction that division before the Holy Altar is not normal to the life of the Church. Such divisions are serious not simply because a divided Church gives scandal to the world but also because divisions have the ability to poison and pervert all our Church actions, our theological reflections, and our common mission to the world.

Under the leadership of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the Orthodox Church has been an active participant in the contemporary quest for Christian unity since the beginning of this century. Although the degree and quality of Orthodox participation have developed throughout the years, the positive commitment of the Orthodox Church in general and the Patriarchate of Constantinople in particular, to the principals of ecumenism has remained constant and firm. It is expressed forcefully by Archbishop Iakovos, who has been devoted to the quest for Christian unity for more than thirty years. He says:

Orthodoxy being true to her history and traditions and compelled by the consciousness of her God-ordained task, is present and intends to be present and to participate actively in

all ecumenical conversations so long as their aim is to restore the disrupted unity of Christendom.¹

There are a number of documents which bear witness to Orthodoxy's participation in the contemporary ecumenical movement.² Among the most important of these are the Encyclicals which have been issued by the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the *primus inter pares* episcopal See of Eastern Christianity. Although no encyclical should be viewed as a dogmatic statement, they are of the greatest significance because they reflect the developing tradition of the Church. The Patriarchal Encyclicals manifest the official teaching of the Church on a given subject and at a particular time in history.

This study will examine four major encyclicals devoted to the cause of Christian unity which have been promulgated by the Ecumenical Patriarchate thus far during this century. These official documents reveal that the Church of Constantinople's commitment to the quest for Christian unity has been official and constant from the very beginning of this century. The Patriarchate's involvement in the Ecumenical Movement has not resulted from chance or from the prompting of other Churches. Quite to the contrary, its participation is an expression of Orthodoxy's deep-rooted belief that schism and division not only are contrary to the prayer of our Lord, but are also alien and debilitating to the life of the Church.

The Early Encyclicals of 1902 and 1920

The first Patriarchal encyclical of this century which considered the issue of Christian unity was promulgated long before there were any major signs of those trends which we call today the 'Ecumenical Movement.' On 12 June 1902, Patriarch Joachim III issued the first encyclical of this century in which the question of Orthodox relations with the Western Churches was formally raised. The encyclical was addressed from the Church of Constantinople to its sister autocephalous Orthodox Churches. The purpose of the document was twofold. First, the letter suggested the possibility of some form of theological

1. Archbishop Iakovos, "The Contribution of Eastern Orthodoxy to the Ecumenical Movement," *Ecumenical Review* 11.4 (1959), 396.

2. See *Guidelines for Orthodox Christians in Ecumenical Relations*, ed. Robert Stephanopoulos (New York: Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops in America, 1973), and *Tomos Agapis, Vatican-Phanar 1958-1970* (Rome, 1971).

In following the "path of evangelical love and peace," the letter forsook the path of hostility and polemics which at the turn of the century had been quite commonplace in conversations between divided Christians.

There are two other important aspects of this encyclical which demand further attention. For one thing, the letter made a significant affirmation regarding the possibility of unity. In spite of existing divisions which deserved common study, the encyclical expressed the belief that the unity of the Church was "a real possibility in time." This conviction boldly confronts those who believe that the unity of the Church is something to be realized only in the *Parousia*. In expressing this very positive view which sees the real possibility of overcoming differences, the encyclical clearly sees schism and division not as a necessary problem which must be tolerated, but rather as an evil abomination and scandal which must be eliminated. To see schism and division in this light is also to believe that the Church has a real obligation in the present to work toward their removal.

Further, the encyclical provided in outline fashion a modest proposal on how such a task might be undertaken. The Patriarch expressed the conviction that the pilgrimage to unity could be inaugurated by the various Churches through such simple steps as the recognition of similarities and the re-examination of controversial issues. Here, the encyclical made a very practical and significant proposal for joint theological discussion and dialogue, which has now become commonplace. The important principle expressed was the belief that existing differences should not prevent contacts between the traditions for common theological reflection. The modest proposal was a clear sign that the centuries-old formal isolation between East and West could be broken and that formal contacts could be established.

Professor Basil Istavrides, the distinguished author and theologian attached to the Ecumenical Patriarchate, has written that the autocephalous Orthodox Churches favorably received and accepted the modest proposal of the Patriarch. Besides expressing willingness to examine their relations with the Western Churches in general, they also proposed further investigation and research with regard to relationships with the Anglican Church in particular. Moreover, they expressed the desire for

dialogue with the West. The letter declared that "the subject of continuous prayer and petition in our Church, and of every true Christian guided by the gospel teaching of unity is the pious and heartfelt yearning for union of those in the Orthodox faith with all who believe in Christ."³

Secondly, the encyclical asks the various Orthodox Churches whether or not the time was ripe for preliminary intra-Orthodox meetings which would serve as preparation for an "open and friendly rapprochement." Implied in the Patriarch's question was the belief that any dialogue with the West had to be undertaken with the agreement of all the autocephalous Churches. The body of the encyclical of 1902 states:

The union of all as a possibility in time, of course with the divine grace which cooperates with persons who walk in the paths of evangelical love and peace, can surely be hoped for and tended to in a manner which would smooth out the present difficult road, finding similarities and points of contact, or even mutual controverted points previously overlooked, up to the moment when the entire task is completed and the prayer of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ is fulfilled for the common joy and benefit of the one flock and of the one shepherd.⁴

When we consider fully that these words were offered seventy-five years ago, we are obliged to conclude that the Great Church of Constantinople was one of the major founders of the contemporary ecumenical movement. In addition to the Patriarchate's convictions regarding unity, we should also note well the irenic tone of the letter. Although the encyclical was addressed solely to sister Orthodox Churches, it emphasized the real possibility of reconciliation and dialogue with the West. This is especially important when we recall the political and religious situation of Greece and Asia Minor throughout the nineteenth century. The unfortunate proselytism by Protestant missionaries and the religious consequences of the development of the Kingdom and Church of Greece had placed a great burden upon the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Therefore, the cautious yet peaceful tenure of the encyclical is especially significant.

3. *Guidelines*, p. 25.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

the intensification of dialogue with the Oriental Orthodox Churches.⁵ It is most regrettable, however, that the catastrophic political disruptions and massacres which afflicted Asia Minor during the early years of this century drained the resources of the Eastern Churches and, as a consequence, made any formal effort toward *rapprochement* an impossibility at that time. Yet, in the year 1902 the Ecumenical Patriarchate had taken an important initiative.

In January of the year 1920 the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople issued its second major encyclical devoted to the topic of Christian unity. The letter was universal in nature because it was addressed "Unto all the Churches of Christ Wheresoever They Be."⁶ This document was probably the first official correspondence of this century to be addressed from a major ecclesiastical center to Churches of differing traditions.

The letter sent brotherly greetings to all the Churches and it invited them to consider seriously the formation of a fellowship (*koinonia*) of Churches which would lead to a "complete and blessed union which may some day be attained with God's help."⁷ In many ways the encyclical echoed the themes of the letter of 1902. In addition to emphasizing the real possibility of unity, it said that "Our Church is persuaded that closer relationship and mutual understanding among the several Christian Churches is not hindered by their doctrinal differences."⁸ Since the Patriarchal Throne was vacant at the time, the encyclical contained the signatures of the *Locum Tenens*, Metropolitan Dorotheos of Prussa, and eleven other Archbishop-Metropolitans of the Patriarchate. In the course of time it was revealed that the text of the historic encyclical had been drafted by Archbishop Germanos who, eighteen years after the encyclical was published, was to become one of the first presidents of the World Council of Churches.

The theme of the encyclical was so anticipatory of the goals of the contemporary ecumenical movement in general and the World Council of Churches in particular that much of it is

5. Basil Istavridis, "The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the World Council of Churches," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 4.1 (1963), 10.

6. G.K.A. Bell, (ed.), *Documents on Christian Unity 1920-1930* (London, 1955), p. 17.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Guidelines*, p. 27.

worthy of closer attention. The letter begins:

Our Church is of the opinion that closer intercourse with each other and a mutual understanding between the several Christian Churches is not prevented by the doctrinal differences between them, and that such an understanding is highly desirable and necessary, and in many ways useful in the well-conceived interest of each one of the Churches taken apart and as a whole Christian body, as also for preparing and facilitating the complete and blessed union which may some day be attained with God's help; Our Church, therefore, deems the present time most opportune for bringing forth and considering this important question in common. For although owing to old prejudices, traditions and even pretensions, it is probable that there may now arise or be brought forward the same difficulties which have so often frustrated the work of union; nevertheless, seeing that it is now a question of mere contact and understanding; the difficulties, in our mind, will in any case be less serious, and if there be good will and disruption, neither can they nor should they constitute an invincible and insuperable obstacle.⁹

The entire encyclical demands careful study by all those involved in the contemporary ecumenical movement, especially those who represent the Orthodox Churches. There is much foresight and wisdom. There is great depth in both the content and tone of the Patriarchal letter. More than fifty years after its promulgation, it is now evident that the encyclical made a practical proposal for what has now become a reality. Moreover, the scope and content of the encyclical clearly indicated that the thousand-year-old official isolation between East and West had begun to crack under the leadership of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

There are two important insights which the encyclical conveyed and which continue to be of value to those who seek the unity of the Churches. First and foremost, the letter boldly declared that the time had come for Christians of the various traditions to seek each other in love for formal contact and mutual understanding. The Patriarchate had made this clear in its 1902 encyclical to sister Orthodox Churches. Now, it pub-

9. Bell, *Documents*, p. 17.

licly and formally declared this to the Churches of the West as well. The encyclical affirmed that the removal of mutual distrust and friction was the first step in the great *rapprochement* which would begin the process of healing the division of the Churches. The encyclical once again expressed the Patriarchate's conviction that Christian unity was a real possibility, and that the steps toward this goal should be undertaken at once. The letter noted that the initial steps could be taken despite the dogmatic differences which apparently divided Christians, as well as the subtle historical and social factors which often breed mistrust and animosity. Simply stated, the encyclical affirmed that love should be revived and strengthened in order that the Churches "may no longer look upon each other as strangers and enemies, but as relatives and friends in Christ, 'fellow heirs, members of the same body and partakers of the promise of Christ Jesus through the gospel' (Eph. 3:6)." ¹⁰

In the encyclical of 1920 the Patriarchate was not content simply to offer its opinion on the value and real possibility of Christian unity. In order to initiate formal contacts between the Churches and to undertake various measures which could lead to the unity of the Church, the Patriarchate identified eleven critical areas in which discussion could begin, and through which mutual understanding and trust could be developed.

And this friendship and kindly disposition toward each other can, to our mind, be demonstrated and more especially proved in the following manner:

- (a) By acceptance of a uniform calendar for a simultaneous celebration of all the great Christian feasts by all the Churches;
- (b) by the exchange of brotherly letters on the great feasts of the ecclesiastical year, when it is customary to do so, and on other exceptional occasions;
- (c) by more friendly relations between the representatives of the various Churches wherever they be;
- (d) by exchanges between theological schools and the representatives of theological study, and by the exchange of theological and ecclesiastical periodicals and works published in each Church;
- (e) by convening Pan-Christian Conferences to examine questions of common interest to all Churches;
- (f) by the exchange of students between the

10. *Guidelines*, p. 28.

seminaries of the different Churches; (g) by the impartial and more historical examination of doctrinal differences both from the chair and in theological treatises; (h) by mutually respecting the customs and usages prevailing in each Church; (i) by allowing to each other the use of places of prayer and of cemeteries for the funeral and burial of persons belonging to other confessions dying in foreign lands; (j) by the settlement of the question of mixed marriages between the various confessions; (k) and, finally, by the mutual support of the Churches in the work of strengthening religious relief, of charity, and the like.¹¹

From our vantage point, we can see that the concerns expressed in these proposals have become very important aspects of the contemporary ecumenical movement. However, it should not be forgotten that in the year 1920 these modest proposals undoubtedly were considered by some to be utopian, perhaps even naive. Therefore, the significance of these eleven suggestions cannot be overestimated. They represented the first concrete agenda for the proposed dialogue among the Churches. In raising these concerns, the Patriarchate not only indicated the seriousness with which it viewed the scandal of disunity but also affirmed its conviction that reconciliation had to be undertaken immediately and at a number of levels. The proposals were a clear and farsighted call to action.

In addition to the rich content of this encyclical, one should also note well the irenic tone in which it was written. The attitude expressed throughout the encyclical indicated that the Church of Constantinople perceived the quest for unity not in terms of ecclesiastical triumphalism, but rather in terms of creative and brotherly dialogue guided by the Holy Spirit. The encyclical not only expressed the belief that Christian unity was a real possibility but also acknowledged that this unity would be the result of genuine consultation, discussion, and common prayer. The letter was addressed to "all the Churches of Christ," and one can infer from this salutation that the Patriarchate was making recognition of ecclesial reality in those Christian communities which were not part of the federation of Eastern Orthodox Churches in communion with the See of Constantinople. The use of Paul's words—"Fellow heirs, members of the same

11. Bell, *Documents*, pp. 19-20.

body, and partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus"— clearly expresses this recognition. Indeed, the language of reconciliation is remarkable and cannot be conceived in any way as simple ecclesiastical etiquette. Despite the many theological, cultural, and historical factors which have alienated East and West for centuries, words of bitterness and condemnation are conspicuous by their absence. Rather, one finds throughout the encyclical a profound expression of hope.

The encyclical of the Patriarchate proved to be both the forerunner to and the inspiration for Orthodox representation in fledgling ecumenical conferences held in the early part of this century. Both the Stockholm Conference on "Life and Work" in 1925 and the Lausanne assembly on "Faith and Order" in 1927 had small delegations from Orthodox Churches. Nearly ten years later at similar conferences in Oxford and Edinburgh, Orthodox interest and representation had increased. In the year 1948 the Patriarchate's vision of a 'koinonia' of all Churches became a reality with the formal establishment of the World Council of Churches. At the first historic assembly convened at Amsterdam the Orthodox Churches were officially represented with delegates from the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the Churches of Greece, Syria, and the United States. Orthodox representation at this assembly bore witness to the fact that from its inception the World Council was designed to be truly ecumenical and not simply an association of Western Reformation Churches. As a clear sign of the Patriarchate's commitment to the Council and as a symbol of the Council's ecumenical character, the late Archbishop Germanos of the Holy Synod accepted the position of one of the first co-presidents.

The Later Encyclicals of 1952 and 1973

When the late and beloved Athenagoras I became Ecumenical Patriarch on 27 January 1949, a new era was about to develop in the quest for Christian unity. Prior to the election, His Holiness had served with distinction as Archbishop of Corfu and later as Archbishop of the Americas. In these ministries he had come to sense deeply and in a personal way the agony of senseless human suffering and the tragedy of Christian disunity. With the ascension of Patriarch Athenagoras to the venerable episcopal throne of Constantinople, the title 'Ecumenical

Patriarch' was to take on a rich, contemporary dimension. Originally, from the fifth century the title referred to the spiritual care of the Patriarch of Constantinople for Orthodox Christians who lived in lands which had no autocephalous Church. In the twentieth century Patriarch Athenagoras envisioned the Church of Constantinople as a witness to Orthodoxy's quest for the unity and catholicity of the whole Church. He sought to show both by word and by deed the sacrificial love of the ancient Patriarchate for the universal Church and for the world which it was called to serve. From the first day he became Patriarch to the day of his death, Athenagoras was to employ the Patriarchate for the service of unity among the whole People of God. Speaking from the depths of his love for the Church he once said:

Our most holy Orthodox Church should not and cannot hide away the treasure which is its faith nor the wealth of its traditions; rather she must offer herself to the world in a spirit of humble service, with a view to the transfiguration of the world in Christ.¹²

It was only three years after he became Patriarch that Athenagoras addressed himself through an encyclical to the subject of Orthodox representation in the embryonic ecumenical movement. On 31 January 1952, just prior to the third world conference on "Faith and Order" which convened at Lund, Sweden, the Patriarch issued an encyclical addressed to the hierarchs of the various autocephalous Orthodox Churches. In many ways the document was reminiscent of the encyclical of 1902 in that it was concerned with Orthodoxy's role in the quest for Christian unity as well as its mode of involvement in the World Council of Churches.¹³

In the first place, the Patriarch sought to reaffirm and foster unified Orthodox participation in the search for Christian unity, especially through the World Council of Churches. The encyclical declared strongly that "the task of *rapprochement* and co-operation between all Christian confessions and organizations is a sacred obligation and a holy duty."¹⁴ The Patriarch com-

12. Cited in Olivier Clement, "Athenagoras I: Orthodoxy in the Service of Unity," *Ecumenical Review* 21.3 (1969), 316.

13. *Guidelines*, p. 39.

14. *Ibid.*

mended the purpose of the newly established Council and reminded his fellow bishops of the Orthodox Churches that the constitution of the Council expressed clearly that:

Its function is to facilitate common action by the Churches, to promote cooperation in the study of the Christian spirit, to promote the growth of the ecumenical consciousness in the members of all the Churches, to support the distribution of the Sacred Gospel, and to preserve, uplift and cause to prevail the spiritual values of man, in the most general Christian context.¹⁵

With this in mind, the Patriarch declared that the aim of the Council was "pleasing to God" and that future participation and cooperation of the Orthodox Church in the Council was necessary.

While emphasizing the value of the World Council of Churches, the encyclical also suggested an attitude of cautious involvement. In writing to his fellow bishops, the Patriarch said that he felt that representation in these fledgling ecumenical conferences should be limited—owing to Orthodoxy's past experience at similar gatherings in the early part of this century. Therefore, Athenagoras made the following three suggestions: first, the Patriarch asked that participation in the discussion of the "Faith and Order" committee be avoided for the present; second, the presence of delegates from all autocephalous Orthodox Churches was advocated, since this would give the proper authority and prestige to her participation; third, a permanent Synodical Commission on Ecumenism was suggested "in order to study, in cooperation with the professors of the Theological Schools, the different problems involved, and in order to clarify beforehand the point of view of the Orthodox Church about them and the attitude she would adopt."¹⁶ Moreover, the Patriarch asked that Orthodox clerical delegates in ecumenical gatherings be prudent with regard to participation in services of worship with non-Orthodox.

These suggestions offered by the Patriarch can be understood when one remembers that in the early ecumenical gatherings Orthodoxy found itself confronted with a predominantly

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

Western Protestant emphasis. The conferences of the first half of this century were not without problems and frustrations. Not only were there differences in customs and traditions between the Orthodox and the Protestants, but also there were more subtle differences in dogmatic definitions, theological language and ecclesiastical priorities. At times the Orthodox representatives and their views appeared overwhelmed by the sheer number of Protestant delegates as well as the prominence of Western theological thought.

The Patriarch justifiably advocated an initial period of restraint and cautious representation because he did not wish to see Orthodoxy take an inferior position in ecumenical dialogues or theological conversations. He knew that the traditions of Eastern Christianity had much to offer to the quest for Christian unity; yet, he also recognized that the much desired phase of true bilateral dialogue had not yet become a reality. The advocacy of moderation, the call for greater Orthodox representation and for a Synodical Commission on Ecumenism clearly bore witness to Athenagoras' conviction that all of Orthodoxy had to take seriously the ecumenical challenge. He believed that the Orthodox Church should participate in the ecumenical movement, not in a reluctant or defensive fashion, but "with the strength and authority appropriate to her position and to her historic mission in the world of inter-Christian relationships."¹⁷

Indeed, with the deepening of an ecumenical consciousness and increased theological study of issues related to Christian unity by the various autocephalous Orthodox Churches as well as the increasing number of Orthodox delegates, the policy of cautious representation gradually changed to one of total participation by the Orthodox in all major ecumenical conferences. At the third Assembly of the World Council of Churches in New Delhi in 1961, Archbishop Iakovos, who was one of the Council's co-presidents, addressed himself to the change of policy. Speaking on behalf of all the Orthodox delegations, he stated:

The Orthodox delegations to the Third Assembly here decided not to issue statements, either in opposition or of

17. Ibid.

clarification of their theological or ecclesiastical position on matters of unity, witness and service, unless it becomes an absolute necessity.

Instead of making statements, as was the policy in the past, the Orthodox, as full-fledged members of the W.C.C., feel it their duty to voice their opinions freely in all sections, sub-sections, and committees, and also to participate in the drafting of the reports and resolutions, and express their agreement and disagreement in the form of real contribution to the threefold work and mission of the General Assembly. It has become more apparent in this Assembly that the participation of Orthodoxy in the ecumenical movement should be founded on the very principle of its participation, i.e., to bring testimony of their conception and teaching of unity, witness and service . . .

Finally, unity should cease to be understood as amalgamation or culmination of all existing Churches into one—or as bilateral or tripartite mergers inspired by conventional or expedient motives—and it should be conceived as a personal concern and commitment for every Christian in today's world and in God's Name. The way to unity is a long one, and not one without obstacles. But we shall be able to walk it to the end if we serve and proclaim our common faith, in humility, love and truth.¹⁸

The Third Assembly of the World Council of Churches in 1961 represented a significant landmark in the relationship of Orthodoxy to the ecumenical movement in general and the Council in particular. Its significance can be traced to two important and interrelated events. First, at New Delhi admission was granted to delegations from four major Orthodox Churches: those of Russia, Bulgaria, Roumania, and Poland. The entrance of these Churches into the Council was hailed as a major event in the history of the ecumenical movement and brought the number of Orthodox delegations to thirteen.

The second and equally important factor was the change in Orthodox policy toward the Council which was outlined by Archbishop Iakovos. Under the devoted and painstaking leadership of Iakovos, the Orthodox delegations entered into a

18. Cited in P. De Velter, "The Eastern Churches and the World Council of Churches," *Eastern Churches Quarterly* 14.5 (1962), 280-281.

new phase of relationship with the World Council of Churches. The decision not to issue separate statements "unless it becomes absolutely necessary" was an expression of Orthodoxy's willingness to take its rightful place in all the deliberations and activities of the Council. Both the increase in Orthodox delegations and the formal change in policy were strong vindications of the patient and responsible leadership of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in the ecumenical realm.

The multifarious development of the ecumenical movement which has taken place only within the past fifteen years is monumental. The Assembly of the World Council in New Delhi in 1961 was a harbinger of the extensive progress which was to take place among the Churches in the areas of mutual understanding, common service, and reconciliation. This development was manifest in the ecumenical spirit expressed at both the Pan-Orthodox Synods and the Second Vatican Council. It has also been expressed at such important events as the lifting of the anathemas of 1054 between the Church of Rome and the Church of Constantinople, the exchange of episcopal visitations and gifts, as well as the fruitful dialogue between the Oriental Orthodox and the Eastern Orthodox Churches. Parallel to these, there has also been an increase in both formal and informal inter-Church bilateral theological commissions as well as numerous local expressions of ecumenical consciousness, common prayer, service, and study. "When we think of the long history of separation between Churches, it remains surprising how transparent the dividing walls have become. There is much reason for gratitude. The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Orthodox Churches in general have contributed much to this development."¹⁹

The progress of the ecumenical movement is reflected in the most recent encyclical of the Patriarchate devoted to the challenge of Christian unity. This encyclical was promulgated on 16 August 1973 and was issued to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of the World Council of Churches.²⁰ The text of this significant letter was devoted to a

19. "Response to the Ecumenical Patriarchate," *Ecumenical Review* 26.2 (1974), 326.

20. "Declaration of the Ecumenical Patriarchate on the Occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the World Council of Churches," *Ecumenical Review* 25.4 (1973), 475.

review of the past accomplishments of the Council and to consideration of its future direction. In his analysis of the document, Archbishop Iakovos has stated that the encyclical "consists of a historical text worthy of those of 1902, 1920, and 1952, because it reaffirms the pioneer role which the Great Church of Christ in Constantinople played in inter-Church relations, having always in mind the reunion of the divided Church into one flock and under one Shepherd."²¹

The encyclical began by strongly praising the work of the W.C.C. over its twenty-five-year history. The Patriarchate affirmed that the Council "constitutes one of the means chosen by the Lord to make the new commandment of love audible among persons and the precepts of reconciliation, peace, and accord more precious to His Church."²² The introductory remarks clearly indicated the singular importance which the Church of Constantinople attached to the life and mission of the Council. In the spirit of the previous encyclicals, this letter forcefully reaffirmed the commitment of the Patriarchate to the quest for Christian unity as well as to the mission of the World Council of Churches.

Following a review of the Patriarchate's role in the early phases of the ecumenical movement, the encyclical took note of the positive contributions which Orthodoxy has made to the Council. In clear opposition to those who have claimed that the Council is merely a Protestant organization, the document identified four critical areas in which the Council has benefited significantly from the active presence of the Orthodox Churches. These are:

- a. The broadening of the basis of the constitution of the World Council of Churches in accordance with a proper Trinitarian approach.
- b. The clarification of the theology of mission as basic to the aim of the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church.
- c. The recognition of the need to abandon former methods of proselytism and the unequivocal condemnation of these along with the reaching of a common definition of the basic principles of religious liberty

21. Archbishop Iakovos, "The Patriarchal Declaration: A Source of Wisdom for All," *Orthodox Observer* 39.662 (19 September 1973), 1.

22. "Declaration," p. 475.

d. The taking up into ecumenical theological studies of such traditional theological themes as an understanding of Holy Tradition, the witness of the Fathers and the Ecumenical Councils, the Christology of Chalcedon, the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, the nature and essential marks of the Church, of Baptism, of the Eucharist, of the sacred ministry²³

These significant areas of Orthodox contribution to the W.C.C. were emphasized for two very important reasons. First, in addressing itself primarily to the members of the Council, the Church of Constantinople was witnessing to the value of Orthodox presence and active participation in the work of the Council. It did this not with a sense of triumphalism but rather in a spirit of charismatic service and witness. The encyclical acknowledged that the traditions of Eastern Christianity have many valuable but often overlooked perspectives which not only have contributed to the development of the ecumenical movement but also have assisted in the genuine renewal of the Churches in our day.

Second, the Patriarchate was responding to the small but vocal group of conservatives within Orthodoxy who claim that Orthodox participation in the ecumenical movement necessarily constitutes the abandonment of dogmatic convictions. The encyclical opposed this view. Orthodox participation in the quest for Christian unity has not in any way compromised the teachings of the Church. Quite the contrary, Orthodox presence and participation in the World Council of Churches and other ecumenical forums not only have witnessed to the traditions of the 'undivided' Church but also have served to enrich and enhance contemporary Western theology and church life.

It is worthwhile to note that the editors of the *Ecumenical Review* recently addressed themselves to this very point. They stated:

We came to see again how badly the ecumenical movement needs the distinctive witness of Orthodoxy; to a life of unity in which all outward signs of language, custom, and even authority are experiences as subordinate to the active working of the Holy Spirit amid His people, and to a life

23. Ibid.

of **worship** in which the Eucharist is the distinctive moment which reflects and leads to a cosmic vision embracing all history, all human life. How can the West, ever so expert at dividing up things, learn again of this wholeness?²⁴

Having reviewed the positive role which the Orthodox Church has played in the development of the ecumenical movement, the Patriarchal encyclical also acknowledged that Orthodoxy has benefited from its contemporary associations with other Churches and confessions. The letter stated that this enrichment is evident in the broad areas of inter-Church experience and theological study as well as in the realm of apostolic works of charity and mutual assistance "which have placed Christ in the hearts of millions of distressed Christians and many of our afflicted fellowmen. All these things together have contributed and are continuing to contribute to the opening of hearts in a Christ-beloved interpretation of Christian Churches and confessions that confess the same Lord."²⁵

The third and most significant portion of the encyclical was devoted to an evaluation of the present state and future direction of the World Council of Churches. Noting with much concern the growing tendency toward "secular ecumenism," the encyclical recognized that the Council feels compelled to address itself formally to the many problems which confront humanity. "The Council lives and functions, of course, within a multidimensional and painful reality. Naturally, the problems of our sick society are also its problems, as well as the problems of the individual Christian Churches."²⁶ The Patriarchate seriously questioned, however, whether various social, economic, and political issues should become the principal objects of the Council's concern. It asked, "Is it possible that all these issues, and only these, constitute the object and sole orientation of the World Council of Churches? The question is fundamental. The member Churches must apply themselves to the issues arising from this question."²⁷

The encyclical stated that there exists a very serious polarization with regard to the resolution of this question. To some

24. "Ecumenical Diary," *Ecumenical Review* 26.1 (1974), 139.

25. "Declaration," p. 475.

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*

the Council is viewed as an organization which can assist individual Churches in their socio-political aims. These Churches and their delegates are willing to reflect theologically only when there is a possibility of finding religious justification for their position. To others the Council is viewed exclusively as an ideological forum in which the 'time worn' theological formulas can be expounded with the end being the perpetuation of differences and the widening of division. The Patriarchate firmly believes that both extremes are dangerous and that both are detrimental to the genuine work of the Council.

The Patriarchate felt that the polarization could be overcome and that an end to the 'crisis' of the ecumenical movement could be achieved if a true balance were reached between the two extremes, thereby reaffirming the traditional aims and aspirations of the Council. "The declaration rightly points to the double task of the Church. Above all it needs to praise God for His gift of salvation and the hope He has placed in our hearts. But at the same time it is called to serve people."²⁸ The Patriarchate holds firmly to the principle that there cannot be a separation between faith and work, between worship and service, or between theology and Church life. It is because of this principle, which is so important to Eastern Christianity, that Orthodoxy under the leadership of the Patriarchate of Constantinople has constantly taught that the voice and power of the Christian message to the world are suspect and weak so long as Christians are visibly divided among themselves. Service to the world and the quest for Christian unity are interrelated. Indeed, a divided Church cannot thoroughly heal a broken world.

Seeking to chart a moderate course between the extremes within the Council, the encyclical offered eight specific suggestions for consideration. All of these were related to the nature of the Council, its fundamental purpose as an agent of the Churches in the quest for unity, and the relationship of the Council to the world. While each point is worthy of study, one is especially significant. This is the Patriarchate's concern over the requirements for membership in the Council.

First, the encyclical stated that the Church of Constantinople would welcome the formal membership in the Council of the

28. "Response," p. 326.

Roman Catholic Church. Its presence would be enriching and would contribute further to the pan-Christian character of the Council. However, the Patriarchate saw a real danger and threat to the integrity of the Council if it acted to include "movements or agencies or extra-ecclesial groups evidently lacking in ecclesiastical characteristics."²⁹ The Church of Constantinople believes that this unfortunate tendency must be avoided or terminated because it would result "in a digression for the Council" and "would place many of the member Churches in an extremely difficult position."³⁰ Here, the Patriarchate is raising a very serious issue. It is calling upon the Council to reflect upon and to define more clearly its view of ecclesial reality. The encyclical has raised the very important question of what criteria determine whether a community can properly be recognized as a church. Indeed, the very question of ecclesiology, the nature of an authentic Christian church, may be central to the entire future of the contemporary ecumenical movement.

Conclusion

The study of the four encyclicals devoted to the cause of Christian unity which have been promulgated during this century by the Patriarchate of Constantinople reveals that these are important documents in the history of the contemporary ecumenical movement. The letters clearly show that the Orthodox Church in general and the Patriarchate of Constantinople in particular have been active, responsible participants in the quest for Christian unity since the beginning of this century. Reflecting the pioneering ecumenical efforts and initiatives of the Church of Constantinople, the encyclicals reveal the Patriarchate as one of the foremost protagonists in the struggle against the divisions which separate Christians.

The early encyclicals of 1902 and 1920 dramatically called for theological dialogue and charitable cooperation among Christians long before any major or formalized movement had been inaugurated. Advocating a significant principle, these letters expressed the belief that existing dogmatic differences should not prevent those common efforts which "will prepare and facilitate that perfect and blessed union which, with God's

29. "Declaration," p. 475.

30. Ibid.

help, may one day be realized.”³¹ Truly, these early encyclicals, which reflected the vision of the Church of Constantinople, contributed greatly to the establishment of the World Council of Churches in 1948.

The later encyclicals of 1952 and 1973 expressed the Patriarchate's continued commitment to the goal of Christian unity. The letter of 1952 established a positive direction for Orthodox participation in the fledgling World Council of Churches: Expressing the respected position in the ecumenical movement which the Patriarchate had attained, the letter of 1973 challenged the members of the World Council of Churches to avoid the dangers of “secular ecumenism” and to remain faithful to the constitution of the Council, which emphasized ecclesiastical and religious goals.

One of Orthodoxy's formidable tasks is to affirm its own existence and to reveal its unique treasure of faith in a contemporary Christianity so frequently identified solely with its Western expression. The four encyclicals of the Patriarchate have done much to remind the Christian West of the vision of divine-human life in Christ, of the rich theology, of the living traditions which characterize the Orthodox Church. Reflecting the Patriarchate's concern for the whole Church of Christ as it exists in space and in time, the encyclicals reveal Orthodoxy not as an island for the disenchanted nor as a museum for antiquarians but rather as the joyous revelation of life in the Holy Trinity expressed in the undefiled faith received from the Apostles. All of the encyclicals, therefore, have given substance to the prayer of the Church “for the unity of the faith and for communion with the Holy Spirit.”

31. *Guidelines*, p. 27.

CRAIG L. HANSON

A GREEK MARTYRDOM ACCOUNT OF ST. ONESIMUS

The hagiographical text presented here, entitled "Ἀθλήσεις τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Ὀνησίμου μαθητοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου τοῦ κορυφαίου τῶν ἀποστόλων", is currently held in the Handschriftensammlung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. This previously unpublished manuscript text comprises a portion (folia 145^v-150^r) of a codex containing saints' lives for the month of February.¹ The present designation of the codex is as follows:²

Codex Vindobonensis hist. gr. 3
"Menologion pro mense Februario".

The greater portion of the codex, folia 1^r-136^v and 152^r-393^v, has been dated to the eleventh century A.D.³ The section 137^r-151^v, which contains the text in question, is a later addition by an anonymous scribe and has been dated to the fifteenth century A.D.⁴ Since the break in the codex occurs in the midst of a selection, Βίος καὶ πολιτεία καὶ θαύματα τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Αὐξεντίου (121^v-145^v), this fifteenth century 'addition' was probably prompted by damage to the original eleventh century folia 137^r-151^v.⁵

The manuscript text itself is in excellent physical condition and contains few instances of illegibility or obliteration. The scribal hand is characterized by balance, restraint, and attention

1. Onesimus, disciple of Paul, is commemorated by the Greek Orthodox Church on 15 February and by the Roman Catholic Church on 16 February.

2. Herbert Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1961), 1:2-4. Also, see Albert Ehrhard, *Ueberlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, 3 vols. (= *Texte und Untersuchungen* 50-52). (Leipzig, 1937-1952), 1:570-573; and Francois Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 3 vols. (Brussels, 1957), 2:155.

3. Hunger, 1:2.

4. *Ibid.*

5. It would appear that the 'Onesimus' text presented here is a direct copy of the original eleventh century account, since it closely parallels earlier texts of the same manuscript tradition. For references to this tradition, see Halkin, 2:155.

to calligraphical uniformity. The minuscule hand has been employed, although uncial types for γ, δ, ζ, and η occur with some frequency. The common tachygraphical devices of abbreviation, contraction, superposition, and ligature have been utilized in the preparation of the text. Punctuation is erratic, but can generally be seen to be based upon a colometrical system of 'sense lines.'⁶ Confusion in the selection of the appropriate breathing mark is common, while the misplacement and confusion of accents is less of a problem.⁷ In addition, numerous spelling mistakes may be noted in the text.⁸ The subjunctive mood has been utilized in only a few instances, while use of the optative is rare.

The intended protagonist of the martyrdom account is Onesimus, the Phrygian slave in whose behalf Paul wrote the canonical *Letter to Philemon* in approximately 60 A.D. Onesimus had apparently wronged his master Philemon⁹ in some way and subsequently fled to Rome where he met Paul. Under Paul's influence and instruction Onesimus became a Christian and entered into a close relationship with the Apostle. Paul eventually decided that a reconciliation of Onesimus and Philemon was necessary. Since Tychicus was preparing to journey to Colossae and Laodicea bearing letters from Paul, Onesimus was placed in his charge.¹⁰ Paul also supplied Onesimus with the *Letter to Philemon* in which he related the circumstances of Onesimus' conversion, praised his noble Christian zeal and fidelity, and entreated Philemon to receive his former slave with compassion.¹¹ Although the result of Paul's appeal is

6. I have attempted to follow the general scheme of the copyist's punctuation whenever feasible in the transcription.

7. I have indicated such errors in the critical apparatus only when the correct reading of the text may be in question.

8. See note 7 above.

9. Philemon was a citizen of Colossae and a convert of Paul who subsequently became a prominent member of the local Christian community. The Greek *Menaia* for 22 November represent Philemon and his wife Apphia, Archippus, and Onesimus as having suffered martyrdom at Colossae during the reign of Nero. For this tradition, see Hippolyte Delehaye, *Propylaeum ad Acta sanctorum novembris* (Brussels, 1902), p. 247; and Halkin, 1:11.

10. As a close associate of Paul and a prominent Christian native of the province of Asia, Tychicus would probably be known to Philemon and would be an appropriate personal intercessor for Onesimus on Paul's behalf.

11. How long a time elapsed between Onesimus' flight from Colossae and his reunion with Philemon cannot be determined, as "πρός ὥραν" (Philem. 15) is a relative expression of time.

unknown, the tradition, as preserved in the *Apostolic Canons* (82), that Philemon not only forgave but also emancipated his slave is believable. More doubtful and contradictory¹² are the traditions which identify Onesimus as bishop of Borea in Macedonia,¹³ an itinerant preacher in Spain,¹⁴ and bishop of Ephesus at the time of Ignatius' famous 'martyrdom' journey in 107 A.D.¹⁵ However, it is another tradition, that of a celebrated Christian teacher in Sicily and Italy known as Onesimus Leontinis, which is of particular relevance to this study. In the Vienna text presented here, this 'Leontinian' tradition has been merged with that of Onesimus, disciple of Paul.¹⁶ The *acta* of Onesimus Leontinis are preserved in the "Martyrdom of SS. Alphius, Philadelphus, and Cyrinus" for 10 May,¹⁷ where the interrogation and execution of these three brothers and their instructor in the Christian faith, Onesimus, in the persecution of Valerian (257-160 A.D.) is recorded. No mention of Paul, the *Letter to Philemon*, or Onesimus' early life as a slave occurs in this account, thus indicating that Onesimus Leontinis was a distinct hagiographical, if not historical personage. Nevertheless, a number of medieval hagiographers, including the original author of the text under study, incorporated portions of the Leontinian tradition in their portrayal of Paul's disciple.¹⁸

With regard to the narrative itself, a number of internal themes and features merit attention here. The introductory statements indicate the theological direction the account is to take: i.e., that 'humble folk' (γένος οἰκετικόν) deserve recognition when they, by their trust in God, overcome the deceits of

12. Much of the confusion surrounding Onesimus' later life can be attributed to the popularity of the name Ὀνήσιμος (meaning 'useful, beneficial') in Christian as well as pagan circles.

13. *Apostolic Constitutions* 7.46.

14. See the *acta* of SS. Xanthippe, Polyxena, and Rebecca in the Greek *Menaia* for 23 September.

15. Ignatius, *Letter to the Ephesians* 1, 2, 6.

16. While Onesimus, disciple of Paul, is the intended subject of the account and his tradition supplies most of the eulogaic background for the narrative, the segments relating to the physical setting, principal characters, and circumstances of the martyrdom itself rely heavily upon the tradition of Onesimus Leontinis.

17. See *Acta Sanctorum* 15 (1866), pp. xlv-lxi.

18. The fusion of these two traditions can be traced back to at least the tenth century A.D. See V. Latyshev, *Menologii anonymi byzantini saeculi X quae supersunt*, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1911-1912), 1: 79-83.

the Devil. This theme is later re-emphasized in the narrative and undoubtedly was intended to reflect the historical circumstances of Onesimus' early life as a slave and his conversion by Paul. In stressing the 'historical' reality of Onesimus' life, as embodied in the *Letter to Philemon*, the hagiographer is able to transmit more vividly to his audience the higher, 'cosmic' reality of the Christian God. Thus, in the "Martyrdom of St. Onesimus" the author not only depicts the universal conflict of Good and Evil, but also offers his audience an edifying portrayal of a slave's climb from the depths of pagan ignorance to the summit of Christian piety.

A second feature to be noted is the author's inclusion of verses 10-16 of the *Letter to Philemon*. This epistle, as was indicated above, forms both the historical and the spiritual basis of the martyrdom account. Following the *Letter to Philemon* quotation, a brief theological commentary on Paul's use of the terms *τεκνον* (v. 10) and *ἀδελφός* (v. 16) in the epistle is offered.

Another prominent feature of the narrative is the discourse and exhortation by Onesimus during his interrogation in Rome. After confessing his Christian faith before Tertullus, the Prefect, Onesimus launches into a lengthy and impressive denunciation of the lurking evils of his contemporary world.¹⁹ The use made in this section of simile, metaphor, and personification is particularly striking. Onesimus devotes a great part of his discourse to a condemnation of the cruelty and absurdity of Roman paganism, and makes a number of historical allusions to Roman cults and cult practices.²⁰

Finally, it should be noted that this document, although exhibiting certain 'historical' elements, by its very nature reflects primarily 'hagiographical' concerns. That is, edification, not historical accuracy, is the overriding goal of this author. Thus, the inclusion of historical materials in the martyrdom

19. The discussion of worldly evils was a popular subject in the writings of early Christian apologists and theologians, and served as admirable 'filler' material for the medieval hagiographer. The discourse attributed to Onesimus in this narrative concerns the evils of adultery, covetousness, sorcery, boastfulness, envy, revilement, hypocrisy, smallness of soul, wrath, drunkenness, idolatry, and insolence. Cf. Mt. 15. 19-20, Rom. 1. 29-31, Gal. 5. 19-21, *Didache* 5.1, and *Barnabas* 20.1.

20. The author's familiarity with the 'apologetic' writings of Athenagoras, Aristides, Justin Martyr, Athanasius, and Clement of Alexandria is discernible in this 'idolatry' section of Onesimus' discourse.

account is most probably incidental and prompted by the historical nature of the *Letter to Philemon* itself and the requirements of Onesimus' discourse on idolatry. The author's disregard for historical considerations is apparent throughout the account: the confusion of Onesimus, disciple of Paul, with his third century A.D. namesake, Onesimus Leontinis; the incorporation of several artificial characters or 'types' into the narrative (Papias, Romulus, and Apition); and the portrayal of Onesimus as the model of Christian piety, and of Tertullus as the bloodthirsty and insane representative of paganism.²¹ Since the hagiographer was principally concerned with transmitting the 'higher' truth of the Christian God to his audience, he understandably utilized the transient 'historical' events of the material world as convenient backdrops for the larger drama of Good vs. Evil. It is with this factor in mind that I here offer the text of the "Martyrdom of St. Onesimus."

21. Such stereotyping is particularly noticeable in the author's unrealistic 'stock' depiction of Onesimus' interrogation and torture. The elaborate discourse and exhortation by Onesimus in the interrogation scene is especially subject to suspicion and must be assumed to be the work of the hagiographer, however accurately it may portray the sentiments of Onesimus.

[f. 145^v] Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ, ἰέ

Ἀθλησις τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Ὁνησίμου μαθητοῦ τοῦ
ἁγίου Παύλου τοῦ κορυφαίου τῶν ἀποστόλων

- Χαίρει καὶ γένος οἰκετικῶν ἐπ' εὐσεβείᾳ γνωριζόμενον
5 ὅταν τῇ πίστει τὰ κέντρα τοῦ διαβόλου συντρίψαν τὸν
ἀποστάτην τοῦ δεσπότη πονηρὸν ἰκέτην ψευδῶνυμον
δυναστείαν περιβεβλημένον διελέγξῃ. ἐλευθέρῳ γὰρ
τρόπῳ τῷ τῆς δουλείας κατηφές τις ὑποκλίνας δεσπότης
10 εὐρίσκεται τοῦ φιλοτυράννου καὶ ἀλάστορος δαίμονος,
περιεξωσμένος κατὰ τὸν θεῖον ἀπόστολον τὴν ὁσφὺν
ἐν ἀληθείᾳ καὶ ἐνδυσάμενος τὸν θώρακα τῆς [f. 146^r]
δικαιοσύνης. τοιοῦτον γὰρ τι κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην γέγονεν
ἥτις πρώτη καὶ μεγίστη τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην
15 πόλεων εἶναι πεπίστευται. καὶ τοῦ μὲν Σατανᾶ πλατυ-
τέραν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ λύουσιν κατὰ τῶν δούλων τοῦ Θεοῦ
ἐπεκτείναντος τοῦ δὲ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῖς
γνησίοις τῶν οἰκετῶν συμφανῶς τὰς αὐτοῦ χάριτας
ἐφαπλώσαντος. τὰ γὰρ πολύτροπα τῶν δαιμόνων
20 μηχανήματα ποικίλως ταῖς οὐρανίαις ἐπικουρίαις ἀνῆ-
λσκειν καὶ ἰσχυρότερον τὸν λογισμόν τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ
δραμόντων τῆς τῶν ἀπειλούντων ἐποίει μανίας. καὶ νῦν
μὲν πνευματικὴν ξυνωρίδα χάριτος ἀποστολικῆς ἀφθάρ-
τοις στεφάνοις κατὰ τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας ἀναδείσας,
25 αὐθις δὲ τοὺς κορυφαίους τῆς κατὰ Ῥώμην συγκλήτου
τρυφῆς καὶ πλούτου ἀποστήσαι διὰ τὴν τῶν κρειττόνων
ἐπιθυμίαν κατασκευάσας. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ καὶ γένους οἰκετικοῦ
ἔδει τῆς τῶν φθοροποιῶν δαιμόνων τυραννίδος ἐπικρα-
τῆσαι, ἵνα μὴ δὲ πρὸς δοῦλον ἀγαθὸν σύνδουλος ὑπεραί-
ρειν δόξῃ μάτην τῆς ἀλαζονίας εἰς ὕψος ἐπαιρομένης,
30 ἄγεται ὁ μακάριος Ὁνήσιμος ἐπὶ τῷ βήματι τῆς Ῥώμης.
Τερτυλλοῦ τὸ τηνικαῦτα τὴν ἔπαρχον ἐξουσίαν διακα-
τέχοντος ὃς κωμῆν μὲν τινα κατὰ τοῦ γένους τῶν Χρι-
στιανῶν μανίαν ἐνεδέδυτο, τυραννικῶς προστάγματι
πρὸς τὸ διώκειν τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς ἐξεγειρόμενος. ἰδίαν
35 [δὲ] κατὰ τοῦ δικαίου τούτου διπλασιάσας τὴν ἔχθραν
ἐγύμναζε τὰ πρὸς ἔπαυον εἴκοντα διασύρειν εἰς ψόγον.

10-12 περιεξωσμένος . . . δικαιοσύνης. Eph. 6: 14

4 οἰκετικόν] ἰκετικόν || 8 τις] τίς || 17 συμφανῶς] ἀσυμφανῶς ||
35 δὲ] om. MS

On the 15th of the same month

Struggle of the holy apostle Onesimus, disciple of the holy Paul, the head of the apostles

One also rejoices at humble folk being recognized with a view towards reverence whenever they, having encountered the spikes of the Devil, by their faith utterly refute the miserable fugitive who revolted from the Lord and flung around himself a falsely-claimed rule. For whoever, in a free manner humbly bowed to slavery, finds himself master of the tyrant-loving and cruel demon; having girded his loins in truth and having put on the breastplate of righteousness, according to the godly apostle [Paul]. For such an episode has occurred at Rome, which has been held to be first and greatest of all cities throughout the world, when, on the one hand, Satan stretched forth his own destructive power too widely against the servants of God, and, on the other hand, our savior Jesus Christ most manifestly spread his grace amongst his noble servants. For he [Onesimus] was skillfully destroying the manifold machinations of the demons by the heavenly aids and was making the reason of those accompanying him stronger than the madness of those boastfully threatening. And now, on the one hand, he raised a spiritual bond of apostolic grace with immortal crowns against the idolatry, and, on the other hand, then, he motivated the leaders of the Senate of Rome to abstain from decadence and wealth through instilling the desire for more noble things. But, since it was also necessary for people of humble sorts to prevail against the tyranny of the corrupting demons, in order that a servant might not rise up in vain glory against a noble fellow-servant, (a folly of pride being raised to the heights), the blessed Onesimus is being led upon the judge's platform of Rome, with Tertullus at that time holding the 'eparch' authority; who, on the one hand, had entered into some common madness against the clan of the Christians, rousing the persecution by tyrannical edict against the reverent ones; and, on the other hand, having doubled his personal enmity against this just man, he was exercising the means available against [. . .] to draw [Onesi-

ἐπειδὴ γὰρ θείαις τε καὶ σώφροσι διδασκαλίαις τὴν
 γυναικα τοῦ δοκοῦντος αὐτῷ ἀδελφοῦ τυγχάνειν εἰς
 ἐγκρατείας ἐξεπαίδευεν ἥθη καὶ γνώσιν τῆς ἀληθοῦς
 40 τε καὶ ζωοποιοῦ περὶ τὸν Θεὸν πίστεως τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτῆς
 ἐναπέθετο μνήμας, γόντα μὲν τὸν ὄσιον ἀπεκάλει, μοι-
 χὸν δὲ [f. 146^v] τὸν τοὺς ὄρους τῆς σωφροσύνης σώ-
 φρονι τῷ λογισμῷ ἀνακηρύττοντα.

Αὐτὸς γάρ, οὗτος ἐστὶν Ὀνήσιμος, ὁ ταῖς ἀποστολι-
 45 καῖς μαρτυρίαις ὡραϊζόμενος. οὗτος ὁ τὴν θεολόγον
 καὶ ἀληθῆ γλῶτταν Παύλου προσαναπεύσας τὴν ὑπὲρ
 αὐτοῦ πρεσβείαν γράμματι τῷ πρὸς Φιλήμονα τὸν δεσ-
 πότην αὐτοῦ ἀναδέξασθαι. οὗτος ὁ δουλικῆς ἀνάγκης
 50 κατηφῇ ταπεινότητα εὐσεβείας τρόπῳ καὶ πρᾶξεως
 ἀγαθαῖς πολιτεαῖς εἰς γνώμην ἐλευθέραν ἐξεγείρας.
 οὗτος ὁ τὴν ἄκαρπον τοῦ βίου καθημερινὴν ἀπάτην
 ἀπατήσας καὶ ταῖς περὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων διακονίαις
 ὅλον ἑαυτὸν εἰς ὕψος εὐσεβείας ἀνατείνας, καθὼς τὰ
 55 πρὸς Φιλήμονα γράμματα τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἐκδιδάσ-
 κει, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον φανερώς ἔχοντα.

Παρακαλῶ σε περὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ τέκνου ὃν ἐγὼ ἐγέννησα
 ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου, Ὀνήσιμον, τὸν ποτέ σοι ἀχρηστον
 νῦν δὲ σοὶ καὶ ἐμοὶ εὐχρηστον ὃν ἀνέπεμψα. σὺ δὲ αὐτὸν,
 60 τοῦτ' ἐστὶν τὰ ἐμὰ σπλάγχνα, προσλαβοῦ ὃν ἐβουλόμην
 πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν κατέχειν, ἵνα ὑπὲρ σοῦ μοι διακονεῖ ἐν
 τοῖς δεσμοῖς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου. χωρὶς δὲ τῆς σῆς γνώμης
 οὐδεν ἠθέλησα ποιῆσαι ἵνα μὴ σου τὸ ἀγαθὸν ᾗ ὡς κατ'
 ἀνάγκην, ἀλλὰ ὡς κατ' ἐκούσιον. τάχα γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο
 ἐχωρίσθη σου πρὸς ὥραν, ἵνα αἰώνιον αὐτὸν ἀπέχρς,
 65 οὐκ ἔτι ὡς δοῦλον ἄλλ' ὡς ὑπὲρ δοῦλον, ἀδελφὸν
 ἀγαπητὸν μάλιστα ἐμοί, πόσῳ δὲ μᾶλλον σοὶ καὶ ἐν
 σαρκὶ καὶ ἐν κυρίῳ.

καὶ τὰ τούτων ἐξῆς.

ἥρκει μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα διὰ τοσούτων ἐπαίνων ἐρχό-
 70 μενα τὸν θησαυρὸν τῶν Ὀνησίμῳ προσόντων ἀγαθῶν

56-67 Παρακαλῶ . . . κυρίῳ. Philem. 10-16

65 ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπὲρ δοῦλον] in marg. || 68 τὰ] τὰς

mus] into prison. For, since he was instructing through godly and prudent teachings the wife of Tertullus' brother to come unto a manner of self-control and knowledge of the true and also life-giving faith concerning God, [and] imparted to her soul 'remembrances,' on the one hand, he [Tertullus] abused the holy one as a 'sorcerer'; but, on the other hand, for me, this one is a libation proclaiming the standards of prudence by his temperate reasoning. For he himself, this is Onesimus, the one flourishing amongst the apostolic witnesses. This is the one who brought over the theology and true word of Paul to make known his [Paul's] advocacy on behalf of him in a letter, the one to Philemon, his master. This is the one of slavish circumstance who raised up a sorrowful poverty of reverence by habit and, of action by noble deeds, unto free judgment. This is the one who, by having outwitted the day-to-day barren deceit of his life, even stretched his whole self unto the summit of reverence in the ministries of the apostles, just as these words instruct those encountering the letter to Philemon; clearly having this manner:

I exhort you for my child, whom I begot in my bonds, Onesimus, the one once unprofitable to you, but now profitable to you and to me, whom I sent back. But you, receive him that is my bowels, whom I was desiring to keep with myself, that in behalf of you he might serve me in the bonds of the Gospel. But apart from your mind, I wished to do nothing, that your good might not be as of necessity, but as of willingness. For, perhaps, because of this he was separated from you for a time, that eternally you might possess him, no longer as a slave, but as above a slave, as a beloved brother especially to me; and how much more to you both in flesh and the Lord.

and the words of this which follow.

On the one hand, therefore, even these things coming out from such recommendations were sufficient to reveal the treasure of

- ἀνακαλύψαι. οὐ γὰρ κόλακος λόγοι καὶ ψευδηγόροι
 τινὸς αἱ μαρτυραὶ ἀλλὰ κήρυκος ἀληθείας ἀποστολικὴν
 παράταξιν ἀναδεξαμένου. τὸν αὐτὸν γοῦν καὶ τέκνον
 καὶ ἀδελφὸν ὀνομάζει. τῇ μὲν κλήσει τοῦ τέκνου τῆς
 75 εἰς αὐτὸν ἀγάπης τὸ μέγεθος ἐπιδεικνύμενος, διὰ δὲ
 τῆς ἀδελφότητος τὴν ἴσιν αὐτῷ τιμὴν τῆς εἰς τὸν
 Θεὸν παρρησίας ἀποφυλλάττων. ὁ γὰρ [f. 147^r] τῇ
 παρουσίᾳ τὰ δεσμὰ κουφίσας καὶ παιδρύνας τὸ κατη-
 φές τῇ συνουσίᾳ καὶ ταῖς σωματικαῖς διακονίαις τοῦ
 80 ἀποστολικοῦ σώματος ἐπικουφίσας τοὺς πόνοους· πῶς
 οὐχὶ τοῖς τῆς θεοσεβείας ἐφοδίοις πεφορτισμένος εἰς
 τοιοῦτον τέλος τῆς ἀφθάρτου δωρεᾶς συντρέχειν
 ἔμελλεν; τοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸν οὕτω τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν θεοσε-
 βείᾳ λαμπρῶς ἀλειψαμένον, νηστείᾳ δὲ καὶ προσευχῇ
 85 τὸ σῶμα ἐθίσαντα, ἵνα κατὰ τὸ στάδιον τῆς εὐσεβείας
 τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφανον κατὰ τοῦ πονηροῦ προ-
 φανῶς ἀναδήσεται.

- Προσαχθέντα τὸ τηνικαῦτα πρὸ τοῦ βήματος Τερτυλ-
 λου ἅμα Ρωμύλῳ συνεργῷ καὶ Παπία πνευματικῷ καὶ
 90 συστρατιώτῃ ἀρετῇ τε συμπνεύσῃ τὰ παραπλήσια καὶ
 Ἀπιτίωνι· ἐρωτᾷ Τέρτυλλος· “τίς λέγει;” ἀπεκρίνατο
 Ὁνήσιμος “Χριστιανός.” ὁ ἑπαρχος εἶπεν· “ποίας εἰ τύ-
 χης;” ἀπεκρίνατο· “πάλαι μὲν οἰκέτης ὡς εἰκὸς ἀνθρώ-
 που νῦν δὲ δοῦλος εὐγνώμων ἀγαθοῦ δεσπότης καὶ σω-
 95 τήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.” ὁ ἑπαρχος εἶπεν· “καὶ τίς
 ἢ πρόφασις τῆς ἀφ’ ἐτέρας εἰς ἐτέραν δεσποτείαν εὐχε-
 ροῦς μεταστάσεως;” Ὁνήσιμος εἶπεν· “γνώσις ἀληθείας
 καὶ μίσος εἰδωλολατρείας.” ὁ ἑπαρχος εἶπεν· “πόσου
 τιμήματος μετέστης εἰς τὴν οὕτω καινοπρεπῇ τῆς δεσ-
 100 ποτείας πρόφασιν;” Ὁνήσιμος εἶπεν· “ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ παῖς
 Ἰσοῦς Χριστός αἵματι τιμῶ τὴν φθορὰν τὴν ἐμὴν
 ὠνησάμενος εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν μετέστησεν· καθὼς γέγραπ-
 ται, εἰδότες ὅτι οὐ φθαρτοῖς, ἀργυρίῳ ἢ χρυσίῳ ἐλε-
 τρώθητε ἐκ τῆς ματαίας ἡμῶν ἀναστροφῆς πατροπαρα-
 105 δότου, ἀλλὰ τιμῶ αἵματι ὡς ἁμνοῦ ἁμάρτου καὶ ἀσπίλου
 Χριστοῦ.” ὁ ἑπαρχος εἶπεν· “ποίαν ταύτην ματαίαν ἀνασ-
 τροφὴν αἱ παρ’ ὑμῶν γραφαὶ καταγγέλουσιν; ἐπὶ πραγμά-
 των ἀρμόσας καταμύνησον.” Ὁνήσιμος εἶπεν· “μοιχείαν,

virtues belonging to Onesimus. For the testimonies are not words and false-speeches of some flatterer, but rather, of a herald of truth having received an apostolic commission. For, indeed, he calls the same one both 'child' and 'brother.' On the one hand, in his calling him 'child,' he is pointing out the magnitude of his love for him; and, on the other hand, through his brotherhood he is maintaining equal honor towards him in his openness before God. For he lightened his [Paul's] chains by his arrival, cheered the dejected by his presence, and lessened the pains by his physical ministries to the apostolic body; how, then, since he was filled with the things appropriate for piety, was he not destined to come to such an end of the immortal gift? Therefore, on the one hand, [it happened that] this one clearly anointed his soul in piety, and, on the other hand, through fasting and prayer he trained his body in order that he might clearly raise up the crown of immortality against the Evil One, according to the standard of reverence; and having been brought at that time before the judge's platform of Tertullus, together with Romulus, a fellow-worker, Papias, a spiritual fellow-soldier in virtue and in promoting similar ideals, and Apitios. Tertullus asks, "Who is speaking?" Onesimus answered, "A Christian." The eparch says, "What are you about?" He replies, "Long ago, on the one hand, I was a house-slave, such as befitting of a man; but now I am a charitable servant of a noble master, indeed, our savior Jesus Christ." The eparch said, "And what was the cause of your swift departure from the one to the other's rule?" Onesimus said, "Knowledge of truth and hatred of idolatry." The eparch said, "At what cost have you withdrawn thusly into this conspicuously vain evasion of his rule?" Onesimus said, "The Son of God, Jesus Christ, having redeemed my depravity through precious blood, withdrew unto immortality, as it has been written; knowing that not through corruptible things like silver and gold is one redeemed out of the folly of our inherited condition, but through the precious blood of Christ as of a blameless and spotless lamb." The eparch said, "What sort of idle avoidance do your writings proclaim? Having proposed your case, defend yourself!" Onesimus said, "Adultery: the nourishing of its workers on a few

- 110 τὴν ἐπ' ὀλίγαις ἐπιθυμίαις εἰς ἀπειρον κολάσεως
 τοὺς αὐτῆς ἐργάτας ἐκτρέφουσιν. πλεονεξίαν, τὴν
 ἐπ' οὐδενὶ καλῷ κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον ὀπιζομένην. γοη-
 τεῖαν, τὴν δαιμόνων σύνηκον καὶ φαντασίας εὐρετὴν
 καὶ ῥίζαν οὖσαν ἐπιβουλῆς [f. 147^v] ἀνειακάστου. ἀλαζο-
 νεῖαν, τὴν διακαινῆς ἐννοίας εἰς ἄμετρον τύφον κατὰ
 115 τῶν κρειπτόνων ἐπηρμένην. φθόνον, τὸν Καὶν σὺν ἐτέ-
 ροις πολλοῖς ἀδελφοκτόνον διδάξαντα καὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν
 κεκτημένοις ὀλεθρίας ἐννοίας κατασπεύραντα. κακολο-
 γίαν, τὴν ἀχαλῶντον γλῶτταν καθάπερ νέφος τὴν
 χλεῦν κατὰ πάντων ἐπεκτείνουσιν. ὑπόκρισιν, τὴν
 120 ἀληθείας ἐχθρὰν καὶ διαβόλου φίλην καὶ νωθρὰν πρὸς
 φιλίαν καὶ προκαλύμματι κεκρυμμένην. μικροψυχίαν,
 τὴν πεπλανημένην ἐννοίαν παρεισφύρουσαν δι' ἧς
 οἶμαι καὶ τὴν Εὐὰν ὁ πονηρὸς ὑπεσκέλισεν. ὀργήν,
 τὴν λοιδορίας εὐρέτιν πληγῶν δὲ κακῶν ἐργάτην καὶ
 125 τραυμάτων αὐτουργόν καὶ φόνου μητέρα. μέθην, τὴν
 ἀσελγείας σύνοικον καὶ ἡδονῆς ἀδελφὴν καὶ αἰσχρολό-
 γίας εὐρέτιν· ἀγαθῆς ἐννοίας ἀλλοτρίαν· τὴν ἀπρεπῆ
 καὶ σχήμματι καὶ φθέγματι καὶ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν τὴν
 εὐπρέπειαν καταλύουσιν· ἐπὶ πάντων δὲ τούτων τὸν τῆς
 130 ὑλῶδους συστάσεως λάκκον καὶ μητέρα τῶν εἰρημένων.
 Εἰδωλατρείαν, τὴν πορνείας ὑπόθεσιν· τὴν τῆς ἀγνω-
 σίας τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ διδάσκαλον· τὴν ἀλογίας εὐρέ-
 τιν· τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς πείρωσιν· τὴν τῆς ἡδυπαθείας
 δημιουργόν καὶ κοσμιότητος ἀλλοτρίαν· τὴν τῷ δεσπότῃ
 135 τῶν ὄλων ἀπομαχομένην καὶ ὄρους θεοσεβείας ἐκ-
 κόπτειν ἐπιχειροῦσαν· τὴν ὁδηγὸν τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τοῦ
 δράκοντος ὑπηρέτην· τὸ δέλεαρ τῶν κακῶν· τὴν ἀρε-
 τῆς ἐναντίαν· τὴν φεύγουσαν τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ κηρύσ-
 σουσαν τὴν ἀπώλειαν καὶ περὶ γῆν καὶ τάρταρον τὰς
 140 ἐλπίδας τοῖς εἰς αὐτὴν βλέπουσιν προτείνουσιν· τὴν
 αἱμάτων φίλην καὶ τοῦ φθόου ἀρχηγόν· τὴν ἀγνοίαν
 θεϊκῇ τοὺς εὐχερεῖς τὸν τρόπον παγιδεύουσιν· τὴν σκό-
 τους μὲν καὶ σκιᾶς γνησίαν πρόξενον φωτεινῆς δὲ
 χάριτος ἀλλοτρίαν· τὴν βρόχοις ἀσέμιον πράξεως τοὺς
 145 αὐτῇ δουλεύοντας περισφίγγουσιν· τὴν [f. 148^r] αἰσ-
 χρολογίας καὶ βλασφήμου φθέγματος ὑπόθεσιν· τὴν
 κενδοξίαν ἀλείφουσιν τοὺς αὐτῇ προστετηκότας· τὴν
 ὀρχήσεως ἐργάτην· τὴν σαρκικῆς ἐπιθυμίας πρόξενον·

desires unto a boundless amount of punishment. Covetousness: the arming of oneself with a view towards nothing noble against one's neighbor. Sorcery: the gathering of demons and inventor of fantasy; and being an origin of an unfathomable plot. Boastfulness: the excitation of truly vain thoughts unto boundless pride against the 'excellent' ones. Envy: the teaching of fratricide to Cain along with many others and spreading about among those possessing it destructive intentions. Revilement: the laying forth of unbridled speech, like a cloud that extends the mockery against all. Hypocrisy: the hidden hatred of truth and love of the Devil, and indifference towards love, even by deceit. Smallness of soul: the interpolation of deceptive intentions through which, I believe, the Evil One tripped Eve. Wrath: the inventor of abuse and workman of evil blows; cultivator of wounds and source of murder. Drunkenness: the denizen of licentiousness and sister of pleasure, and inventor of foul language; foreigner to noble thoughts; the unseemly destruction of fair appearance in bearing and speech of those things customary; and, in the course of all these, the pit of earthly conflict and source of the things spoken of. Idolatry: the pretext of prostitution, the teacher of ignorance of the true God, the inventor of folly, the piercing of the soul, the maker of the 'pleasurable' life and stranger to propriety, the fighting against the Lord of all and endeavoring to break down the definitions of piety, the guide of Death and viceroy of the Serpent, the bait of the evil ones, the obstacle to virtue, the flight from immortality and proclaiming destruction, and stretching out about the earth and the dark abyss the hopes of those looking into it, the love of bloody things and chief of malice, the entrapment of the naive ones in ignorance of the divine in its manner; on the one hand, the legitimate patron of darkness and shadows, and on the other hand, stranger to grace; the binding all-round the ones having become slaves to it with meshes of indecent action, the pretext for foul language and blasphemous speech, the encouragement of vanity for the one having adhered to it, the practitioner of dance, the guardian of carnal desire, the dishonoring of the respect due an

- 150 τὴν πολλὰν πρεσβύτου καὶ γέροντος ἀτιμάζουσιν· πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀσχημονοῦντα· ἄλλεσθαι τὸν καθιστάμενον τῷ χρόνῳ παρακαλεῖουσιν· τὴν τὸ σεμνὸν τῆς παρθενίας ἐκκόπτουσιν διὰ τῆς ἀσέμνου τῶν τῆς κεφαλῆς τριχῶν ἐκλύσεως· τὴν θέατρον ποιοῦσαν τὰς ἐν οἴκῳ σεμνῶς εἰς αἰδοῦς λόγον ἀνατεθείσας, τὴν σιδήρῳ καὶ ξίφει
- 155 τὰς ἑαυτῆς ἐορτὰς καταμίσσουσαν· τὴν ζώων ἀκαθαρσίαν καὶ ταῖς ἐξ αἱμάτων προσχύσεσιν· τὸ ἐρπωμένον τῆς αὐτῶν ἀσελγείας καταγγέλλουσιν· τὴν τὰ σεμνῶς περιεσταλμένα μέρη τοῦ σώματος ἀσέμνως ἐπὶ μέσης πόλεως δημοσιεύουσιν· τὴν ἀνακαλύπτουσιν ἀνδρὸς
- 160 αἰσχύνην καὶ γηραιὴν ἃ μὴ θέμις ἐπιδεικνύουσιν· τὴν ἀποτέμνουσαν ἄρρενος φύσιν εἰς τὴν θηλυμόρφου δαίμονος θεραπείαν· τὴν τὰς οἰκείας τελετὰς ἐκφόνων καὶ μοιχείας καὶ παιδεραστίας ἀναδείξασαν· τὴν δίκην σκάφους ἐν τρικυμῇ τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων διανοίας εἰς
- 165 διαφόρους τρόπους ῥιπίζουσιν· νῦν μὲν ἰοβόλων ἐρπετῶν ζώων ἀπογεύεσθαι τοὺς αὐτῆς μύστας προτρεπομένην· νῦν δὲ σέβεσθαι τὰ διασπώμενα παρὰ τῶν διασπώντων ἐκδιδάσκουσιν· τὴν ἄλλοις ἰχθὺν ἀναγορεύουσιν, ἄλλους δὲ κατεσθίειν τοὺς ἐτέρων θεοὺς
- 170 προτρεπομένην· τὴν βοῦν θύουσιν καὶ βουσίην προσάγουσιν ὀλοκαυτώματα· τὴν [f. 148^v] προβάτῳ πρόβατον ἐπιθύουσιν καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν καὶ θῦμα παρασκευάζουσιν· τὴν ἀνθρώπῳ ἄνθρωπον ἀποσφάττουσιν καὶ σφαγὴν ὑπὲρ ὑγείας ἐργαζομένην· τὴν τοῖς ἀπψύ-
- 175 χοις τὰ ψυχικὰ πρὸς θυσίαν προσφέρουσιν καὶ λίθῳ γλυφέντι τὸν κατ'εἰκόνα Θεοῦ γενομένον ἄνθρωπον ἀναποσφάττουσιν· τὴν τὰ ῥυπαρώτερα τῶν ζώων καὶ μοχθηρὰ τῶν βρωμάτων ἀλόγοις ἀπάταις θεοποιήσασαν· ὕβριν, τὴν αἰσχρορργὸν καὶ μίαν τὴν ἐκ σκώληκος
- 180 τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς γενέσεως ἔχουσιν.

Τί γὰρ δεῖ λέγειν ὅτι καὶ κρομμύς τὸ θεῖκόν ἀξίωμα προσῆψεν ἢ εἰδωλολατρεία ἀπὸ τῶν ζώων ἐπὶ τὴν ἄψυχον ὕλην ταῖς ἀπάταις μεταβαίνουσα ποικίλως, ὅπως ὑπερβολῇ τυφλότητος τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀνοίας

185 καταγάγῃ εἰς ᾄδην; οὕτω καὶ λίθον τιμᾶσθαι ὡς θεὸν πεποίηκεν καὶ ξύλον· τὸ μὲν τι σέβειν καὶ τοῖς βεβήλοις

elder and an old man, holding one's mind to the flute, exhorting the one who stands calmly to leap in time, the hammering against the solemnity of virginity through the irreverent letting down of one's hair, the making 'public' the things reverently done with a sense of shame within the household, the corruption of its own festivals by spear and sword, the uncleanness of animals and with these, libations of blood; proclaiming the crawling things of their own licentiousness, the displaying irreverently of the parts of the body solemnly cherished in the midst of the city, the unveiling the shame of a man even unto women, which propriety does not display, the cutting off of the nature of the male into standing service of a female-shaped demon, the exhibiting of the household secrets of murders, adultery, and pederasty; the fanning of the intentions of men into different opinions, like a ship in a storm; and now, on the one hand, impelling initiates of it to taste of the darting, creeping animals, and now, on the other hand, teaching them to worship the transgressions for the transgressors, the proclaiming of a fish to some and impelling others to devour the gods of others, the sacrifice of an ox and leading oxen to burnt-offerings, the sacrifice of an animal unto an animal and the preparation of the same god even as a sacrifice, the slaying of a man for a man, and slaughter on behalf of health, the bringing of living things to sacrifice for lifeless things, and slaying with a carved stone man having been made in the image of God, the deification of the very foul things of the creatures and of filthy things of stinking animals by unspeakable deceits. Insolence: the shameful-doer and the one having its beginning of creation out of a worm.

For, why is it necessary to say that, like an onion, idolatry made the godly ideal rot before it, passing variously from the realm of the living unto the lifeless material, through its deceits, in order that an excess of blindness might lead the follies of men into Hell? So it has made stone even to be honored as a god, and also wood. On the one hand, it has ordained by law also some

- τῶν νόμων νενομοθέτηκεν τὸ δὲ καίειν ἐπὶ βωμοῦ διη-
 γόρευσεν· εἰσέλειχον προφανῇ τῆς τῶν ὑπακούοντων
 αὐτῇ δυσσεβοῦς ἐννοίας. ταύτην τοίνυν τὴν διὰ τοσοῦ-
 190 των ἀτοπημάτων χωροῦσαν ἄθεον εἰδωλολατρίαν ἐκ-
 φυγῶν καὶ τὰς δορυφόρους αὐτῆς κακίας γενναίῳ τῷ
 λογισμῷ καταπατήσας· ἐκ ξάλης ὥσπερ θαλάττης εἰς
 τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας κατήντηκα λιμένα ἀγκύραις τὸ σκά-
 φος τοῦ σώματός μου τῆς ὑποστάσεως εἰς τὰ ἀσφαλῆ
 195 καὶ βέβαια προσαναπαύσας· πολιτεία ἀμέμπῳ πίστει
 τῇ πρὸς τὸν ὄντα Θεὸν καὶ ἀγάπῃ τῇ περὶ τὸν πλησίον.
 τούτων γάρ τῶν συναμφοτέρων τῆς οὐρανίου πειθόμεθα
 διδασκαλίας τὴν σύμπασαν γνώμην ἐναγκαλίσασθαι. διὸ
 δὴ καὶ σε προτρέπομαι Τέρτυλλε· φιλαδελφίας θεσμὸν
 200 κέχρησο· βουλόμενος ἐπεκτείνειν· ἀφῆναι μὲν ταῦτα τὰ
 πρόσκαιρα τῆς [f. 149^Γ] φαντασίας ἡδύσματα δίκην
 ὀνείρατος θάπτον παρατρέχοντα τὴν αἴσθησιν, δραμεῖν
 δὲ λοιπὸν τῷ τάχει τῆς ἐννοίας πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὅλων
 ἐπόπτην καὶ δημιουργὸν Θεόν· καὶ λύσαι μὲν τὴν πλά-
 205 νην, τῇ πίστει δέ, σωθῆναι καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν κατὰ τὸ
 γεγραμμένον ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν. οὐ γὰρ θανάτῳ τοῦ
 πταίσαντος τέρεται Θεός. μετάνοια δέ, τῶν προσι-
 ὄντων ἀπαλείφει τὰ προλαβόντα τολμήματα.”
- Ὁ ἑπαρχος εἶπεν· “ἔοικας οὐ μόνον τῷ τῶν βασάνων
 210 φόβῳ συνεχόμενος περὶ τὸ θύειν οὐκ ἐληλυθῆναι βού-
 λεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν σαυτοῦ καθέλκειν ἀπά-
 την.” Ὁνήσιμος εἶπεν· “οὔτε σοῖ πιθανὸς ὁ λόγος ἀλ-
 λότριε τῆς ἀληθείας εἰ καὶ τὸ πείθειν σὺν ἑαυτῷ φέρει,
 οὔτε σοῦ τοσοῦτον ἰσχύει τὰ βασανηστήρια κ’ ἂν φοβερὰ
 215 παρασκευάξης, ὥς μὴ τῇ ἐλπίδι τῶν μελλόντων ἀγα-
 θῶν προσκαρτερεῖν διὰ τῶν παρὰ σοῦ μοι προσαγομέ-
 νων τούτων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γυμνασ-
 θέντων.” ὁ μὲν ἑπαρχος τὸν μακάριον Ὁνήσιμον ἅμα
 τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ φρουρᾷ ζοφώδει καὶ ταῖς παρατεμνούσαις
 220 τῶν βασάνων τὴν ἀλγηδόνα κακώσεσι παραδοθῆναι
 κελεύει ὅπως (τῶν) κατὰ μέρος αἰκισμῶν ἢ προσαγωγῇ
 τὴν τούτων πίστιν εἰς ἀθεότητα μεταστήσῃ. ἃ δὲ δι-
 καιως ἐκεῖνος ὥσπερ ἤδη τὴν ἐν παραδείσῳ τρυφὴν
 ἐνηγκαλισμένος πλέον τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν γεγεννημένοις ἐγε-

worship of the profane things of custom; and, on the other hand, it spoke of the kindling of an altar; (they [the flames] clearly were licking at the impious intention of those yielding to it!). And now, indeed, having escaped this ungodly idolatry, succeeding by means of such deprivations, and having trampled underfoot the soldiers of its evil through noble reason; surging out, just as a sea, into the secure harbor of reverence; having made rest the ship of my body on the anchors of His support unto the secure and steady situation, through a condition in blameless faith towards the God who is, and in love with regards to one's neighbor. For we are persuaded off all these together, of the universal teaching, to take into our arms this conclusion wholeheartedly. On which account, indeed, I exhort you, Tertullus. Exhibit a practice of brotherly love; willingly reach out. On the one hand, flee these 'sweets' of your fantasy, like a dream too quickly rushing by the senses, all the sooner. On the other hand, run from the rest with the swiftness of your intention to the overseer of all things and world-creating God. And, on the one hand, break your error, and through your faith be saved and come into full knowledge of truth according to what has been written. For God is cheered not by a death of one stumbling; but rather, repentance of those approaching [God] expunges their earlier reckless acts."

The eparch said, "Although supposedly being affected by the fear of the tortures, you seem not only unwilling to have performed the sacrifice, but also wish to draw us down into your deceit." Onesimus said, "Neither, foreigner to the truth, is your speech credible, if even it bears persuasion with itself; nor are the tortures of yours so powerful, even if you should prepare frightful things, so as for me not to persevere against them in the hope of good things to come, during the course of these things being directed by you against me and such things having been utilized so far." The eparch ordered the blessed Onesimus together with those with him to be handed over to gloomy prison and to the evils which extend the pain of tortures, in order that gradually the approach of tortures might change the faith of these men into godlessness. But that just one, even as he has already taken into his arms the luxury in Paradise, rejoiced even more as with those coming unto Him, just as a bar of

225 γήθει καθάπερ ὕλη χρυσοῦ διὰ πυρὸς καὶ καύσεως δο-
κιμωτέρα πρὸς κάθαρσιν ἑαυτοῖς γινομένοις.

- Τῆς τοίνυν κατὰ τὴν εἰρκτὴν κακοπαθείας ἐφ' ὅλαις
ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἡμέραις παραταθείσης, ὁ μὲν ἔξωθεν
περιωρέων δῆμος τὸν μακάριον πρὸς θεοσεβῆ μᾶλλον
230 ἐπερρώνε πίστω. Τέρτυλλος δὲ τὸ [f. 149^v] γενόμε-
νον ἀναστεῖλαι σπουδάζων ἐπὶ σχήματι φιλανθρωπίας
τούτους τῆς πόλεως ἐκδιώκει. Ὁνήσιμος δὲ σὺν Ἀπι-
τίῳ τῷ γενναίῳ περὶ τὴν θεοσεβείαν συστρατιώτῃ
Ποτιώλους καταλαβὼν τὴν ζωοποιὸν χάριν τοῖς προσ-
235 τυγχάνουσιν κηρύττων οὐκ ἐπαύετο. πλεόνων γοῦν
τούτου τὸν τρόπον εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθόντων,
χαλεπαίνει μὲν ὁ Τέρτυλλος ἐπὶ τῷ γεγεννημένῳ καὶ
πρὸς ἄμετρον ὀργῆς ἰδέαν ὡς εἰκὸς παρὰ τοῦ δαίμονος
ὀπλίζεται. οἱ δὲ τῆς τούτου δορυφορίας τὴν ἄθεον φρον-
240 τίδα διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντες ξύλοις τὰς τῶν ἀγίων χεῖρας
μετὰ τῆς ἐπὶ νώτου στρεβλώσεως προσέπηξαν καὶ
τούτῳ τῷ σχήματι τοὺς ὁσίους τῷ λυσσῶντι τὸν φόνον
ἐπὶ βήματος προσήγαγον. Τέρτυλλος δὲ ταῖς ὑβόλοις
τοῦ διαβόλου μανίαις ἐγκεκυλισμένος ἠρώτα καὶ πάλιν
245 πικρῷ βλέμματι καταπλήττειν τὸν μακάριον Ὁνήσιμον
οἰόμενος· “καὶ τί παθῶν, φησὶν, πυρὸς καὶ σιδήρου
ἄξιε, τὴν ἐμὴν φιλανθρωπίαν εἰς ἄμετρον σεαυτῷ παρ-
ρησίαν ἐταμιεύσω κακὸν κακῷ, ὡς ἔοικεν ἐπίσυνάψας,
εἰς ἀπαραίτητον ἐπιτεῖναι τὴν ἐπὶ σοὶ λοιπὸν τιμωρίαν;”
250 Ὁνήσιμος εἶπεν· “ἐγὼ δὲ σε λοιπὸν καὶ λίαν προσε-
δόκων τῶν κρειττόνων ἐραστήν γεγεννημένον, καμοὶ
τοῦ διδάσκειν παρακεχωρηκέναι τὴν ἄδειαν ἵνα διὰ
πάντων ἡ χάρις δραμοῦσα ἀκωλύτως μηδένα τῶν πισ-
τευσάντων τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δωρεᾶς ἁμοιρον καταστήσῃ.”
255 ταῦτα τὰ τερπνὰ ὁ Τέρτυλλος πρὸς χλεύην λεξάμενος
ῥήματα ὑπὸ τεσσάρων ἰσχυρῶς κατατείνεσθαι τὸ σῶμα
τοῦ μακαρίου προσέττατεν καὶ παχείαις ῥάβδων αἰκί-
αις αἰκίζεῖν τὸν γενναῖον τῆς θεοσεβείας ἀθλητὴν.
πολλῆς τοίνυν ἐπὶ τοῖς [f. 150^f] γινομένοις παρατρε-
260 χούσης τῆς ὥρας καὶ τῶν μὲν ξύλων αἶμα καὶ σάρκας
ὁμοῦ τοῦ σώματος ἀνασπόντων τῆς δὲ θεοσεβοῦς ψυχῆς
ἐκείνης πλεόν νευρουμένης ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς

gold through fire and burning becomes more valuable upon purifying with these. And now, he suffered his ill-plight within the prison for eighteen whole days. On the one hand, the populace walking about on the outside was cheering more [strongly] the blessed one with a view towards pious faith. Tertullus, on the other hand, because he arranged the happenings, being zealous against any appearance of mercy, drives those out of the city. But Onesimus, with the noble Apitios, fellow-soldier with regards to piety, upon reaching Puteoli was not stopping his proclaiming of the life-making grace to those he was encountering. Therefore, with more people coming in this way into full knowledge of truth, Tertullus becomes more angry, [and], on the one hand, because of this having happened, he prepares himself with a view towards an immoderate kind of rage, just as is likely for the demon. And, on the other hand, the guards of this one, having ungodly minds, strike upon the arms of the pious ones with clubs during a stretching upon [the] back, and in this manner led the pious ones to the man loosing the murder upon the judge's platform. And Tertullus, struck with the darting madnesses of the Devil, was also interrogating again with a bitter glance, hoping to trick the blessed Onesimus: "Why were you, O worthy one, even having suffered the nature of fire and iron, managing my love of humanity into immoderate license of tongue by yourself, having brought evil for evil, such that it is fitting to prolong forever the remaining torture against you?" Onesimus said, "I was very much expecting you henceforward to have become an adherent of the more noble things and to permit me license to teach in the absence of fear, in order that out from all these, the grace flowing without hindrance might place upon no one of those trusting in the gift of God ill-fortune." But Tertullus, thinking it fine to mock those agreeable sayings, was arranging for the body of the blessed one to be stretched excessively in four directions, and to torment with great blows of clubs the noble champion of piety. And now, with much time rushing by in the happenings and, with the clubs drawing forth blood and flesh from the same body, and, with the god-fearing soul of that one being much strengthened out of the desire of the good things awaiting in

- προσδοκωμένων αγαθῶν εὐθυμίας, Τέρτυλλος ἠπειλεῖ
 265 τὴν κατὰ μέλος τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ τομὴν εἰ μὴ βου-
 ληθείη θῆσαι. ὁ δὲ δύσμαχος ἐκεῖνος καὶ δυσάλωτος
 ἐπ' εὐσεβία καθάπερ τεῖχος ἰσχυρὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λογισ-
 μὸν ταῖς βασάνοις ἀντιστήσας ἀτρεπτον εἶχεν τὴν
 γνῶμην, οὐ δ' ὅλως ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀπηλαῖς τὴν παρρησιαν
 270 ὑποκλίνας. τέλος γοῦν παντός τοῦ σώματος ταῖς βασά-
 νοις διερρώγότης, ὡς εἶδεν αὐτὸν ὁ Τέρτυλλος, ὕπτιον
 ἀνατραπέντα τὰ σκέδη καὶ τοὺς μηρούς αὐτοῦ κατε-
 αγῆναι κελεύει. καὶ οὕτως τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφα-
 νον τελειωθείς ὁ μακάριος Ὀνήσιμος εἰς ἀμοιβὴν ἀγα-
 275 θῶν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ κομίζεται τῇ προδεκαπέντε καλαν-
 δῶν Μαρτίων.

- Γυνὴ δέ τις βασιλικοῦ γένους ἔχουσα λαμπρότητα
 θήκην ἐξ ἀργύρου κατασκευάσασα τὸ λείψανον ἐναπέ-
 θετο τοῦ μάρτυρος, μισθὸν ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸν ἅγιον μνή-
 280 μας αἰωνίων αγαθῶν αὐτῇ πορίζουσα· ὧν γένοιτο
 πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐπιτυχεῖν χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ
 κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μεθ' οὗ τῷ Πατρὶ ᾧμα
 τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι δόξα, κράτος, τιμὴ, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ
 καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Ἀμήν.

the heavens, Tertullus pressed the cutting against the limb of his body, since he [Onesimus] was not willing to sacrifice. But that unconquerable and indomitable one, with a view towards reverence, having made his own reason stand like a strong wall against the tortures, held his unaltered view, by no means falling under license of tongue because of the threats. Thus, finally, with all his body broken by the tortures so that Tertullus saw him with his underside turned upwards, he orders his legs and his thighs to be broken; and, thus, having accomplished the crown of immortality, the blessed Onesimus, in recompense for his noble deeds, is received at the side of God on the fifteenth day of February.

And a certain woman of royal birth having distinction, after she prepared a casket out of silver, put the remains of the martyr in it; furnishing recompense out of her remembrance of the pious one, [and thereby] furnishing eternal good things for her, of which that it might all happen to us by the grace and love of humanity of our Lord, Jesus Christ, thus, also, with the Father, together with the Holy Spirit, glory, power, honor, now and always unto the ages of ages.

Amen.

REVIEWS

Empress Athenais-Eudocia. By Jeanne Tsatsos. Translated by Jean Demos. Prologue by Demetrios J. Constantelos. Brookline: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1977. Pp. 141. Index. Paper.

Violent contrasts marked the fifth century A.D. While antique gods and goddesses and ancient mysteries were surrendering to a vital, fervent Christianity, even in Constantinople a cultured pagan like Cyrus could still hold the powerful offices of Praetorian Prefect of the East and Prefect of the City. Throughout the old Roman *imperium*, meanwhile, a volatile mixture of worldly ambition and spiritual piety compelled Christians, struggling to define Church dogma, to wage among themselves battles seething with partisan passions.

During his long reign (408-450) Theodosius II saw invading barbarians hasten the disintegration of the Western Roman Empire. His own Eastern Empire, summoning all its diplomatic savvy and military strength to survive the attacks, was also synthesizing Greek, Roman, Christian and Oriental elements to create the unique essence that would become medieval Byzantium.

A lengthy and dramatically disparate list of intriguing personalities makes this period one of the most fascinating in history: barbarian chieftains Attila the Hun, Alaric the Goth, and Gaiseric the Vandal; the Imperial generals Aspar (himself of barbarian ancestry) and Aetius; Cyril, ruthless and ambitious Patriarch of Alexandria, and his enemy Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople; the heretics Eutyches and Dioscoros of Alexandria; Pope Leo, credited with turning Attila's horde away from Rome; holy men of a much more ascetical nature, Saints Symeon and Daniel the Stylites.

It was also an age of dynamic women. In Alexandria the pagan philosopher Hypatia, by her keen intellect, inspired both admiration and murderous resentment. The Roman Melania's power was spiritual. In her native city and in the East she turned many souls to Christianity, distributing her generous material resources in endless good works. While Melania educated and converted her pagan husband, the weak Emperors Theodosius II, Honorius, and Valentinian were often overshadowed by their more intelligent and aggressive Empresses, Galla Placidia, Honoria, Pulcheria, and Athenais-Eudocia.

The latter Empress may well serve as a particularly apt paradigm for her age, attesting to the dramatic vicissitudes of fortune in a chaotic world. Born in pagan Athens, steeped in Greek philosophy and ancient culture, she abruptly entered the Christian world of Constantinople as a young woman on a personal embassy. She charmed the Empress Pulcheria and, embracing Christianity and exchanging her old name Athenais for the more suitable Eudocia, won as her husband Pulcheria's brother, Theodosius II. As told by chroniclers, it is a Cinderella story.

Eudocia's cool beauty and refined culture delighted her royal husband. Her growing political clout may be seen in the new regulations allowing non-Christians to worship freely without fear of the death penalty and in reduced taxes for Greek cities. She may have been influential in refounding

the University of Constantinople, where for the first time Greek rhetoricians and grammarians outnumbered Latin. Around her gathered a sophisticated court that reflected the developing synthesis of Greek culture and language and the Christian religion.

At the height of her popularity she undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land where she won popular acclaim by restoring the walls of Antioch and Jerusalem. Returning with a refined sense of responsibility and political acumen, she sponsored a crucial rebuilding of Constantinople's obsolete defense system just before jealous passions undermined her powerful position and suddenly, unexpectedly brought her disgrace and permanent exile in the Holy Land.

In following the life of this intriguing woman, Mrs. Jeanne Tsatsos has created more than an entertaining biography. She uses Athenais-Eudocia as the focal point for a much larger view of an explosive age, transmitting a feeling for that age and the precarious existence of an Empire surrounded by enemies and racked by internal religious/political controversies. She has captured the violent contrasts, the sublime piety and the basest passions that erupt in rapine and murder, the poisonous intrigues of eunuchs, courtiers, and churchmen, and the havoc wreaked when the unscrupulous contrive to fill the power vacuum created by a weak Emperor.

Exceeding the narrow bounds of biography, Mrs. Tsatsos has also given her work a broad spatial and temporal scope. While witnessing the demise of the Western Empire, she explores the magnitude of emerging Byzantium. Eudocia's first pilgrimage inspires the author to recount a brief history of Jerusalem from the beginning of the Christian era. The Empress' active interest in hotly debated dogmatic controversies leads Mrs. Tsatsos to an examination of three critical Church councils, the Third and Fourth Ecumenical Councils at Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451) and the devastating Robber Council at Ephesus (449). She has written an especially lucid account of the Nestorian controversy. Throughout these descriptions she shows a truly Byzantine love for detail, recreating from contemporary accounts a coronation ceremony, courtly protocol, imperial processions.

As Professor Demetrios Constantelos acknowledges in the Prologue, the style and spirit of the book are "essentially poetic" and not readily translatable. The English version by Jean Demos, nonetheless, is pleasant and readable. Imagistic and subjective, the work enjoys the sustained dramatic tension of an historical novel. At the same time, this often violent story is told with a gentle piety as the author ever directs the reader to a larger Christian picture.

The fairy tale quality that Byzantine chroniclers attributed to her life has made Athenais-Eudocia an object of fascination for many throughout the ages. Even J. B. Bury called her story "romantic."¹ It is difficult to strip away the legendary material to discover the real woman. For all the virtues of the present study, Mrs. Tsatsos too suffers from the inability to view Athenais critically, to note possible defects and to make her three-

1. *History of the Later Roman Empire*, I (New York, 1923), 220.

dimensional. So great is the author's sympathy for her heroine that she ignores the scandalous conduct elsewhere attributed to the Empress, for example, her demands, at the urging of the eunuch Chrysaphius, that she, like Pulcheria, have a High Chamberlain or that Pulcheria become a deaconess. Eudocia may well have played a less honorable role in the estrangement of the two Empresses. Furthermore, contemporary evidence for Eudocia's possible adultery with Paulinos might have been more carefully explored.

A pivotal episode began with an innocent gift. During an imperial procession, Theodosius received an enormous apple from someone in the crowd. Enchanted with the wondrous fruit, the Emperor gave it to his wife, who, in turn, gave it to her friend Paulinos. Without knowing the apple's history, Paulinos proudly presented it to his sovereign. At once suspicious of wife and friend, Theodosius summoned Eudocia and interrogated her. What had she done with the apple? Mrs. Tsatsos has her respond simply and honestly, "I sent it to our faithful friend Paulinos." She relegates to a footnote (accidentally omitted in the published text) the version of John Malalas, who has Eudocia lie, "I ate it," and then even swear solemnly that she is telling the truth.² If Malalas is right, this is a damning response. All conflicting reports need to be explored, perhaps with a reminder that the learned Athenais-Eudocia cannot have been ignorant of the apple's ancient symbolism as a love token.

A less significant omission, nonetheless curious, is the failure to mention young Arcadius, probably Eudocia's son, who, like her beloved daughter Flacilla, died very young.³ This tragedy must have sharpened the Empress' sense of sorrow.

Despite these critical problems and despite some confusion caused by misplaced or omitted footnotes,⁴ the book has painted a generally accurate portrait of the times. The author has consulted numerous Byzantine chronicles and histories and though she has written for a popular audience, she has included nuggets that will stimulate more experienced students. Anyone without some general knowledge of the fourth and fifth centuries, in fact, might be overwhelmed by the learned barrage of names and facts. It would be helpful, for example, to know Hypatia, who is introduced but never really described. An account of her scholarly life and violent death would have reinforced the reader's sense of civilization gone mad. This intelligent woman, a learned pagan destroyed by the jealous rage of Christian men, makes a fine counterpoint to the Empress Eudocia. Her story also affords added insight into conditions in Alexandria, whose villainous bishop Cyril played a major role in religious controversies of Eudocia's world.

Recreating the atmosphere of this world is the greatest contribution of this monograph. For a critical transitional period, Mrs. Tsatsos pre-

2. *Chronicle*, ed. Bekker (1831), xiv, p. 356.

3. See Bury, I, p. 220, note 3.

4. E.g., p. 127 footnotes 3 and 4 to p. 7 seem to be reversed; notes to pp. 49, 51, and 101 are misplaced or missing altogether.

sents the viewpoint of the Eastern Roman Empire, rarely encountered by the general reader. Today the best classroom materials for exploring Byzantine history and society are, one by one, going out of print. It is more and more difficult to find appropriate texts that will excite the imagination of students and turn them to a sympathetic and intelligent study of Byzantium. Hopefully, this little book will initiate a series that reverses this trend.

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The Great Revival: The Russian Church under German Occupation. By Wassilij Alexeev and Theofanis G. Stavrou. Minneapolis, Minn.: Burgess Publishing Co., 1976. Pp. xvi, 229. \$21.00.

This new book is one of a few that bring together the scholarship of men from two branches of the Orthodox tradition. It brings into bold relief the image of the Russian Church as it successfully struggled to survive in an historical period when its critics, Soviet and Western, had consigned it to oblivion.

The careful research into the lives and motives of a number of figures active in the Russian Church during the 1940's indicates vitality and renewal despite the scorching persecution visited upon it during the preceding decade and a half, a persecution that saw millions of the faithful murdered together with the overwhelming majority of their clergy. All of the properties of the Church had been seized and many of the great churches and monasteries obliterated. Nevertheless, the Church revived and flourished in what had appeared to be a desert.

Alexeev and Stavrou demonstrate how both the Soviet and Nazi regimes were forced to take cognizance of the persistence of religious devotion among the Russian and Ukrainian masses and how both regimes were forced to try to manipulate the Church for their own political ends. Each regime was afraid the other would win the loyalty of the people by granting the Church the right to reorganize. Though the Church was severely restricted by both, the revival was extensive and pointed to a much brighter future if it could disentangle itself from their stranglehold.

The Great Revival helps to counter a long-established anti-Orthodox prejudice among scholars in the West. The image of the Church depicted in such works as Richard Pipes' *Russia under the Old Regime* as a decadent and dying institution since the nineteenth century loses its credibility in the face of this work. It is a step in the right direction of a badly needed reassessment of the Church over the whole of the period since the Petrine Reform of the eighteenth century. The inaccurate or unsympathetic picture of the Orthodox Church, painted by both pre- and post-revolutionary authors in Russia and by most Western scholars of both eras, is one of the heavy burdens that must be lifted before the real role of the Church can

be assessed, together with the leavening influence it has been in the public life of Russia. Alexeev and Stavrou join such authors as William C. Fletcher (*The Russian Church Underground, 1917-1970*) and Harvey Fireside (*Icon and Swastika*) in the task of shedding new light on the subject.

The Great Revival has its chief value in the great number of personal interviews conducted over a period of twenty years in the United States and Europe with refugees and other personalities involved in the fate of the Church during World War II and since. Their testimonies are skillfully supplemented and verified by captured German and Soviet sources which describe the same personalities and events from an official perspective. The result is a two-dimensional portrait, personal and official, of the drama of reopening churches, reinstituting liturgical horaria, and bringing the mysteries of the Church back to a spiritually starved people.

The volume ends with a description of the post-war prolongation of the revival to the present day. Despite a reimposition of restrictions by Nikita Krushchev in 1959, the spiritual yearning exists even today, as can be discovered in the writings of such men as Solzhenitsyn, the protests of the faithful against the closure of their churches, or the confidential communication to visitors from the outside by persons in government or such prestigious institutions as the Academy of Sciences that they themselves are secret believers and that they find themselves oppressed by the spiritual vacuum that pervades all facets of the earthly paradise created by the heirs of Lenin.

James W. Cunningham

A History of Orthodox Theology Since 1453. By George A. Maloney, S.J. Belmont, Mass.: Nordland Publishing Co., 1976. Pp. 388. \$22.50.

This volume is a welcome initiative in drawing together the various threads of theological thought in the Orthodox world since the shattering loss of an independent patriarchate in Constantinople in 1453. Without such an outline it is all too easy to believe that there was no consistent theological development of an Orthodox theological tradition since that time, or to view each development in the national churches as separate denominational phenomena along the lines of the various separate Christian churches that appeared in the West during and after the sixteenth century. Maloney's book demonstrates that, despite the persecution and divergence experienced by Orthodoxy after 1453, the essential *oikumene* of inspiration and dogma has remained intact. This is true despite such notable exceptions as Patriarch Cyril Lukaris.

Maloney takes the reader rather systematically through the development of the various national churches since the loss of Constantinople, beginning appropriately with the Russian church, the one Orthodox church which did not fall under hostile political control at the time. Then he takes the reader through developments in the Greek-speaking churches, the Bulgarian church, the Serbian church, and ends with the rather innovative

and imaginative Rumanian church. The latter church shows some of the most promising developments for the future of Orthodox theology despite the fact that it has fallen under a hostile Marxist regime. The contrast between the Rumanian church and the Russian church in modern times is striking.

One is puzzled by the absence of a bibliography, something that forces the reader to fish through the various footnotes to dig up original citations of sources. Another thing that puzzles the reader is the failure to cite sources beyond the beginning of 1967, nearly a decade before the publication date of the volume. Thus, there are no references to such important authors as Gerhard Simon, James Cracraft, or even of George Vernadsky, one of the most thorough authors on ecclesiastical matters as they affected and were in turn affected by political interests prior to Peter the Great's *Regulamentum Ecclesiasticum*. No reference whatsoever is made to Pierre Pascal's *Avvakum et les débuts du Raskol*, published as long ago as 1938. The author is unaware of contemporary research going on in such diverse places as Columbia University, the University of Minnesota, or the University of Washington.

Three other puzzlements beset the reader at first glance. The first is that the author went all the way back to the year 343 A.D. to begin the history of the Bulgarian church when nothing like that thoroughness was deemed necessary for any of the other churches. Another is why he did not follow more thoroughly the intimate relationship between theological and ecclesiological developments and the drive for Greek national independence. A third is why he did not indicate the way that theological and ecclesiological upwelling in nineteenth and early twentieth-century Russia created a powerful demand for reform in the Russian church, repeal of the *Regulamentum Ecclesiasticum*, and a near constitutional crisis well before the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917.

A number of transliterating oddities appear in the volume, among them his reference to the Complutensian Polyglot Bible as the "Kompliotenski" (p. 32), and the city of Cernauti (Chernovtsy) as "Tsernikau" (p. 172). One would wish for consistency in name endings, i.e., either Severos or Severus, Mindonios or Mindonius (pp. 101-02, 118-19).

A final criticism would be that as long as the author traced the suppression of the Uniate church in Transylvania after demonstrating the importance of that church for the larger development of Rumanian Orthodoxy, he should have traced the suppression of the Uniate church in the west Ukraine as well. That church has had an equally important significance for the Ukrainian and Russian Orthodox churches.

Nevertheless, Maloney makes an important contribution. Further monographs and articles on the topics he introduces will be welcome.

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ΤΟ ΦΙΛΟΛΟΓΙΚΟ ΕΡΓΟ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΗ ΛΑΟΥΡΔΑ (1912-1971) (*The Philological Work of Basil Laourdas*). By K. Mitsakis. Prologue by D. Delivanis. Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1976. Pp. 45. Frontispiece. Paper.

The name of Basil Laourdas is well known in scholarly circles on both sides of the Atlantic. Since his untimely death in 1971 a number of commemorations have taken notice of his very substantial contributions to ancient, mediaeval, and modern Greek studies. *Balkan Studies* 12.2 (1971) was dedicated to him. A fellowship for graduate students at the University of Minnesota was established to promote Greek-Slavic Studies. A huge commemorative international volume was published in 1975 entitled *Essays in Memory of Basil Laourdas* (645 pages). The current slim volume was the result of the commemoration of the fifth anniversary since the death of that Institute's first Director by the Institute for Balkan Studies. It is a fitting encomium by the present director, Professor Kariofilis Mitsakis, who examines in general outline his contributions as a classicist, a Byzantinist, a modern Greek scholar, an educator, and an historian.

Basil Laourdas was a remarkable man who believed deeply in the uninterrupted continuity of Hellenism from antiquity, through the Middle Ages, to modern times. He embodied in himself the scholarly ideal of his own professor, the eminent John Sykoutres. In the United States he studied under Harvard's Werner Jaeger (1949) and his three-year stay at Dumbarton Oaks (1950-1953) influenced him to direct his attention to Byzantine studies. Upon his appointment as Director of the Institute for Balkan Studies in 1954, a new era was to begin for regular international scholarly exchange in which the Institute for Balkan Studies would provide an international impetus centered in Greece. At Thessaloniki Laourdas established a Balkan library, archives, a school of Balkan languages, and regular contact with scholars from all over the world interested in all phases of Balkan studies. In addition, Laourdas organized a lecture series for northern Greece, helped sponsor symposia and conferences on both sides of the Atlantic, published books, monographs, and pamphlets, promoted the cause of Macedonia, and built up a staff that would guarantee continuation of the Institute's work.

Wherever Basil Laourdas was located, he became a citizen of that locale. In Crete as an educator he was a Cretan; in Thessaloniki he became a Macedonian. Professor Mitsakis traces Laourdas's career from his classical publications and interest in Solon, Herodotos, Plato (editions of *Protagoras*, *Euthydemus*, and *Ion*), Isocrates, and Lucian, through his Byzantine interests that began in earnest in Crete with hagiological and hymnographic studies of Andrew of Jerusalem, Archbishop Andrew of Crete, the Ten Saints, Makarios Makris, Joseph the Hymnographer, and proceeded to Eus-

tathios Archbishop of Thessaloniki, Patriarch Photios and his pupil Arethas (with a remarkable contribution on the homilies of Photios), Demetrios Triclinios, and Thomas Magister. While in Thessaloniki (especially during 1950-1960) Basil Laourdas developed an interest in speeches and encomia about its patron saint Demetrios and particularly investigated Theodore Metochites and Nicholas Cabasilas in this regard as well as Archbishops Gregory Palamas, Isidore Glabas, and Gabriel.

Basil Laourdas studied Michael Apostoles, Maximos Margounios, and Paisios Ligarides of the Tourkokratia, the Greek folk song, *Erotokritos*, Adamantios Koraes, Nikolaos Piccolos, and modern Greek authors Papadimantes, Vlachogiannes, Xenopoulos, Sikelianos, Kazantzakis, Venezis, Theotokas, Prevelakis, and D. Kapetanakis. Beyond purely philological and literary interests, Laourdas also wrote about educational issues and promoted the publication of the memorabilia of Macedonian patriots.

The Philological Work of Basil Laourdas is a lovingly written encomiastic survey of the work of a dedicated scholar who combined within his person the best of Hellenic scholarship and the best of humanity. Professor Mitsakis has succeeded in recalling for us Basil Laourdas the scholar and the man.

John E. Rexine

The Liturgical and Mystical Theology of Nicholas Cabasilas. By Constantine N. Tsirpanlis. Athens: Theologia, 1976. Pp. 103. Paper.

Nicholas Cabasilas (died 1380), layman, lawyer, and statesman, was undoubtedly one of the primary representatives of Byzantine theological renewal along with Symeon the New Theologian and Gregory Palamas, all of whom can be described as belonging to the period of the theology of pneumatology or spirituality. It was Cabasilas "who, by his incomparable eloquence, clarity and personal experience, showed that theology, spirituality, and Sacramental life are essentially identical; that every Christian independently from his social position or profession can and must participate in the Liturgical and Sacramental Life of the Church, can live 'theologically' and be a temple of the Holy Spirit, 'Christos,' and can actually be the Temple and House of Christ Himself" (p. 94).

In this illuminating study, which was originally presented by the author as a dissertation under the direction of Father Georges Florovsky for the degree of Master of Sacred Theology to the Harvard Divinity School in 1962, Dr. Constantine Tsirpanlis has examined all other editions, including fragments, letters and orations not in the Migne *Patrologia Graeca* as well as the *Divinae Liturgiae Interpretatio* and the *De Vita in Christo*, though Dr. Tsirpanlis's book is admittedly not a definitive study of the

theology of Cabasilas. Divided into two principal sections entitled "The Liturgical Theology" (13-59) and "The Mystical Theology" (63-92), the first contains three chapters on ecclesiology, worship, and the Sacraments (Baptism, Chrism, and the Eucharist) respectively, while the second contains two chapters dealing with Soteriology (embracing the work of redemption in general; the idea of the immolation for the glory of the Father; the mediation of Christ; the Eucharistic sacrifice as recapitulation of the whole economy of salvation) and Christocentric mysticism (embracing incorporation in Christ or the Mystical Body—the Head, the members and the Heart; the first three sacraments in connection with the incorporation into Christ; Christ as the Heart of the Mystical Body) respectively.

It is clear from Professor Tsirpanlis's study that for Cabasilas the Church is the bride of Christ whose mystical members are nourished through the Holy Eucharist and for whom the Divine Liturgy re-creates the earthly life of the Incarnate Word and His ascension in glory. "In the Orthodox liturgy everything, the sign of the cross, holy water, the words of the Scripture, the chants, the ornaments, and lighted candles are all symbols in the realistic sense of the word, i.e., material signs of the presence of the spiritual world" (p. 20). The Liturgy from beginning to end constitutes the memory of the earthly life of Christ but is also the gradual unfolding of Christ's redemptive work and revelation. The Divine Liturgy, "the reasonable worship" (*logike latreia*), is a service of Thanksgiving (*Eucharistia*) in which the divine plan of redemption is set before the worshipper, for whom there is no separation between the Liturgy and popular devotion. For Cabasilas the sacraments are the essence of his liturgical and mystical theology and even though he develops fully only the sacraments of Baptism, Chrismation and the Eucharist, he does not disregard the Priesthood, Repentance and Confession, Marriage, and Holy Unction. Faithful to the traditional forms and concepts of Baptismal theology, it is in the theology of Chrismation that Cabasilas has particularly and carefully developed his ideas about the sacrament which grants force and movement, *energeia* and *kinesis*, and is "no mere virtual grace, an *augmentum* of grace but the active *charismata* and *energeiae* of the Holy Spirit Who nourishes the 'natural embryo' of Baptism" (p. 48). Cabasilas emphasizes the uninterrupted continuity and origins of both Baptism and Chrismation. In the discussion of the Eucharist we are informed that Cabasilas prefers that name (*Eucharistia*) because it is the sacrament of Communion in which we communicate most perfectly and intimately with God in a spirit of thankfulness for God's generosity, not as supplication, because Christ Himself, in instituting this Sacrament, gave thanks to the Father, as the Church now gives thanks in commemoration of that momentous event. There is also considerable discussion of the Eucharistic invocation, the Words of Institution, and the relationship of the Holy Spirit to the Consecration. For

Cabasilas "the joint operation of the Trinity in the Sacrament is a part of the general Trinitarian action in promoting the salvation of mankind; and if he speaks of the Holy Spirit as taking part in the Consecration, he refers to Him as the immediate agent of the Father and not as the ultimate source of sanctification" (p. 59).

In the case of Cabasilas's mystical theology, we learn that "By assuming the human nature, Christ associated it with His own divinity so that by participating in the Sacraments we are united with His divinized humanity. Christ, therefore, became for us the Initiator of the justification. By His death we received the power to destroy sin and by His resurrection we are made heirs of the new life. His death actually killed our sinful life and as a result of the atonement, we are liberated from the pains of our sins" (p. 63). For Cabasilas in the *De Vita in Christo*, a life in Christ "means imitating Christ, living in conformity with Him, submitting our will to the will of God, as Christ did to God's divine will to teach and exemplify for us the upright life."

From the *Divinae Liturgiae Interpretatio* of Cabasilas Dr. Tsirpanlis has extracted passages on "The Work of Redemption in General"; "The Idea of the Immolation for the Glory of the Father"; "The Mediation of Christ"; and "The Eucharistic Sacrifice Recapitulates for Us the Whole Economy of Salvation" and adds his own brief critical comments. He also examines the possible influence of Anselm on Cabasilas and conjectures that the Anselmian idea of "satisfaction" could have been transmitted through Aquinas' modified formula in a Greek translation of *Summa Contra Gentiles* by Demetrios Cydones that was done in 1354, even though during Cabasilas's days the basic Anselmian work *Cur Deus Homo* had not been translated into Greek.

The incorporation of the individual in Christ is possible through Baptism, Chrismation, and the Eucharist and Cabasilas identifies Christ with the Heart of the Mystical Body to emphasize that Christ communicates to us His life and power. For Cabasilas it is through Holy Communion that we become Christ's children as well as members of Christ's Body. "The Eucharist, therefore, is the center of our supernatural life, and the Eucharistic Christ is the Heart of this life. Christ, moreover, is not only the cause and the beginning of life-like parents; He is Life Itself" is Dr. Tsirpanlis's comment on Cabasilas's observations. Repeatedly we are informed that the principal purpose of the Incarnation was "to redeem and sanctify the human will to the divine will, not by violation, but through the absolute obedience and submission of His human will to the divine will" (p. 87). This can be accomplished through *philtron*, *chara* and *hedone*—love, joy, and pleasure—a peculiarly Cabasilian trio that also is extended to include *pathos*, *epithymia* and *pothos*. Cabasilas's emphasis is on Christ as the living Heart of the Mystical Body. The Cabasilian *mimesis Christi* involves the image of the *Makaria Kardia*, the Blessed Heart, which is original with

him and involves the search for the revelation of *Philtron*, the intensive love and union with the *Makaria Kardia*.

Dr. Tsirpanlis's book on *The Liturgical and Mystical Theology of Nicholas Cabasilas* deserves close scrutiny and much more discussion than is possible here. It is a book rich in valuable information. It will certainly be a book to which students of both liturgical and mystical theology should refer for a clearer understanding of Orthodox theology and religion and a necessary appreciation of Nicholas Cabasilas's role in the history of Orthodox Christianity.

John E. Rexine

Interaction of the "Sibling" Byzantine and Western Cultures in the Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance (330-1600). By Deno John Geanakoplos. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976. Pp. xxii, 416. Frontispiece + 17 plates. 5 maps. \$27.50.

Professor Geanakoplos of Yale University is an internationally acknowledged scholar of Byzantine and Renaissance Studies, with a special competence and interest in the relations of the Byzantine East with the Latin West. Geanakoplos's insistence that we study mediaeval history as a whole may now sound obvious but it was not always so. Dr. Geanakoplos is certainly consistent in his approach and this latest book of his bears this out. He has also become aware of the importance of sociological research in this regard, as indicated clearly in his preface, prologue, and epilogue. His avowed purpose is "to provide an understanding of various aspects of the intercultural relations between two major Christian societies, the Byzantine and the Western, during the Middle Ages and the Italian Renaissance" (p. xi). In so doing, he gives the reader a series of fourteen clearly written aspects of theology, political ideology, religious piety and mysticism, philosophy, literature, law, music, and refinement of living. Some of the essays have been previously published or publicly presented elsewhere before but all are relevant to the main thrust of the book and all exhibit impeccable scholarship. Though other books have been written that in some ways impinge upon Dr. Geanakoplos's thesis, they in no way duplicate Geanakoplos nor does Geanakoplos duplicate them. The synthesizing work has moved this process into the direction of even greater synthesis, but, to be sure, this will not be the final word but it is an enormous advance. What the author says he will do, he does and does very well. "In order to provide an organic unity for the chapters, the author, combining probably for the first time in this connection sociological and historical techniques, has sought in the Prologue to outline the centuries-long process of interaction, in particular of acculturation, between the two societies, and finally, in the Epilogue, to summarize the effects of this

process. By means of this interdisciplinary approach, historical phases of periodization and a 'typology' of acculturation are suggested as aids to interpreting the complex cultural phenomena discussed" (p. xi).

Certainly at the very center of discussion of relations between East and West are the Churches of Byzantium and Rome and they receive appropriate attention. The two main parts of the book are called "Byzantium, the Church, and the Medieval Latin World" and "Byzantium, Greco-Byzantine Learning, and the Italian Renaissance." They clearly indicate Professor Geanakoplos's focus and main interests.

In Part 1 the first essay (Chapter 1) "The Orthodox Church: The Primary Creative Element in Byzantine Culture" (25-35) tries to define the role of the most creative and most formative element in the Byzantine cultural synthesis, namely, Orthodox Christianity, and how it differs from Western Christianity, while the second essay (Chapter 2) on "Religion and 'Nationalism' in the Byzantine Empire and After: Conformity or Pluralism?" (36-54) evaluates the importance of the close connection between the religion and "nationalism" of the Byzantine state, pointing out that religious pluralism was not and could not be tolerated in Byzantium. Chapter 3 on "The Influences of Byzantine Culture on the Medieval West" (55-94), which appeared in an earlier version in the author's *Byzantine East and Latin West* (Oxford, 1966), has been revised and expanded to show synoptically and uniquely Byzantine influences on the West, including the influence of the Greek Church Fathers, vocabulary borrowings, the liturgy, and art, while Chapter 4, reversing the process, sets forth "Western Influences on Byzantium in Theology and Classical Latin Literature" (95-117) in a highly valuable essay that shows the little acknowledged West-East flow and is one of the very first essays to do so. Chapter 5 (118-132), originally published in *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* (1966) and here revised, examines the influence of imperial Byzantine authority on imperial church building through a study of the impressive churches built in the East and West by Constantine and Justinian, the two greatest Emperor builders, and is entitled "Church Construction and 'Caesaropapism' in the East and West from Constantine to Justinian." The conclusion is reached that "the emperors' building of religious structures constituted an instrument, not only for the furthering of imperial control over the church, but, through imperial insistence on ecclesiastical unity as reflected in the aims of their building policy, for promoting the ultimate aim of the unity of the empire itself" (p. 132). Chapter 6 entitled "Maximos the Confessor and His Influence on Eastern and Western Theology and Mysticism" (133-145) provides a fascinating discussion of this Byzantine exegete, who was the principal exegete of the mystical writings of Pseudo-Dionysios (undoubtedly the chief influence on Western and one of the most basic influences on Eastern mysticism and

spirituality throughout the entire Middle Ages), the systematizer of Dionysios' ideas and the Christological implications, and was responsible for fixing definitely in the West the Catholic interpretation of Dionysios. Chapter 7, which the author calls "Ordeal by Fire and Judicial Duel at Byzantine Nicaea (1253): Western or Eastern Legal Influence?" (146-155), is an interesting, if incidental, essay that shows a Latin origin for the extraordinary ordeal by fire and judicial combat mentioned in the trial for treason of the noble (later emperor) Michael Paleologos in 1253, while Chapter 8, which is called "A Greek Libellus against Religious Union with Rome after the Council of Lyons (1274)" (156-170) relates a colloquy that took place between a Greek and Latin bishop, allegedly after the attempted union of the churches at Lyons in 1274, in which the ideas and prejudices of both upperclass and common people are outlined in terms of both religious and scientific mentalities that help us understand the barriers that were developed between Greek East and Latin West.

Part 2 covers cultural relations of East and West from ca. 1350 to 1600. The first essay in this section constitutes Chapter 9 and is entitled "The Greeks of the Diaspora: The Italian Renaissance and the Origins of the Modern Greek National Consciousness" (172-199). It is an especially interesting study of how Greek colonies in the West (Venice, Naples, others) transmitted Greek learning to the Renaissance, consciously continued to preserve the Greek educational heritage, and how the Greeks of the Diaspora helped prepare the Greek people for nationhood, "who for almost four centuries *were* the Greek nation in exile" (p. 199). Chapter 10 on "Crete: Halfway Point between East and West in the Renaissance" (200-212) shows concisely how the Venetian-occupied island of Crete served as a halfway point in the transmission of Greco-Byzantine culture to the West during the Renaissance or in the words of Professor Geanakoplos, "... the basic contribution of the Cretan intellectuals of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was the forging of connecting links between the Hellenism of the old Byzantine East and the rising, youthful Hellenism of the Renaissance West" (p. 212). Chapter 11, "San Bernardino of Siena and the Greeks at the Council of Florence (1438-39)" (213-224) describes how the most popular preacher of the Renaissance established contacts with the Greeks, even though informal and unofficial, capitalizing on certain common interests (the Jesus prayer, personal piety and morality, eloquence in preaching, humanism). Chapter 12 on "Marcus Musurus: New Information on the Death of a Byzantine Humanist in Italy" (225-230), though brief, furnishes the reader with a new look at two documents found in the Venetian archives and rejects the defamatory story of Paolo Giovio about the Renaissance's greatest Hellenist, while Chapter 13 on "The Career of the Byzantine Humanist Demetrios Chalkondyles at Padua, Florence, and Milan" (231-253), accompanied

by Geanakoplos's translation of Chalkondyles's *Discourses on the Inauguration of Greek Studies at Padua University* (1463) (254-264, with the original Latin text in an appendix on pp. 296-304) offers us a fascinating discussion and analysis of a largely unpublished manuscript of Demetrios Chalkondyles, who taught at three major Italian humanistic centers—Padua, Florence, and Milan—from 1463 to 1472, 1475 to 1511, respectively, and whose Paduan inaugural address contains possibly the first mention of Hesiod in Renaissance intellectual circles and certainly the first instance of teaching of Hesiod in a Western university. With a teaching career that outlasted that of any other Greek emigre in the West, Chalkondyles also has the distinction of pointing out to Western humanists the benefits gained from the study of Greek. Chapter 14, called "The Last Step: Western Recovery and Translation of the Greek Church Fathers and Their First Printed Editions in the Renaissance" (265-280) details for the first time how the Greek Church Fathers returned to the West in the original or in translation, especially such writers as Chrysostom, Basil, Origen, John of Damascus, and Pseudo-Dionysios. The Florentine Ambrogio Traversari is shown to have been instrumental in the revival of Christian antiquity in the early Italian Renaissance and received considerable help from a Byzantine refugee named Demetrios Skaranos. The massive collection of notes (305-376) and the bibliographies (377-403) provide ample backup to the preceding essays.

In his effort to examine his main thesis in four chronological periods ("historical periodization")—(1) fourth to late eleventh century; (2) 1095-1261; (3) 1261-1453; (4) 1453 to the end of the Renaissance—the author has selectively examined a number of important "contact situations" as they progressed and regressed until an effective synthesis was achieved in both Western and Eastern societies. Religious and political schisms played an important role in keeping apart the two "sibling" Christian societies. Geanakoplos, in his overview, defines the acculturative process as consisting of (1) initial encounter between cultures, (2) interaction, and finally, the resultant rejection, "fragmentation," or assimilation of certain cultural elements on the part of one or both societies, along with the following "typologies": (1) the cultural dominance of one society over the assimilation of cultural elements by the less developed from the more advanced civilization; (2) the amalgamation of elements of the two cultures into a new kind of synthesis; and (3) the confrontation of two advanced but opposed societies, each challenging the dominance of the other's cultural tradition. Through the use of this kind of analysis the author has striven to present "only one possible macroscopic typology of acculturation" (p. 294) and a framework for understanding the extensive and complex interactions between the Byzantine and Latin worlds. "For, as is still rarely realized, it was the melding of the Ger-

mano-Latin, Christian synthesis on the one hand, together with ancient Greek learning (as preseved and transmitted by Byzantium) and strains of Eastern Orthodox religious creativity and tradition on the other, that constituted two of the primary components in the formative period of what came to be called "modern Western civilization" (p. 295).

Deno Geanakoplos's latest book, employing in-depth historical analysis and interdisciplinary techniques, provides a pioneering effort in the re-examination of cultural interaction between the Byzantine East and Latin West and offers a detailed explanation for their gradual alienation as well as a perceptive analysis of the factors that went into the formation of Western civilization.

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CLAUDE U. BROACH

INTRODUCING SOUTHERN BAPTISTS

For a period of several weeks in the Fall of last year, by a strange quirk of history, Southern Baptists really made the headlines! One small Baptist church in the little town of Plains, Georgia, was caught up in an epic congregational struggle which attracted national—even world-wide—attention. The all-seeing eyes of the television cameras and the eyes of the world were focused on that church as its members struggled, stumbled, and suffered through the traumatic experiences which were broadcast to the world. All of this came about, of course, because one member of that church was a candidate for, and is now, President of the United States.

All at once, people were asking Who are these Baptists? What does it mean to be a “born-again” Christian? Can Mr. Carter be trusted if he is so religious? It seems a very happy serendipity that we are here together, Orthodox Christians and Baptist Christians, to try to answer some of those same questions. My assignment in this paper is to give you an introduction to Southern Baptists—who we are, what we believe and teach, how we go about our work and witness, how we relate to one another and to other Christians, strengths and weaknesses in Baptist life.

It occurs to me that the Baptist Church in Plains, Georgia is a good place to start. It provides a many-faceted example of Baptist life, and a clear look at that church and its recent history should be helpfully informative and instructive to our dialogue together.

So we begin.

I. It is a small church, the Baptist Church in Plains, a small church of about 200 members, in a small Southern town. In that sense, it comes very close to being what might be called a typical Southern Baptist church. Although there are about 13,000,000 persons reported as members in about 35,000 churches scattered throughout the nation, we are predominately a rural, and a Southern people. We have “come to town” in

large numbers, but our roots are in the country, the village, the small town. Even in the great, sprawling church buildings we have built in some cities, we like to sing the old hymns our forebears sang in the simple meeting-houses of an earlier day. We have a lingering, haunting distrust of city ways. Sophistication comes hard with us; it is always suspect, and we still have a gnawing fear that education is a threat to piety, and too much ritual in the church chokes off the free movement of the Holy Spirit.

II. The Baptist Church in Plains, Georgia is an autonomous church. That means that the total life of the congregation is in the hands of the individuals who are by their own choice members of the Church. The congregation controls the church by the simple process of majority rule.

Who will be the pastor? The congregation decides. When a pastor decides to leave, the congregation acts to create what is usually called a "Pulpit Committee" and it is the duty of that Committee to find someone whom they will ultimately recommend to the congregation as the new pastor. The Committee will usually ask for suggestions from other pastors, denominational leaders, seminary professors and others. Suggestions will be volunteered for the Committee's consideration. Eventually, after a great deal of hard work and hopefully much prayer, the Committee will report to the congregation, and if they approve the recommendation, the new pastor will be "called" to his new place of service and will serve as long as that fragile relationship, based on love and trust, continues to be mutually agreeable. The congregation is responsible for the pastor's salary, and will provide either a home or a housing allowance for him and his family.

I have said that the Baptist Church in Plains, Georgia is an autonomous church. Not only do they make their own decisions about who will serve as pastor; all matters affecting the life and work of the church are decided by the congregation without respect to any outside authority.

Of its own choice, the Baptist Church in Plains may decide to cooperate with other Baptist churches nearby in the creation of and activity of a Baptist "Association." This is simply what the name implies—an association of Baptist churches, working to-

gether on a voluntary basis, within a given area, for the mutual encouragement of one another, cooperation in evangelism, sharing of responsibility for community missions and service, cooperation in establishing new Baptist churches in areas where needs justify such a venture. The Association is a creature of and a servant of the churches; it has no authority over them.

Likewise of its own choice, the Baptist Church in Plains chooses to affiliate with, and contribute to the programs of, the Baptist State Convention of Georgia. This is just another "Association" on a larger scale: its programs will be broader, and it will establish agencies and institutions such as hospitals, colleges and universities, homes for the aging, missionary programs for the needy people in depressed or deprived areas, and a broad variety of similar programs.

Likewise of its own choice, the Baptist Church in Plains chooses to affiliate with, and contribute to the programs of, the Southern Baptist Convention. Are you with me? If so, you have assumed, or guessed already that this is just another "Association" on a much larger scale. The programs are broader. The Convention will establish and support seminaries for the training of the ministry (there are six of these, with a combined enrollment of 18,649 men and women). The Convention will also carry out extensive programs of witness and evangelism throughout the nation and throughout the world. It will sponsor, also, the work of such agencies as the Christian Life Commission (to inform and motivate us on matters of social concern), the Education Commission (to upgrade and coordinate the work of Baptist educational institutions throughout the Convention), the Annuity Board (to handle retirement plans for local church and denominational employees), the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs (to inform and motivate us on issues at stake in political life in the nation), and other similar endeavors.

The point to remember in all of this, however, is that none of these more inclusive organizations has one iota of authority over the Baptist Church of Plains, Georgia. Cooperation is entirely voluntary, and there are no financial assessments.

It sounds like a crazy system, and I suppose it is. But somehow it works; the churches endure, and the denomination grows. I am often reminded of the bumble-bee when I think of Southern Baptists. You see, by all the laws of aero-dynamics, the

bumble-bee cannot fly. He has too much weight in proportion to wing-spread. On that basis, he just can't fly! But the bumble-bee doesn't know that, so he goes merrily on his way. He flies; he manages. The Southern Baptists are like that; they have this crazy system which violates every canon of reason and logic. But it flies; it gets off the ground and it survives. Somehow. Maybe by Divine grace?

III. Membership in the Baptist Church in Plains is based upon certain qualifications and must always be approved by the congregation. No one becomes a member automatically by reason of being daughter or son of members. No one becomes a member simply because he or she was a member of another Baptist church, somewhere else, before moving to Plains. One must "join" the Church, and the wish to join must meet with the approval of the congregation.

Children become members when they make up their own minds about their personal faith in Jesus Christ. Under the guidance and encouragement of parents, friends, Christian leaders, they will decide to make a public act of commitment, coming to the front of the church sanctuary at the pastor's invitation, at the close of a service of worship, usually while the congregation sings a hymn of faith and trust.

In Baptist life, this event is known as a "profession of faith," and it is basic to membership in any Baptist church. If the congregation is assured that the profession of faith is sincere and genuine, they will vote to receive such an individual as a candidate for baptism, and after baptism into church membership.

This profession of faith may come at an early age—eight or nine (sometimes even earlier)—or at a later time in adolescence or in adult life. But come it must, as a pre-requisite to baptism and church membership. I emphasize this point because I think it is the central distinctive of Baptist life. It was this emphasis upon the baptism of "believers only" which brought Baptists into being in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as an extension of the doctrinal reforms associated with the Protestant Reformation.

Mistakenly, there is a widespread notion—even among Baptists—that the central distinctive of the Baptists is "baptism by immersion." On the contrary, the early Baptists of the sixteenth and

seventeenth centuries paid little attention to the form or mode of baptism, either in their practice of the baptismal rite or in their reception of members from other congregations. They were passionately concerned, however, with believer's baptism. They insisted that baptism should be an event in Christian life which followed repentance and faith. This is the way it should be now. It was for this position that they were called the "radical wing" of the Reformation, and it was for their unswerving loyalty to this position that they were persecuted by other Christian groups in Europe, and later in America.

IV. Policy decisions in the Plains Baptist Church must be made by the congregation. There are no official rules and regulations imposed by any agency or individual outside the church's own membership. The congregation is not subject to the authority of any bishop or council. Every individual member of the congregation has one vote and only one. Beyond that, he has only the influence of his own life and character to influence the votes of others.

Every Baptist church will have a small group of individuals who make up a semi-official body known as the "Board of Deacons," or the "diaconate." Usually made up of men, but including women in many instances (in more recent times), this group is expected to provide spiritual leadership to the congregation by service and example; they are expected also to provide counsel and encouragement to the pastor. They are chosen and elected by the congregation, but they cannot make decisions for the congregation; they can only make recommendations for the congregation's consideration.

What I have been describing to you in this informal description of congregational government has a more eloquent designation in our Baptist life; it is called the "priesthood of believers." What that means, as you can see, is that every believer stands in an equal and priestly relationship to God. He can, he may—indeed, he *must*—deal with God for himself. No one stands in a more exalted or privileged place of grace than any other believer, whoever he might be. It is the individual who must think for himself; he must think, repent, believe, trust, profess faith, study and ponder the Scriptures for understanding, consider and decide upon the issues of congregational

life—all of this he must do for himself. It is his *priestly* function; it is both privilege and responsibility. It must not be denied him, and he must not shirk the fulfillment of it.

V. On Sunday mornings, before the morning services of worship, the Plains Baptist Church has a regular program of Bible study, offered for all ages in its membership, even providing a nursery at the Church so that parents can bring the little ones to be cared for while they attend classes.

For about an hour every Sunday, the classes meet, using the Bible and literature prepared by the denomination's publishing house, and the time is devoted to study of the Scriptures under the leadership of lay people as instructors and class leaders. These teachers are all unpaid volunteers; sometimes they are educated and competent, but sometimes they are not. The Sunday School has been one of the great sources of Baptist strength and growth; the learning experience and the fellowship of class members is a vital element in building up the congregation—spiritually and numerically. The responsibility of teaching others is conducive not only to conscientious study of the Scriptures, but also to a sense of responsibility for the life and spiritual welfare of others who are sisters and brothers in Christ.

VI. It is not unlikely that a few members of the Baptist Church in Plains, Georgia, have heard of an organization called the Baptist World Alliance. It is more likely, however, that very few of the members of that congregation are well-informed about the Baptist World Alliance, or even care very much about it. Since 1905, the Baptist World Alliance has been in existence as a loosely-structured organization designed to give some minimal coordination to the relationship of various Baptist groups throughout the world. It has not a large budget, and it carries out a very modest program designed chiefly to provide opportunities for fellowship and mutual encouragement. International meetings, known as a "Baptist World Congress," are held every five years in different sections of the world; in the intervening years, there may be special international meetings of Baptist youth, or Baptist men, or special meetings arranged to bring together the Baptist Conference, or the European Baptist Fed-

eration, for example. One of the genuine values in these international meetings is the support provided for the morale and, indeed, the freedom of Baptist people in areas where they struggle for life as a minority people.

VII. Those of you who come from the rich and colorful history of ritual and liturgy in worship would find the services of worship in the Baptist Church in Plains surprisingly barren of such meaningful forms. The worship service will seem terribly informal, lacking in beauty and all too dependent upon the inspiration of the moment—or lack of it. There is an informality which almost becomes a formality, a lack of structure which becomes a structure, a spontaneity which sometimes covers and conceals a lack of seriousness in dealing with the great spiritual realities which must undergird the experience of true worship. But, on the other hand, there will be some hearty participation by the congregation, some hearty singing of great old hymns, and some earnest prayers which come from the heart rather than from some ancient printed page. It is a reflection of where the Baptists are—somehow, down to earth where the people live, and out of the context of that real world their worship reflects their serious commitment to a Gospel which offers comfort for the burdens of the “now” and hope for the promise of the “tomorrow.” In a way, this kind of worship reflects the idea that the Gospel is not something handed down by tradition from our ancestors; it is something that is happening now, involving us in its imperatives and its consolations.

VIII. I have not wished, in what has been said, to give you a biased picture of Southern Baptist life, and I hope the picture has not been overdrawn in that sense. The Baptist Church in Plains is fairly representative of Baptist life. There are many churches which are far more conservative, more wedded to the forms and the mores of the community life. But when you put them all together and try to describe the Baptists, the good folks in the Plains Baptist Church are pretty close to the center.

This brings me to some kind of summation which will identify for you some of the strengths and weaknesses which are apparent to us in an evaluation of a denominational structure which operates in this way. So I will share with you some of

my own personal feelings, as a Baptist, and as one who genuinely values the contributions of this body of Christians within the larger family of the people of God.

1. I see great strength in the Baptist insistence upon the personal decision of faith. It seems so very much in keeping with the whole impact of the Incarnation. What think ye of the Christ? Whosoever will, let him come; whosoever believeth in him shall not perish . . . there is in the New Testament this strong emphasis upon individual responsibility. And Baptism is seen as an event in the Christian life—meaningful because the individual chooses in this way to make his commitment to discipleship.

2. At the same time, I see a great weakness here. The emphasis upon the individual causes all too many of us, as Baptists, to think of the Gospel of Christ in the narrow terms of individual salvation and grace. We think of the Gospel as something for *us*—for me, for *my* salvation, *my* wholeness, *my* oneness with God, *my* ticket to heaven! We are not trained and conditioned to think of the Incarnation in terms of God's plan and purpose for the whole Creation; we are not inclined to think of the whole Church as an instrument of Divine grace, designed to carry out the mission of redemption for a lost world. It is for this reason that Baptists, like some others, have stood apart in seeming indifference to the call of ecumenical concern across the years. Emphasis upon individual responsibility has been allowed to create a mood of pre-occupation with individualistic piety and moralism.

3. I see great strength in the Baptist emphasis upon the autonomy of the local church. It is good to put the responsibility upon lay people—to think, to study, to make decisions, to act responsibly. You do a lot of growing when the responsibility lies at your own door. And there is no doubt that Baptists have grown in numbers because of this kind of freedom.

4. But there is a danger here, as well. We are far too much inclined to dismiss the wisdom of the past, to think only of the present. We Baptists are poorer because of this—far more poor than we ought to be. It is at this very point that I often feel out of step with my fellow Baptists, for I cherish the privilege of feeling that I belong to the whole of the great Church—the great Church which is bigger and greater than all our frag-

mented names, the Church of the believers. I am a Baptist, yes, but this is only the handle by which I lift the cup of grace. It is the cup which matters—the handle is incidental. I am a Baptist, yes, but Martin Luther is my brother, and John Wesley, and Albert Schweitzer, and Cyril of Alexandria, and John of Damascus, Sergius of Radonezh, Francis of Assisi, Catherine of Sienna—these are my sisters and my brothers. We are one in Christ, and we are in the same great Church. When that great Church is wounded in any part of its life all of us bleed. And when it flourishes, anywhere, all of us are blest.

I think it is fair to say that such an attitude toward the great Church is not uncommon among Baptists today. It is not universal by any means. In some quarters, perhaps most, it is not even popular. But, like a cloud the size of a man's hand, it is there. And in due time, God's own time, the showers of blessing will come and we will rejoice as did Elijah; we will rejoice that "He laveth the thirsty land."

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Thus, in both cases the facts serve to vindicate the accuracy of the description. The six chapters deal in succession with the topics of patristic authority, the theology of the icon, Eastern response to Roman Catholic challenges, the Eastern Christian encounter with Judaism, dualism, Islam and philosophy, and the "last flowering of Byzantine Orthodoxy." All are well done, but the chapter dealing with the Eastern approaches to non-Christian religions will probably be found to contain material not easily available in other secondary sources.

In several places the author defends his position that doctrinal reasons must be given an important place in the interpretation of historical—and especially ecclesiastical—events. He rejects the reductionism of modern historians who would interpret Church history in primarily political terms. In this too he will find a sympathetic reading by most Eastern Orthodox theologians (pp. 170, 177, 198, 271-72).

His use of Greek in the text is restrained and generally accurate (some errors appear in the latter part of the book: pp. 255, 269, 277). English-speaking Orthodox writers will find some of his translations refreshing and illuminating.

We are indeed grateful to Professor Pelikan for this fair, accurate, sympathetic and illuminating study. Non-Orthodox scholars and students will find in this volume a useful and helpful description of the development of Orthodox doctrine. It is recommended to students and scholars alike as a valuable contribution not only to the understanding of the development of doctrine, but also for purposes of ecumenical understanding.

Stanley S. Harakas
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ΠΟΡΕΙΑ ΖΩΗΣ (*Journey of Life*). Volume I. By Costas M. Proussis. Nicosia, Cyprus: Zavallis Press, 1975. Pp. viii + 391. Paper. \$12.00. (In U.S.A. may be ordered from the author at 11 Lehigh Road, Wellesley, Massachusetts 02181).

Dr. Costas M. Proussis is a truly extraordinary man. Currently the Honorary Consul of the Republic of Cyprus in Boston and Professor of Ancient and Modern Greek Literature at Hellenic College, he is also one of the founders and a former editor of *Kypriaka Grammata* and principal of the PanCyprian Gymnasium in Nicosia. A longtime student of Greek literature, he has also been a pioneer in championing the demotic Greek language and in propounding the significance and value of modern Greek literature. Not only has Dr. Proussis espoused the cause of modern Greek studies since the thirties, but he has also been an ardent proponent and critic of Greek Cypriot literature and intellectual life and a fervent promoter of Cypriot intellectual excellence.

The current volume is the first of a series of proposed volumes that will include all the published and unpublished works of the author. In this first volume are included the articles Dr. Proussis wrote for twelve years in his column "Life and Art" in *Kypriaka Grammata* as well as several linguistic studies, critical reviews, comments and notes from the same periodical. Also included are articles and critical notes that were first published in the Cypriot newspaper *Eleutheria* under the pseudonym K. Kastinos. In addition, there are two linguistic studies that originally appeared in the *Journal of the Academic Association of the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens* in 1932 and a speech that was first published in the *Annual of the PanCyprian Gymnasium*. At the end of each article there is a bibliographical note indicating where and when the article first appeared. In the case of material from *Kypriaka Grammata*, only the volume, date, and page numbers are recorded. All articles appear as in the original source, except for correction of typographical and other minor errors. Over one hundred articles are reproduced.

There would be little point in trying to review the contents of each and every article in this massive collection that ranges chronologically from 1932 to 1947. All the articles are written in beautiful demotic Greek with great wit and wisdom and with a catching vigor and enthusiasm that most often characterize the youthful critic. The articles in this volume are not, for the most part, scholarly articles but rather critical articles on various aspects of modern Greek intellectual life, with particular emphasis on the rich Cypriot cultural heritage. An excellent example is the concern that Dr. Proussis has consistently shown for the preservation and publication of Cyprus's Byzantine monuments, a subject to which he devotes several articles. Another typical subject of interest for Dr. Proussis is the great poet Kostas Palamas whom he loves dearly and interprets with great sensitivity. Another special interest for Dr. Proussis is the Greek book and its development and propagation on the island of Cyprus as well as in Greece. The Hellenism of Cyprus is a theme that runs throughout all of Professor Proussis's writings—not a lifeless, imitative Hellenism, but a vital Hellenism that inspires contemporary Greek art and literature and contributes creatively to the development of modern Greek culture. Literature, theater, art, philosophy, education, folklore, language, and bibliography are among the many topics covered.

As unlikely as it may seem, anyone who knows Dr. Proussis's work since his arrival in America almost three decades ago, will be hard put to put this fascinating book down. It is, in fact, the first volume of an intellectual biography. We can look forward with great anticipation to future volumes that will conveniently make available in one place the scholarly and critical work of one of the most productive and most distinguished Hellenists of our day.

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JUDAISM AND EASTERN ORTHODOXY: THEOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS

Seymour Siegel

PRECIS

Eastern Orthodoxy and Judaism share common roots. Both developed before the impact of philosophy on Western intellectual and religious life, and both are "grounded in the experience and faith of the Community of Israel." The attitude on the part of all forms of Christians that Christianity supercedes Judaism has hampered theological dialogue between Christians and Jews. Anti-Semitism is the most serious issue producing ill will between Christians and Jews but, fortunately, some progress has been demonstrated on this issue.

Theological issues which it would be helpful to study include Orthodox and Jewish parallels on God's relationship to the world; the nature of the worshipping community as the basic authority; the place of tradition; the role of eschatology and messianism; and mysticism and ethnicism.

"Fly from dejection, children!" (Father Zossima in Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*).

"Atsvut (dejection) can do more damage to a soul than a multitude of transgressions" (Rebbe Abraham Joshua Heschel of Apt).

Common-ness of Roots

Both the Eastern tradition in Christianity and the Jewish tradition are products of the non-Western experience. They flourished before the Hebraic mind was influenced by the Western traditions of philosophy and rationalism. Both attempted to maintain their "orthodoxy" (term which came into Judaism only in the nineteenth century) in the face of Western influence. Judaism experienced an impressive period of flourishing in the West. Jewish teachers produced impressive works of philosophy in which Jewish concepts and affirmations were defined, analyzed, and contrasted. However, it is fair to say that contemporary Judaism has returned to an approach which is organic and experience-oriented, and which recognizes that the reality of faith can be described, pointed to, and evoked—but it cannot be exhausted in any definition.

Western theology developed in a way in which the Eastern theology

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never developed. It [Western theology] is a theology of dialogue of definitions and counter-definitions, of precision. This is not the case with Eastern theology ¹

The Torah is a symbolic system, expressing basic ideas, primarily in the form of commanded behavior. Whatever its basic theme, Judaism expresses it most naturally not in propositions, but in gesture; its ideas are formulated in a series of forms which must be acted out as in a pageant, not articulated in verbal assertions.²

This common-ness of roots, of course, cannot forget that both Judaism and Orthodoxy are grounded in the experience and faith of the Community of Israel.

Common Issues

Yet, Orthodoxy, like Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, is a branch of Christianity. Judaism has important claims against Christianity. Or, to put it more precisely, Judaism realizes that Christianity must overcome certain narrowness of vision before the ecumenical dialogue can really be fully carried on.

As has been frequently noted, Christianity does not present a theological problem for Judaism. We realize that all people will not share the faith of our forebears. We expect the nations of the world to abide by the seven commandments of Noah—to be decent, God-fearing, and kind to God's creatures. However, Judaism does present a problem for Christianity—for Christianity claims to supercede Judaism. This means that Judaism is obsolete, anachronistic, and the product of stubbornness. This, of course, cannot but lead to a denigration of both Jews and Judaism. "These who have followed and will follow Christ are the true Israel, the children of the promise, the true successors of those Jews who found justification in times past."³ This attitude, which may or may not be rooted in Christian scriptures, has been a stumbling block in the effort to begin theological dialogue.

The duty of Christianity (which happily has been undertaken in many circles, already) is to cleanse the church of anti-Jewish bias, to uproot the Christian roots of anti-Semitism. There is no doubt that the teachings of the church have added fuel to the ugly fires of anti-Jewish prejudice. Stories about the crucifixion, images and pictures of Judas, and the denigration of Jewish faith all have added to the teaching of contempt. This is now a

¹Alexander Schmemmann, "Some Reflections on Eastern Orthodox Theology and Encounter with the West," unpublished paper. Available from the Institute for Religious and Social Studies, 3080 Broadway, New York, NY 10027

²Louis Finkelstein, "Judaism as a System of Symbols," in *Symbols and Values*, Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion, p. 93

³Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, translated, annotated, and notes by A. Lukyn Williams (London: SPCK, 1930), especially chapters 17 and 27

commonplace in the frank and candid conversations that religious men and women have undertaken since the beginning of serious ecumenical effort. However, it must be repeated over and over again. Anti-Semitism (as is any kind of racial prejudice) is a sin. It is a doubly grievous sin if it is in any way fostered by the teachings of the church.

How paradoxical the Jewish destiny is! In fact we see them passionately seeking an earthly kingdom, without, however, possessing their own State, a privilege enjoyed by the most insignificant of peoples; they are fired with the messianic idea of their Election to which are related, however, contempt and persecution at the hands of other people; they reject the Cross as a temptation, while their whole history presents nothing but a perpetual crucifixion. Perhaps the saddest thing to admit is that those who rejected the Cross have to carry it, while those who welcomed it are often engaged in crucifying other.⁴

Of course, Jews have other issues to discuss with Christians. In Jewish eyes, doctrines such as the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Virgin Birth are against the teachings of strict monotheism which we understand to be the biblical heritage. We, of course, also cannot accept the notion that the hoped-for Messiah has come when the world so obviously exhibits cruelty, war, and oppression. These are issues which have been debated for centuries. They will never be resolved until the end of time when all the mysteries of God will be uncovered. But, the resolution of the problems raised by the denigration of Judaism and the fostering of hatred for Jews which has been part of a good deal of Christian life cannot be delayed. I am happy to say that there is abundant evidence that by and large Christians have recognized this problem and are seeking ways to solve it.

Theological Issues of Contrast and Contact

There are several areas in which, it seems to me, theological study of the two traditions can be mutually enriching.

A. God and the World

It is the great intuition that God is the content of everything. Although God is different from the world, God is simply present. Now, we do not begin with pessimism moving then to a doctrine of salvation. We begin, rather, with a sort of cosmical thanksgiving and acceptance, and only in the light of this do we understand what evil is.⁵

The great intuition is, of course, at the basis of a great deal of religion. If God created the world, God must have some Presence within it. If God did

⁴Nicholas Berdyaev, *Christianity and Anti-Semitism*, translated by Alan Spears and Victor Kanter (Aldington. Kent Publishing Company, 1952), p. 12.

⁵Schmemmann, "Some Reflections "

create the world, then the world is basically good. The recovery of the doctrine of creation for religion is important especially today when the world is denigrated and seen as an absurdity.

Each creature and being is actually considered naught and absolute nothingness in relation to the Activating Force and the breath of His mouth: which is in the created thing, continually calling it into existence and bringing it from absolute non-being into being ⁶

This affirmation of the world does not permit Judaism to foster monasticism or asceticism. The created world must be enjoyed—always recognizing the limitations put on this enjoyment by the Law—and therefore not abandoned or renounced. The distinction between the sacred and the profane is not an ontological one. The profane is the not-yet sanctified.

The peoples of the earth also believe that there are two worlds, . . . the difference is this, they understand the two worlds to be removed and cut off from each other. But Israel believes that the two worlds are one in their ground and they shall become one in their reality ⁷

B. *The Nature of the Worshipping Community*

The church or the worshipping community is the locus of authority and the people of the church are the bearers of the Holy Spirit. It is the entire body of the People of God which is the Mystical Body, not some hierarchy. Especially interesting is the conception of the church given the Russian name, *sobornost*. "Khomyakov (the originator of this term) took the word 'Catholic' in the creed (in Slavonic *sobornyj*) not in the extensive sense but in the intensive sense; it is not the physical diffusion of the Church, but the free and perfect unity and unanimity of all the faithful."⁸ This idea has affinities with the notion of the character of the community of Israel as the bearer of revelation and of the living influence of God. Solomon Schechter, in a celebrated passage has formulated the principle in this way:

It is not the revealed Bible that is of first importance to the Jew, but the Bible that repeats itself in history as it is interpreted by tradition . . . Since the interpretation of Scripture, or the secondary meaning, is mainly a product of changing historical influences, the center of authority is actually removed from the Bible and placed in some living body which, by reason of its being in touch with the ideal aspirations and the religious needs of the age, is best able to determine the nature of the secondary meaning. This living body, is not represented by any

⁶Likkute Amarim, Part II, Shaar Hayichud vехаemunah, English tr (Brooklyn Kehot Publishing Company), p. 21

⁷Martin Buber, *Hasidism and Modern Man*, translated by Maurice Friedman (New York Horizon Press, 1958), p. 37

⁸Bernhard Schultze, in *Sacramentum Mundi*, q. v., Eastern Churches

section of the nation, or by any corporate priesthood or rabbinhood, but by the collective conscience of Catholic Israel as embodied in the Universal Synagogue.⁹

This statement by a great modern Jewish scholar has been widely influential in setting forth the understanding of the locus of authority in Jewish life and practice.

C. *The Role of Tradition*

Orthodoxy is built on tradition. It sees tradition as a co-equal partner in the determination of practice and doctrine. The ongoing life of the religious community refines, redefines, and reformulates the life of the faithful. This idea of Tradition is at the very heart of rabbinic Judaism. The rabbis formulated this idea in their celebrated doctrine of the two *Torot*: the oral law and the written law. Both are given at Mount Sinai—that is they are of equal authority. Both the previous paragraph and this one are based on the idea of covenant.¹⁰ This is the central category by means of which the community understands and defines itself. The covenant is an eternal promise. The Holy Spirit of God is therefore manifest in the ongoing life of the believing community.

Eschatology

Eschatology is an important emphasis in Orthodoxy. It is an affirmation of the intimation of life with the Holy Spirit (through Jesus) and an expectation of the Parousia of the coming of the Messiah again to redeem the world and to resurrect the dead. But, this “eschatological tension cannot remain a passive and futuristic expectation. To the combined efforts of humanity to erect a better world . . . we Christians must participate, each in the place which is proper to him. . . .”¹¹

The Messianic hope plays an important part in Judaism. The Jewish Messianic hope is related to concrete life, the social life of nations and persons. The rabbinic view of the future is not of some spiritual exaltation, but a hope for the return of the people from exile, the coming together of people and nations in love and friendship and a reconciliation of nature with God and the Cosmos with its creator.¹² It is a messianic hope that does not neglect the present. It is a turning toward the future without turning away

⁹Solomon Schechter, *Introduction to Studies in Judaism* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1911), pp. xi-xv.

¹⁰See Solomon Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology* (London: A. and C. Black, 1909).

¹¹R. P. Alexandre Turincev, *An Approach to Orthodox Eschatology*, tr. by David Black (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary, n.d.).

¹²See Louis Jacobs, *Principles of Jewish Faith* (New York: Basic Books, 1964), pp. 368-398.

from the present, as it is a duty to sanctify the present with a hope and an outlook toward the future. The eschatology of Judaism is painfully aware that the world is unredeemed. However, there is some intimation of what life will be like in the time of the fulfillment. A Jew who is called to read from the Torah during divine worship pronounces a blessing which praises the Almighty who has implanted within us eternal life. This refers to the promise, but it also refers to the Torah which is the source of Life to one who studies and fulfills it. Also the observance of the Sabbath is like the world to come. It is a foretaste of the coming fulfillment.

Mysticism

The West has been fascinated by Eastern Mysticism. It is seen as one of the great contributions of the Eastern churches to the spirituality of humankind. The practices of the monks have been seen as being similar to Yoga meditation and other forms of discipline. The Jews have also been, of course, active in mystic contemplation. However, the mysticism of the Jews has been, by and large, directed toward the world, not away from it. The presence of God within us makes the holy sparks of divinity available to those who would see beyond the outer shell of reality.

Ethnicism

One of the most interesting features of Orthodox spirituality, seen from a Jewish perspective, is the fact that ethnicism and holy community have been joined. I am sure that to some Orthodox theologians this seems to be a form of spiritual life which might be overcome. However, for the Jew this represents a parallel to the Jewish insight that the faith of Israel is bound up with the people of Israel, which is *am*, a people. The covenant of Israel is made with the members of a family, or more precisely with a group of families. Of course, others may join if they wish. But it is the people which is chosen as God's inheritance. This is why Jewish aspirations have always seen the possession of the Holy Land as a prerequisite for the fulfillment of the covenant. "We need our own soil in order to fulfill it [our mission]," wrote Martin Buber, "we need the freedom in order to order our life—no attempt can be made on foreign soil and under foreign statute. It cannot be that the soil and the freedom for fulfillment are denied us. We are not covetous; our one desire is that at last we may be able to obey."¹³

Conclusions

Professor Heschel has seen Judaism as the "least known religion." In a

¹³"An Answer to Gandhi," in Will Herbert, ed., *Writings of Martin Buber* (New York: Meridian Press, 1958), p. 283

sense Eastern spirituality is a partner in being almost unknown. Judaism and Christianity are divided in many issues. But it is obvious that we can learn from one another as to how to live in the Presence of God. "If you love everything, you will perceive the divine mystery in things" (Father Zossima). "All that you are able to do, do it with your strength." As it is told of Enoch, that he was a cobbler and with every stitch of his awl, which sewed the upper leather to the sole, bound the holy God with the indwelling Glory."¹⁴

Study and Discussion Questions

1. What are the common roots of Judaism and Eastern Orthodoxy?
2. What is the significance of these common roots?
3. What attitude of Christianity stands in the way of dialogue with Judaism?
4. What might be done to change this attitude?
5. Describe the theological issues which are outlined and the parallels which are delineated
6. What other parallels could be added and what other theological issues should be investigated?

¹⁴Martin Buber, "The Baal Shem Tov's Instruction" in *Judaism and Modern Man*, pp 179-222

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tathios Archbishop of Thessaloniki, Patriarch Photios and his pupil Arethas (with a remarkable contribution on the homilies of Photios), Demetrios Triclinios, and Thomas Magister. While in Thessaloniki (especially during 1950-1960) Basil Laourdas developed an interest in speeches and encomia about its patron saint Demetrios and particularly investigated Theodore Metochites and Nicholas Cabasilas in this regard as well as Archbishops Gregory Palamas, Isidore Glabas, and Gabriel.

Basil Laourdas studied Michael Apostoles, Maximos Margounios, and Paisios Ligarides of the Tourkokratia, the Greek folk song, *Erotokritos*, Adamantios Koraes, Nikolaos Piccolos, and modern Greek authors Papadimantes, Vlachogiannes, Xenopoulos, Sikelianos, Kazantzakis, Venezis, Theotokas, Prevelakis, and D. Kapetanakis. Beyond purely philological and literary interests, Laourdas also wrote about educational issues and promoted the publication of the memorabilia of Macedonian patriots.

The Philological Work of Basil Laourdas is a lovingly written encomiastic survey of the work of a dedicated scholar who combined within his person the best of Hellenic scholarship and the best of humanity. Professor Mitsakis has succeeded in recalling for us Basil Laourdas the scholar and the man.

John E. Rexine

The Liturgical and Mystical Theology of Nicholas Cabasilas. By Constantine N. Tsirpanlis. Athens: Theologia, 1976. Pp. 103. Paper.

Nicholas Cabasilas (died 1380), layman, lawyer, and statesman, was undoubtedly one of the primary representatives of Byzantine theological renewal along with Symeon the New Theologian and Gregory Palamas, all of whom can be described as belonging to the period of the theology of pneumatology or spirituality. It was Cabasilas "who, by his incomparable eloquence, clarity and personal experience, showed that theology, spirituality, and Sacramental life are essentially identical; that every Christian independently from his social position or profession can and must participate in the Liturgical and Sacramental Life of the Church, can live 'theologically' and be a temple of the Holy Spirit, 'Christos,' and can actually be the Temple and House of Christ Himself" (p. 94).

In this illuminating study, which was originally presented by the author as a dissertation under the direction of Father Georges Florovsky for the degree of Master of Sacred Theology to the Harvard Divinity School in 1962, Dr. Constantine Tsirpanlis has examined all other editions, including fragments, letters and orations not in the Migne *Patrologia Graeca* as well as the *Divinae Liturgiae Interpretatio* and the *De Vita in Christo*, though Dr. Tsirpanlis's book is admittedly not a definitive study of the

theology of Cabasilas. Divided into two principal sections entitled "The Liturgical Theology" (13-59) and "The Mystical Theology" (63-92), the first contains three chapters on ecclesiology, worship, and the Sacraments (Baptism, Chrism, and the Eucharist) respectively, while the second contains two chapters dealing with Soteriology (embracing the work of redemption in general; the idea of the immolation for the glory of the Father; the mediation of Christ; the Eucharistic sacrifice as recapitulation of the whole economy of salvation) and Christocentric mysticism (embracing incorporation in Christ or the Mystical Body—the Head, the members and the Heart; the first three sacraments in connection with the incorporation into Christ; Christ as the Heart of the Mystical Body) respectively.

It is clear from Professor Tsirpanlis's study that for Cabasilas the Church is the bride of Christ whose mystical members are nourished through the Holy Eucharist and for whom the Divine Liturgy re-creates the earthly life of the Incarnate Word and His ascension in glory. "In the Orthodox liturgy everything, the sign of the cross, holy water, the words of the Scripture, the chants, the ornaments, and lighted candles are all symbols in the realistic sense of the word, i.e., material signs of the presence of the spiritual world" (p. 20). The Liturgy from beginning to end constitutes the memory of the earthly life of Christ but is also the gradual unfolding of Christ's redemptive work and revelation. The Divine Liturgy, "the reasonable worship" (*logike latreia*), is a service of Thanksgiving (*Eucharistia*) in which the divine plan of redemption is set before the worshipper, for whom there is no separation between the Liturgy and popular devotion. For Cabasilas the sacraments are the essence of his liturgical and mystical theology and even though he develops fully only the sacraments of Baptism, Chrismation and the Eucharist, he does not disregard the Priesthood, Repentance and Confession, Marriage, and Holy Unction. Faithful to the traditional forms and concepts of Baptismal theology, it is in the theology of Chrismation that Cabasilas has particularly and carefully developed his ideas about the sacrament which grants force and movement, *energeia* and *kinesis*, and is "no mere virtual grace, an *augmentum* of grace but the active *charismata* and *energeiae* of the Holy Spirit Who nourishes the 'natural embryo' of Baptism" (p. 48). Cabasilas emphasizes the uninterrupted continuity and origins of both Baptism and Chrismation. In the discussion of the Eucharist we are informed that Cabasilas prefers that name (*Eucharistia*) because it is the sacrament of Communion in which we communicate most perfectly and intimately with God in a spirit of thankfulness for God's generosity, not as supplication, because Christ Himself, in instituting this Sacrament, gave thanks to the Father, as the Church now gives thanks in commemoration of that momentous event. There is also considerable discussion of the Eucharistic invocation, the Words of Institution, and the relationship of the Holy Spirit to the Consecration. For

Cabasilas "the joint operation of the Trinity in the Sacrament is a part of the general Trinitarian action in promoting the salvation of mankind; and if he speaks of the Holy Spirit as taking part in the Consecration, he refers to Him as the immediate agent of the Father and not as the ultimate source of sanctification" (p. 59).

In the case of Cabasilas's mystical theology, we learn that "By assuming the human nature, Christ associated it with His own divinity so that by participating in the Sacraments we are united with His divinized humanity. Christ, therefore, became for us the Initiator of the justification. By His death we received the power to destroy sin and by His resurrection we are made heirs of the new life. His death actually killed our sinful life and as a result of the atonement, we are liberated from the pains of our sins" (p. 63). For Cabasilas in the *De Vita in Christo*, a life in Christ "means imitating Christ, living in conformity with Him, submitting our will to the will of God, as Christ did to God's divine will to teach and exemplify for us the upright life."

From the *Divinae Liturgiae Interpretatio* of Cabasilas Dr. Tsirpanlis has extracted passages on "The Work of Redemption in General"; "The Idea of the Immolation for the Glory of the Father"; "The Mediation of Christ"; and "The Eucharistic Sacrifice Recapitulates for Us the Whole Economy of Salvation" and adds his own brief critical comments. He also examines the possible influence of Anselm on Cabasilas and conjectures that the Anselmian idea of "satisfaction" could have been transmitted through Aquinas' modified formula in a Greek translation of *Summa Contra Gentiles* by Demetrios Cydones that was done in 1354, even though during Cabasilas's days the basic Anselmian work *Cur Deus Homo* had not been translated into Greek.

The incorporation of the individual in Christ is possible through Baptism, Chrismation, and the Eucharist and Cabasilas identifies Christ with the Heart of the Mystical Body to emphasize that Christ communicates to us His life and power. For Cabasilas it is through Holy Communion that we become Christ's children as well as members of Christ's Body. "The Eucharist, therefore, is the center of our supernatural life, and the Eucharistic Christ is the Heart of this life. Christ, moreover, is not only the cause and the beginning of life-like parents; He is Life Itself" is Dr. Tsirpanlis's comment on Cabasilas's observations. Repeatedly we are informed that the principal purpose of the Incarnation was "to redeem and sanctify the human will to the divine will, not by violation, but through the absolute obedience and submission of His human will to the divine will" (p. 87). This can be accomplished through *philtron*, *chara* and *hedone*—love, joy, and pleasure—a peculiarly Cabasilian trio that also is extended to include *pathos*, *epithymia* and *pothos*. Cabasilas's emphasis is on Christ as the living Heart of the Mystical Body. The Cabasilian *mimesis Christi* involves the image of the *Makaria Kardia*, the Blessed Heart, which is original with

him and involves the search for the revelation of *Philtron*, the intensive love and union with the *Makaria Kardia*.

Dr. Tsirpanlis's book on *The Liturgical and Mystical Theology of Nicholas Cabasilas* deserves close scrutiny and much more discussion than is possible here. It is a book rich in valuable information. It will certainly be a book to which students of both liturgical and mystical theology should refer for a clearer understanding of Orthodox theology and religion and a necessary appreciation of Nicholas Cabasilas's role in the history of Orthodox Christianity.

John E. Rexine

Interaction of the "Sibling" Byzantine and Western Cultures in the Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance (330-1600). By Deno John Geanakoplos. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976. Pp. xxii, 416. Frontispiece + 17 plates. 5 maps. \$27.50.

Professor Geanakoplos of Yale University is an internationally acknowledged scholar of Byzantine and Renaissance Studies, with a special competence and interest in the relations of the Byzantine East with the Latin West. Geanakoplos's insistence that we study mediaeval history as a whole may now sound obvious but it was not always so. Dr. Geanakoplos is certainly consistent in his approach and this latest book of his bears this out. He has also become aware of the importance of sociological research in this regard, as indicated clearly in his preface, prologue, and epilogue. His avowed purpose is "to provide an understanding of various aspects of the intercultural relations between two major Christian societies, the Byzantine and the Western, during the Middle Ages and the Italian Renaissance" (p. xi). In so doing, he gives the reader a series of fourteen clearly written aspects of theology, political ideology, religious piety and mysticism, philosophy, literature, law, music, and refinement of living. Some of the essays have been previously published or publicly presented elsewhere before but all are relevant to the main thrust of the book and all exhibit impeccable scholarship. Though other books have been written that in some ways impinge upon Dr. Geanakoplos's thesis, they in no way duplicate Geanakoplos nor does Geanakoplos duplicate them. The synthesizing work has moved this process into the direction of even greater synthesis, but, to be sure, this will not be the final word but it is an enormous advance. What the author says he will do, he does and does very well. "In order to provide an organic unity for the chapters, the author, combining probably for the first time in this connection sociological and historical techniques, has sought in the Prologue to outline the centuries-long process of interaction, in particular of acculturation, between the two societies, and finally, in the Epilogue, to summarize the effects of this

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NATIONALISM AND RELIGION IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD*

Salo Wittmayer Baron

PRECIS

The author analyzes aspects of the relationship between religion and nationalism, which long has been very close. Several centuries ago religion played an overtly more dominant role, but in more recent times nationalism has become the more directive force. Hence, religion has often been manipulated by nationalistic forces, e.g., colonial missionaries. After the end of the Thirty Years' War in 1648, the *culus regio eius religio* principle was replaced by *culus regio eius natio*, leading today, e.g., to the oppression of the Ibos in Nigeria and Indians in Kenya. Moreover, the stature of the monotheistic religions is lessening in face of the Afro-Asian population explosion.

The cultural nationalism of the nineteenth century appears to be waning before a more political brand. However, as post-war Germany and Japan and also Israel prove, an educated and technologically trained population is the most important resource of a nation.

Race complicated the development of nations and the relationship between religion and nationalism. Nevertheless race has historically been subordinated to nationalism. Black Americans appear to be developing into a quasi-ethnic group, but the outcome is doubtful since American Blacks have no common language, cultural heritage, or history.

As the end of the Thirty Years' War in 1648 marked the demise of the *culus regio eius religio* principle, so perhaps the end of the "Thirty Years' War" of the twentieth century will also bring the dissolution of the substitute principle of *culus regio eius natio*; the fact that the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are not homogenous nation-states encourages such hope. So too does the growing cooperation between previously hostile religions. Perhaps the founding of a world organization with representatives from all religions could further the creative cooperation between religions and nations.

Since the completion of the present paper in its revised form in the Spring of 1972 the interrelations between nationalism and religion have taken on new forms, sometimes leading to very serious complications. For the last two years the world has watched with horror the sanguinary civil war in Lebanon, where the sociopolitical antagonisms were deeply per-

* The original lecture was delivered in German at the Institut für Judaistik of the University of Vienna on June 16, 1969, on the occasion of the University's conferral upon the author of the honorary "Golden Doctorate." This lecture (revised and annotated) appeared under the title of "Nationalismus und Religion in der heutigen Welt" in *Saeculum* XXII, Nos. 2-3 (1971), 305-316. Further revised and enlarged, it was delivered in 1972 in English translation, with the kind permission of that journal, at the Jewish-Greek Orthodox colloquium. Again the author expresses his gratitude to the University of Vienna and especially to Professor Kurt Schubert and his coworkers at the aforementioned Institute, for the great honor bestowed upon him and for their fine hospitality to him and his wife on that occasion.

Salo W. Baron (Jewish) holds degrees from the University of Vienna, Hebrew Union College, University of Tel-Aviv, and Hebrew University, Jerusalem. He served as director of the Center of Israel and Jewish Studies from 1950-68, and is now director emeritus. He has been a visiting professor of history at the Jewish Theological Seminary, Rutgers University, and Brown University. He is the author of *The Jews of the United States 1790-1840* (with Joseph L. Blau), 3 vols. (1963), *The Russian Jew under Tsars and Soviets* (1964, rev. ed., 1975), and *History and Jewish Historians* (1964).

meated with the religious conflicts between the growing Muslim majority in the country and its economically more advanced Christian minority. The equally bloody confrontation between Catholics and Protestants in Ulster has been in many respects the residue left behind by the emergence of the Irish national state half a century ago. The recent electoral victory of the separatist movement in the province of Quebec and its threat to the unity of the Canadian state is but another example of the underlying national-religious disparity of the French-Catholic majority in that province and the predominantly Protestant and English-speaking majority in the other provinces. Nor must we gloss over lightly—as is often done in the press and the media—the newly resurgent Catholic-Croatian irredenta, however muted by the force of the totalitarian controls in Yugoslavia. Nor is even the mighty Soviet Union likely to escape much longer the impact of the national-religious disturbances, despite its half-a-century-old repression of religious movements, the attempts to create a new “Soviet man” living under the new semi-religion of communism, and the overt concessions to national self-determination belied by the growing assimilatory pressures of Russian nationalism. However, closer analysis of these trends would far transcend the scope of the essay which follows and must be relegated to another occasion.

Long before modern national movements were born, the relationship between national life and religious life in their ever-changing aspects has played a significant part in the shaping of history. Unwittingly or through conscious effort, through mutual complementation or through sharp tensions, this relationship has permanently influenced the destinies of many peoples. When the mood of the age was strongly religious and nationalism seemed to play but a subordinate role, the ruler nevertheless endowed the latter with sacral attributes, which was accomplished in particular through the concept of the “divine right of kings” or through the suppression of “heretical” movements which often cloaked existing national cleavages.

In recent times, the progressive secularization of life has reversed that relationship. The national factor became the decisive element, or what Wilhelm von Humboldt and Leopold von Ranke called the “dominant tendencies” of modern history. But religious sanctions have not completely lost their importance. Sometimes, as under fascism with its apotheosis of the state, the very condition of belonging to the state-people entity was shrouded in sacral forms and nationalism was elevated almost to the rank of a new religious creed.

Although there exists a very extensive literature about religion and nationalism, the past and present interaction between them has not been sufficiently investigated.¹ This is all the more regrettable since their mutual

¹See the older literature cited in my book, *Modern Nationalism and Religion* (New York, 1947, and later impressions and paperback reprints)

relations have again and again been subject to profound changes which, on the one hand, reflect the ever-shifting realities in modern societies and, on the other hand, are themselves often responsible for these changes.²

Religious-National Transformations

One of the far-reaching changes which has occurred during the last fifty years has been the loss in stature sustained by the monotheistic religions. In terms of numbers, Christianity, Islam, and Judaism have never been embraced by more than a minority of the world population, but for several centuries the Christian civilization was clearly in the ascendance. By 1918, the frontiers of the British Empire expanded in the Old World from Capetown to Cairo and from Cairo to Calcutta and Borneo. At the same time, limitless possibilities were opened up to human growth in Canada and Australia. This development had its cultural counterpart in the so-called Westernization of the Afro-Asian lands. In the field of religion, too, Christian missions—Protestant as well as Catholic—made considerable progress.

Strangely enough, Islam was even more successful. Without large missions, actually without any organized missionary activity at all, Islam was winning new converts in various countries year after year. And through its successful emancipation Judaism, which is not mission-oriented, was entering a period of renewal which found its expression in an

²The speed with which changes in this field have occurred during the last three decades was brought home to me on several occasions. These personal experiences illustrate graphically the extraordinary pace of transformations in the political picture of our times. In April, 1944, I delivered the first series of lectures on the subject (the Rauschenbusch Lectures) at the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School. At that time the world was still in the midst of the agonies of the Second World War. When my book was published three years later, the world situation had changed in many fundamental ways. During these three years more than half a billion people had gained their national independence, while the United Nations had come into being amid exuberant hopes for the future.

In 1958, four South African universities invited me—strangely enough independently of one another—to deliver lectures on the same subject. This coincidence is less remarkable considering the great political and social importance of the complex racial situation and the deep national and religious cleavages among the white and Indian minorities in South Africa. On this occasion I had to review the entire problem all over again. It goes without saying that in my lectures I had to deal extensively with the dissolution of the British and French colonial empires and the resulting emergence of several new African nations between 1947 and 1958. Of particular interest to my special field of studies was, of course, the emergence of the state of Israel in 1948. Also, all of us had to give a great deal of thought to the increasing polarization of the world between East and West, which was only partially offset by the slow birth of the Third, or Neutral, World.

Since 1958, the divisive trends have become even more pronounced. At the same time new revolutionary movements have emerged. The number of member states of the United Nations has doubled in recent years. The profound (general) unrest and in particular the student revolts at many universities—for the first time not revolts out of universities against the governments but revolts directed against the universities themselves—has had a serious effect on the interaction between national and religious forces. All of these aspects merit renewed serious investigation.

increase in the numbers of its people as well as in its added economic and cultural importance. This state of affairs seemed to justify a variety of optimistic predictions.

However, doubters could point to a number of potential danger signals. Toward the end of the First World War, I participated in a seminar held by Professor Hans Kelsen at the University of Vienna on the subject of the "yellow peril." Yet despite such warnings, many Americans in particular believed that this "war to end all wars" would usher in a new era based on President Wilson's "Fourteen Points" including the self-determination of all nations and a general democratic order. But during the last few decades all this has changed completely. The great colonial empires have largely liquidated themselves. Their places have been taken by new nations and states which now make up the majority of the United Nations. Western technology, to be sure, has reached ever new heights of achievement, which the rest of the world is increasingly eager to adopt. Nevertheless Western civilization as a whole has been more and more on the defensive.

According to United Nations statistics, the population of the world was 3,483,000,000 in 1968. Asia's 1,946,000,000 amounted to almost fifty-six percent of the total³ Three Asian countries alone—China, India, and Japan—now harbor almost forty percent of all humanity. With the rapid increase of their populations (except in Japan) they may account for more than fifty percent within the foreseeable future. The ideological chasm between the communistic East and the democratic West has, over the years, contributed further to the lessening of self-confidence and *élan* among the Western, monotheistically oriented nations.

This new state of affairs has also had an impact on the ever-changing relationships between religion and nationalism. About forty years ago, a Polish savant, himself a firm believer in the idea of nationalism, maintained that nationalism

in antiquity and especially in the Near East was on the whole more poignant, more passionate, and more irreducible than modern nationalism. At the same time, the balancing forces of international and supranational factors were much weaker in the ancient Near East than they are today. Especially lacking was the unity of civilization such as the Western world has inherited from the Roman Empire. The civilizations of the old Near East were national civilizations to a far greater extent than any of the later ones.⁴

In this pointed form the thesis is greatly exaggerated. From a religious point of view, however, the ties between state, nation, and faith were definitely closer than they are in modern Western states under the aegis of

³United Nations, *Statistical Yearbook for 1968*, p. xxvii.

⁴T. Welek-Czernecki, "Le rôle de la nationalité dans l'histoire de l'antiquité," *Bulletin of the International Committee for Historical Sciences* 2, part 2 (1929-1930), p. 307.

the supranational religions of Christianity and Islam. Each state had its own gods. After a successful war the general assumption was that the gods of the victorious country had proved themselves to be superior to the gods fighting for the losing army and, therefore, the vanquished peoples should bow before the conquering gods. Nevertheless Eduard Meyer, arguing from a different position, has rightly maintained that in antiquity there were only three nations in the modern sense—the Jews, the Persians, and the Greeks.⁵

One should not forget, however, that even under Christianity and Islam national conflicts, though less clearly defined than in modern times, often acquired a religious tinge. A quest for national self-preservation often appeared in the guise of sectarian disagreement. For example, Monophysitism helped keep alive Syrian and Egyptian national identities amidst the strongly assimilatory forces of Byzantine culture.⁶

Religious differences often had international significance as well. To mention only two examples from my special field of studies: For a long time it has been my contention that the conversion to Judaism of King Dhu Nuwas of South Arabia in the sixth century and of the Khazar king Bulan in the eighth century had political as well as religious motivations. In the divided world of that time the smaller nations were under constant political pressure to join either the Byzantine Empire or Sassanian Persia and therefore the Muslim Caliphate. No pagan religion could offer protection against this type of pressure, and so the acceptance of Judaism, a third recognized religion, appeared to both rulers the best way to preserve their neutrality. There is some resemblance between this method and the one adopted today by Third World countries which subscribe to neither communism nor American democracy. I have also long contended that in medieval Europe persecutions and expulsions of Jews from various countries largely depended on the particular national-religious make-up of the host countries. As soon as a country achieved the homogeneity of a national state it usually proceeded to attempt total assimilation of Jews, at that time attainable only through the conversion of the Jewish minority (in Spain, Portugal, and Sicily also of the Muslim minority) to Christianity.⁷

Even in the twentieth century religious affiliation was a criterion for determining nationality in many parts of the world. If two brothers were living in Istanbul, one remaining faithful to the Greek Orthodox religion, the other adopting the Islamic faith, they were generally considered to belong to two nationalities, the Greek and the Turkish. Even in the large-

⁵Eduard Meyer, "Zur Theorie und Methodik der Geschichte," in *Kleine Schriften*, I, 2nd ed. (Halle, 1924), pp. 37ff., 41.

⁶E. L. Woodward, *Christianity and Nationalism in the Later Roman Empire* (London, 1916), pp. 43-44, 48.

⁷See my *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, Vols. I-XVI, 2nd ed. (New York, 1952-1976), esp. Vol. III, pp. 66ff.; Vol. XI, pp. 192ff.

scale population exchange between Greece and Turkey carried out by Fridtjof Nansen under the authority of the League of Nations, about 360,000 Turks, that is Muslims, were transferred from Greece to Turkey; and about 190,000 Greeks, that is Greek Orthodox Christians, from Smyrna and other Turkish regions, were transferred to Greece. Neither descent nor language counted.⁸

The Decline of Cultural Nationalism

The lessening of the impact of monotheistic religion was accompanied by a weakening of the cultural component of the new nationalistic programs. As a matter of fact, the time was not auspicious for subjecting the awakened nationalism of peoples in Asia and Africa to the ideals of Western nationalism of the earlier type. In the West, too, the original messianic nationalism of Herder, Fichte, Jefferson, Mazzini, or Michiewicz had been replaced by the precepts of Mussolini's *sacro egoismo*. In Europe, too, people were hearing less about Fichte's ideal of the Nation of Humanity or about the teachings of Mazzini, who would propagate the unification of Italy primarily in terms of its contribution to the messianic redemption of humanity as a whole. These high ideals had increasingly been pushed aside by the naked struggle for power.

Nonetheless the old tradition of the Bible had not completely died out. The prophets of Israel had given the doctrine of the Chosen People a cosmic interpretation which placed the emphasis not on their people's power and its prerogatives but on its duties and obligations. Even during the stormy age of rising nationalism sayings like the one coined by Amos were not forgotten: "You only have I known of all the families of the earth: *therefore* I will punish you for all your inequities."⁹ The British Empire, in particular, looking for ideological justification of its steady expansion, managed to find it in Rudyard Kipling's phrase, the "white man's burden"—the obligation of the white race to bring its culture and civilization to the peoples of the world. In spite of the similarity between this rationalization and the one offered by Pliny the Elder in defense of Roman imperialism, there were fundamental differences in ideology and in practice between the British colonial administration and Rome's rule over the conquered provinces.¹⁰

That is why in 1921, when the development of nationalism in the West had reached its zenith, Martin Buber could rightly remind the delegates to

⁸Stephen S. Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey* (New York, 1922), pp. 87ff

⁹Amos 3:2

¹⁰Pliny the Elder, *Historia naturalis*, III, 5, 39. Rather more typical of Roman imperialism was Cicero's attack against Jewish "rebels," detracting from the glory of the Roman Empire. See his *Pro Flacco*, XXVIII, 69

the Zionist Congress in Carlsbad of the dangers of extreme nationalism. He tried to sound a warning by defining the terminological differences between "people," "nation," and "nationalism." He declared: "People (Volkstum)—that is simply like having eyes that can see. Nation—that is like having learned to feel what eyes do and what they are meant to do. Nationalism—that is like having sick eyes so that one thinks incessantly about the fact that he has eyes. A people is a phenomenon of life; a nation (which cannot exist without a sense of being a nation) is a phenomenon of consciousness; nationalism is a phenomenon of superconsciousness."¹¹

Political consciousness has become the slogan of most of the newly created nations. Political nationalism has primarily been equated with a jealously guarded national sovereignty over a particular area. The doctrine of national sovereignty, which has had many liberating aspects in the last several centuries, has, as we all know, also often played havoc with the peace of the world. In its extreme forms of *raison d'état* and culminating in Mussolini's *sacro egoismo* in the defense of national interests, it seems to have lost some of its vigor in the course of the twentieth century when the efforts to organize the League of Nations were based on the assumption that each nation would forego a part of its sovereignty for the sake of peace and the common good of all nations.

Even in practice the Second World War has shown how ludicrous the pretensions to full national sovereignty often appeared during major emergencies, that is the assumption that the nation-state was the absolute source of its power and self-determination. Suffice it to remember that in 1938, even before the outbreak of the Second World War, such an important sovereign state as Czechoslovakia was occupied by the Germans without firing a shot. The same thing happened during the war to such long-established, wealthy, and powerful states as Belgium and Denmark, while Holland, at that time still in control of a vast colonial empire, was taken over by the Nazis after a struggle of but four days. And yet, a few years later, the newly emerging nations often believed that thenceforth they alone were in control of their ultimate destinies.

In connection with this delusion of extreme national sovereignty there emerged a new principle which might be called that of "the sanctity of frontiers." At almost any international gathering I attended in my youth, there was incessant talk about the "sanctity of treaties." Today, the violation of long-accepted, duly signed and attested treaties in the name of the superior national interest is almost taken for granted. International contracts such as those concerning the Suez Canal or oil exploration and the revenue therefrom are freely set aside, sometimes almost before the ink on the signatures appended to these compacts has a chance to dry. Instead,

¹¹Martin Buber, *Der Kampf um Israel Reden und Schriften (1921-1932)* (Berlin, 1933), p. 232.

many a debate in the United Nations and elsewhere centers around the supposed inviolability of the states' geographic boundaries.

Ironically, this doctrine has come to be emphasized in the twentieth century, a century which witnessed greater changes in existing boundaries than almost any earlier period. During this century there occurred first the final expansion and then the collapse of the British Empire, the greatest empire in history. Its first quarter century saw the realization of the imperial dream "from Capetown to Cairo, from Cairo to Calcutta," and thence to Borneo and Sydney as an unbroken chain of British possessions. The second quarter of the century started with the conversion of the Empire into a federated Commonwealth and ended with the breaking away of almost all of Britain's Asian and African possessions. This example was followed by such other long-established colonial empires as those of France, Holland, and Belgium. Curiously, the only imperial entity which had remained practically intact for years was that of the weakest imperial power, Portugal. Its first break-up came in 1961 when the small colony of Goa was taken over by India's military forces, almost without a murmur from the protagonists of the "sanctity of frontiers."

During the same period the Soviet Union not only first allowed the secession of a number of its component nationalities but after the Second World War annexed three independent republics and expanded its empire into areas where no Russians had ever played a dominant role before, such as Königsberg, which was renamed Kalinigrad. Poland, which reemerged as an independent republic only after the First World War, had to cede almost half of its territory to the Soviet Union and received in return considerable areas which had been under effective German control for several centuries. The same Soviet regime which had significantly helped Nigeria in overcoming the Biafran quest for independence, following years of genocidal activities against the Ibos, turned around and promoted the independence of Bangladesh, supported by the military intervention of India, long a reputed champion of the sanctity of frontiers.

Paradoxically, too, the most widely debated boundaries are those between Israel and its neighbors. The United Nations, which has done next to nothing about other frontier changes since the end of the Second World War, has been constantly preoccupied with the demand of the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied territories after the Sinai campaign and the Six-Day War. To heighten that irony, these frontiers owed their origin to the armistice of 1948-1949 which congealed the status quo of the Israeli and Arab armies at the moment of its signing. Like any other ceasefire that treaty was meant to be provisional and subject to readjustment during the peace conference. But, as is well known, the Arab states have adamantly refused to participate in any peace negotiations and never recognized any frontiers of Israel as an independent state. Now they themselves and their backers proclaim these reputedly imaginary frontiers to be inviolate and

demand Israel's withdrawal to those accidental geographic points as a precondition to any further negotiations.

Nor, for that matter, are the frontiers of many newly-emerged African states the result of more than one or another historic accident at the time of the occupation of each particular territory by the colonial power. No heed was paid then, nor is it paid now, to any basic geographic, climatic, cultural, or economic factors which would justify these particular boundaries.

Such an overemphasis on absolute sovereignty over specified areas understandably reinforced the trends toward political, rather than cultural, nationalism. True, the developing nations, too, have become aware that in the present age of technology a good scientific and technological education is essential for the attainment of power. There was a time when the leading colonizers were chiefly interested in discovering and utilizing important natural raw materials, such as iron, coal, and petroleum. This idea has now been replaced to a large extent by the conviction that there is something even more important: the human resources of a people, well-organized, intelligent, willing to work, and technologically well-trained. Everybody is familiar with the amazing economic recovery of Japan and West Germany within a short time after their defeat in the war and in spite of Japan's limited natural resources. Even more astounding has been Israel's transformation of a stony, arid, and long-neglected land into an agriculturally flourishing "garden of the Lord," and an industrially advanced country. I also remember the passionate debate in the twenties when the viability of the newly-created Austrian Republic was being doubted because the country lacked many important raw materials. Assessing Austria's economy and its relatively great social stability during the last few years, however, we have to admit that it, too, has demonstrated that the type of person within a given civilization who *knows* how and is willing to put in the necessary effort in order to utilize its natural resources is the decisive factor in the economic sphere, as well.

The developing nations have also recognized this fact, at least in theory, and they have devised great plans for education. But so far they seem to have been less inclined to work on a more meaningful broad cultural renaissance of the kind advocated by Europe's heroic nationalist thinkers such as Herder. The same is true of the new Islamic countries. In spite of Islam's great cultural contributions in the Middle Ages its present leaders are less interested in the cultural renaissance of their peoples than they are in increasing their political power. Of course, it should not be overlooked that ever since the age of Mohammed, Islam has been permeated by a deep political orientation which was, and still is, clearly in contrast with the long apolitical diaspora of Judaism and the otherworldly outlook of early Christianity. There is a good reason why even today orthodox Muslims conceive of the world as being divided into two groups

of countries: The "dar al-Islam" and the "dar al-Harb"—the world of Islam as opposed to the world of the sword, that is, that part of the world which is potentially destined to be conquered.

To be sure, one occasionally hears African rumblings reminiscent of the early "nationalist fathers" of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. An outstanding spokesperson of such a blend of "particularism" and "universalism" is Leopold Sedar Senghor, an eminent poet and statesperson, now serving as president of Senegal. Having spent his formative years in France and deeply imbued with French culture, Senghor had early begun his search for a comprehensive humanitarian definition of his ideal *Négritude*. He has clearly drawn the distinction between the idea of "nation" and that of "state." Dreaming of a federal union of France's former African colonies, he saw therein the realization of a full-fledged "Negro-African Nation" of the French tongue. In this connection he wrote:

If the Nation is the conscious will for reconstruction, the State is its major instrument. The State is to the Nation what the entrepreneur-builder is to the architect. . . . It is the State which realizes the will of the Nation and assures its permanence The two great temptations of the State are *assimilation* and *imperialism*, for it is by nature bent upon conquest.¹²

Senghor has also analyzed the means by which these temptations were to be combatted.

While these words were being published (in December, 1961), Senghor's ideas suffered a severe setback through the dissolution of the Mali Federation in which he saw a vital first step toward the formation of his Negro-African Nation. Yet he was not discouraged, although a considerable number of outside observers have considered him but a voice crying in the wilderness of political passions.

It should be remembered, however, that many developing nations find it very difficult to achieve a cultural renaissance. In the first place, they often lack a common language. Various dialects spoken in the Congo are not even based on common historical roots. Recent research indicates that the so-called Niger-Congo family of languages consists of no fewer than eighteen dialects in its West-Atlantic group alone. Among them are several dialect groups which are so different from one another that they are mutually unintelligible.¹³ In India, a large country with an ancient civilization, so many different dialects and languages are spoken that, in spite of the steady growth of persons able to converse in Hindi and the

¹²See esp. Leopold Sedar Senghor's *Nation et voie africaine du socialisme* (Paris, 1961), pp. 21ff., and Gisela Baum, *Leopold Sedar Senghor Wegbereiter der Culture Universelle* (Dusseldorf, 1968).

¹³Joseph H. Greenberg, *Studies in African Linguistic Classification* (Branford, CT, 1955), pp. 10, 115ff., reprinted from *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vols. V, VI, X.

government's sustained efforts to educate the masses, the country has thus far been unable to develop an effective common national language so that even members of Parliament from the different states prefer to communicate with each other in English.

The lack of a common religion presents another obstacle. In many African countries there are not only large foreign colonies of Christians, Muslims, and Hindus—many of them third or fourth generation descendants of immigrants—but also numerous autochthonous groups whose members were converted to one of the world religions many years ago. Even the native faiths are often so different from one another that they cannot be subsumed under a common religion. The frequent lack of a common cultural tradition is another factor of decisive significance. In general, the internal history of many tribes during the last several centuries is known only in vague outline. For decades students of African history have been trying to collect whatever little source material is available and to reconstruct from it the histories of some of the tribes. Yet in the main they have thus far been able to build only foundations for future research.

To this state of affairs even Fichte's apparently paradoxical theory does not apply. The early nineteenth-century philosopher contended that the German people of his era were predestined to fulfill a great humanitarian mission because they were a people without a common territory or history. Of course, what Fichte had in mind was only the political fragmentation of the German people during the Napoleonic age. But this was also the very period when German culture was about to reach its highest pinnacle and when the German people began to merit the designation of a nation of poets and thinkers. On the whole, the same was also true of Mazzini's Italy. As Giuseppe Prezzolini put it: Even as late as the beginning of the twentieth century outside observers "have found Europe in the valley of the Po, and Africa in Sicily. During the last several centuries, Italian history has been the history of Lombardy, Tuscany, Venice and the South. It has been more a history of France, Germany, and Austria than a history of Italy herself."¹⁴

Even before the First World War the leaders of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the largest laboratory for nationality problems during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, had generally come to realize that such objective criteria as language, state, or territory do not offer exclusive lines of demarcation between nationalities. In their place the Viennese Social-Democrat Otto Bauer proposed a much more universally-applicable subjective formula, namely, that a nationality is to be regarded in the main as a "community of destiny and culture" with membership therein often being the outcome of a subjective decision on the part of each individual.¹⁵

¹⁴Giuseppe Prezzolini, *Fascism* (English trans. from the Italian) (New York, n.d.), p. vii.

¹⁵Otto Bauer, *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie* (Vienna, 1907), in *Marx-Studien*, Vol. II, pp. 109ff.: "Der Begriff der Nation." Another subjective definition by

Unfortunately, among the new nations even the subjective criteria of cultural nationalism are rather weak, a weakness which in turn contributes to the instability of international relations in the contemporary world. One of the major differences between political and cultural nationalism consists in the fact that culture is often enriched by internal variety while political nationalism is quite intolerant of countercurrents and bent on expansion, as were the European religions before the Reformation. In modern times, the sixteenth-century principle of *cuius regio eius religio*, which had been given up after 1648, has often been replaced by the principle of *cuius regio eius natio*—an explosive principle, indeed, which has been adopted also by some new nations. Its menacing qualities are shown by the difficulties experienced by the Indians in Kenya and the Ibos in Nigeria, or by the Chinese diaspora—"the Jews of Southeast Asia," as they are often called in Malaya and in other parts of that region.

Racial Conflicts

The difficulties created by national friction have become even more complex as the result of racial problems. The United States, especially, is going through a great racial revolution which may yet have a profound influence on the future of the North American continent, although, more generally, I can only repeat what Professor Harold Steinacker had said at an international symposium some forty years ago: "I do not think that race is fate. Throughout history the spirit has often been stronger than blood."¹⁶

The Spanish example illustrates this idea well. In the course of history Spain acquired such diverse groups of inhabitants as ancient Ibero-Celts, Phoenicians and Carthaginians, Greeks and Romans, Vandals and Visigoths, Berbers and Arabs. Out of these mixtures emerged the medieval Castilian, Aragonese, Catalan, Navarrese, and Portuguese peoples, all of whom spoke Romance languages, as well as the Basques. For a long time there also was a significant admixture of Jews. Nevertheless the country has managed to maintain its individuality and historical continuity. Racial interpretations long ago often led to absurd conclusions, as did, for instance, the explanation offered by Sa'id al-Andalusi, a famous eleventh-century jurist in Toledo. Comparing the advanced state of Moorish culture in his country with the backward civilizations on the other side of the Pyrenees, Sa'id sought to explain this difference in biological terms:

Because the sun does not shed its rays directly over their (the neighbors in the North) heads, their climate is cold and the atmosphere cloudy.

Bauer can hardly be called more specific. "A nation is the sum total of people transformed by a community of destiny into a community of character" (p. 135)

¹⁶Harold Steinacker, "Volk, Staat, Heimat und ihr Verhältnis bei den romanisch-germanischen Völkern," in *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences* 2 (1929-1930), part 2, pp. 272-301, esp. p. 275

Consequently their temperaments have become cold and their humors rude, while their bodies have grown large, their complexion white and their hair long. They lack withal sharpness of wit and penetration of intellect, while stupidity and folly prevail among them.

Sa'id's contemporary, the Jewish poet Moses Ibn Ezra, was forced by a revolt to flee from Moorish Granada where he was born, and to live in the North of Spain, which was under Christian rule. In his new, culturally backward environment he felt like a "cut rose among thorns." Yet a few centuries later the creative vigor of the Moorish South had spent itself, while the Christian North was entering its immortal *siglo d'oro*.¹⁷

For the time being, however, racial conflicts seem to be overshadowing national tensions in many areas. They will in all likelihood have a powerful impact on the next period in world history. True, George Bernard Shaw once coined the paradox that by the end of another thousand years all Americans would turn red-skinned. Mixed marriages, if frequent enough, likewise influence the racial composition of populations. In Brazil, for instance, the largest country of South America, mixed marriages have long been so numerous that recent visitors to Columbia University were shown a film entitled "Brazil: The Vanishing Negro." Gilberto Freyre was also able to develop his renowned theory concerning the special characteristics of the new "Luso-Tropical" civilization which had emerged in that country. Transformations of this type require many generations, even centuries, however, and our own generation is much too impatient. Meanwhile, the color of the skin is an obvious fact of life and it also is the cause of many difficulties. South Africa's and Rhodesia's policy of *apartheid* is causing bitter resentment in the other African countries; and there is the persistent memory of the old colonial regimes which are still being blamed, rightly or wrongly, for the prevailing poverty and other imperfections of the Afro-Asian world today. For many years to come these emotions will continue to furnish fuel for deep international conflicts.

Religion is involved in all these questions. Leaders of world religions have time and again raised their voices in the name of justice and the equality of all people before God. For centuries thousands of unselfish missionaries have bestowed immeasurable benefits upon tribes in Asia, America, and Africa, supplying them with food, health services, and schools. On the other hand, their missionary zeal has aroused much antagonism among those who wished to adhere to their ancestral faiths, or to

¹⁷Sa'id ibn Ahmad al-Andalusí, *Tabakat al-umam* (trans. into French by Régis Blanchère under the title: *Le Livre de "Catégories de Nations"* (Paris, 1935), p. 37, Moses ibn Ezra, *Shire ha-hol* (Secular Poems), published by Heinrich Brody (Berlin, 1935), pp. 2ff. Cf. my essay "Yehuda Halevi. An Answer to an Historic Challenge," *Jewish Social Studies* 3 (1941): 247-272, reprinted in my *Ancient and Medieval Jewish History Essays*, ed by Leon Feldman (New Brunswick, NJ, 1972), pp. 128-148, 433-443

their ancestral superstitions, as some Europeans used to call them. Sometimes natives also had good reasons to suspect that the colonial powers were exploiting the good deeds and the devotion of the missionary societies for their own imperialistic purposes. True, few Western rulers were as outspoken about this state of affairs as was Napoleon Bonaparte. In his letters addressed in 1803 to the pope and the archbishop of Paris he wrote with utmost candor: "These monks will be very useful to me in Asia, Africa, and America. I shall dispatch them there to gather intelligence about the situation in different countries. Their habit will protect them and help them disguise their political and commercial intentions."¹⁸ Yet these political implications did not escape the notice of political observers and added fuel to the impatience of local revolutionaries who resented the exploitation of their countries by foreign masters. Even if many missionaries were unaware of their being used as tools, the frequent alliance of foreign churches and foreign bureaucracies turned these resentments felt by the rising class of colonial nationalists against the Western churches as such.

The religious aspects of the struggle of the imperialist powers during the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire are rather well known. I distinctly remember an incident which occurred while I was studying certain documents in the British Public Record Office; among them were the diplomatic and consular dispatches sent from the Near East to the Foreign Office during the 1840's. One day I noticed that a particular report of 1849 was missing in the file. Further investigation revealed that this report of the British Consul in Jerusalem had been borrowed in July, 1918, by the Foreign Office and that it had not been returned ten years later. This fact of course only served to increase my curiosity. It finally developed that to this dispatch of the Jerusalem consul was appended a petition in which Russian-Jewish settlers in the Holy City were asking the British Government to take them under its "protection." Although according to the capitulations the special privileges of limited extra-territoriality were granted by the Porte to certain foreign citizens only, the petitioners pointed out that under the discriminatory Russian legislation, after a two-year absence the Russian Jews were deprived of their Russian citizenship and thus became stateless persons. No wonder that in July, 1918, in the period between the Balfour Declaration and the prospective peace negotiations about the Palestinian question after the cessation of hostilities, this correspondence was of considerable interest to the British Foreign Office.¹⁹

¹⁸Napoleon I's letters to the pope and the archbishop of Paris dated August 28, 1802, in his *Correspondence*, published by order of Emperor Napoleon III, 32 vols. (Paris, 1853-1870), Vol. VIII, pp 7-8. See also Vol. XIX, pp 160-161.

¹⁹A part of this correspondence has since been edited by Albert M. Hyamson in his two-volume work, *The British Consulate in Jerusalem in Relation to the Jews of Palestine, 1838-1914* (London, 1939-1941), esp. Vol. I, pp 97ff, Nos. 54, 60, 68, 71, and my study, "The

Although the general humanitarian motivations of much of Great Britain's foreign policy during the nineteenth century must not be underestimated, in the Middle East these tendencies became intertwined with a certain mixture of both imperialism and religious romanticism. Many makers of British foreign policy realized Great Britain's inherent weakness in the Near East when compared with Russia or France. For three centuries France had enjoyed the advantage of being able to intervene with the Porte from time to time to protect the interests of the Roman Catholics living in the Ottoman Empire. Russia had likewise been able to "protect" to some extent the even more numerous Turkish subjects of the Greek Orthodox confession. Such interventions often allowed these governments to take a stand on some undesirable internal measures of the Turkish authorities. On the other hand, the number of native Protestants in the Middle East was far too small to justify interventions on the part of Great Britain. Prussia had a similar disadvantage in comparison with Austria. Hence Turkey's Jewish population, numerically large and influential, seemed to the London Foreign Office a welcome object of a modicum of British protection, simultaneously offering many possibilities for intervention in internal Turkish affairs. These imperial rivalries of the 1840's accounted also for the successful attempt by Britain and Prussia to establish a Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem. Not by accident, it was a baptized Jew of Prussian nationality who became Jerusalem's first Protestant bishop.

Such examples of interlocking political and religious elements in domestic as well as international relations can easily be multiplied. The same applies to some extent also to the present Black revolution in the United States.²⁰ It is not surprising that, during the last several years the postulates of many Black groups have increasingly resembled demands raised by a *national* minority, although they have also retained most of the traditional characteristics of racial strains and stresses. In the beginning, and particularly after the historic 1954 decision of the Supreme Court aimed at segregation in schools, the main emphasis was laid on integration. It was widely assumed that the Black eleven percent of the population would soon be integrated within the general American society on the basis of real equality in lieu of a merely theoretical legal equality. This demand was completely in keeping with the then prevalent tendency to fashion a new homogeneous nation out of the American people—a people which Louis Adamic once rightly called a "nation of nations."²¹ While by virtue

Jewish Question in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Modern History* 10 (1938): 51-65, esp. pp. 62-63.

²⁰ A good summary of the earlier debates on this subject can be found in Claudio Gorlier's "Motivazioni religiose della rivolta negra negli Stati Uniti," *Rivista storica italiana* 80 (1968): 516-537.

²¹ Louis Adamic, *A Nation of Nations* (New York, 1945).

of its size and its spread over a vast territory the American people could continue to offer the various ethnic components great opportunities for the preservation of their traditional ethnic-religious peculiaritism, it also gradually tended to acquire more and more traits of national unity in time. During the last few years, however, and for reasons which need not be further elaborated here, much of the Black revolt was channeled into a separatist Black Power movement which demanded from the American government and society the recognition of some kind of ethnic-cultural distinctiveness of the Black population. At the present time an increasing emphasis is laid not only on socioeconomic equality but also on the preservation of the cultural identity of this large minority within the general American culture. In all that, the new movement bears many earmarks of the struggle for "national minority rights" in many European lands in the early decades of this century.

It need hardly be pointed out that this transformation of the old race problem at least partially into an ethnic-cultural problem strikes many Americans as novel and revolutionary. It is nevertheless quite possible that in the end a new type of a legally accepted minority will emerge, recognized by the Constitution and provided with schools and other cultural institutions of its own. If this example stimulates other ethnic-cultural minorities to try to secure legal safeguards and institutions for their respective ethnic-religious identities, it might indeed profoundly change the image of the American people as a whole.

It must be admitted, however, that it is rather difficult to subsume Black Power rights under the traditional classification of national minority rights. American Blacks have no language of their own. All of them speak English, although with some phonetic and other peculiarities which might justify the designation of forming a dialect apart. Certainly, every effort to teach Swahili in colleges—even as a foreign language—has so far met with but minimal success.

Neither can religious ties effectively provide American Blacks with a separate identity. Most of them belong to one or another of the numerous Protestant denominations in the United States. Besides, there are also quite a few Black Catholics and even two Jewish communities consisting in part of descendants of former slaves of Jewish plantation owners in the West Indies. Among extreme Black "nationalists," a movement for the adoption of Islam has sprung up and, if we are to judge from the great popularity of Malcolm X's autobiography, the rise of a substantial Black Muslim movement is possible, yet as of now it seems to be little more than a fad which may shortly pass into oblivion.

The lack of a common Black history is another fact of decisive importance. American Blacks have come to the United States from many parts of Africa. Since there are enormous differences among tribes and cultures in the large African continent, the history of American Blacks begins in

essence with their arrival in America. Even that part of their history cannot be reconstituted in full and illuminating detail because of the relative paucity of extant primary sources. Yet it has to be admitted that these 22,000,000 people are part of a special "community of destiny and culture" and that as a result it is possible to classify them somewhat vaguely as a quasi-national minority. As stated before, should this concept successfully work out in the case of Blacks, other ethnic-cultural groups may also soon demand "minority rights" for their special cultures in the United States.

Future Perspectives

What, then, will the future developments be in the United States and in the world at large? It is not the task of the historian to prophesy. But there are certain aspects of the problem which bear on the present and merit closer investigation.

In my aforementioned book published in 1947, I expressed the view that possibly the great national wars of the last few centuries had reached their climax in the "Thirty Years' War" of the twentieth century, just as the religious wars had passed theirs with the end of the "Thirty Years' War" in the seventeenth century. Among other matters, this development might lead to the abandonment of the *cuius regio eius natio* maxim as the dominant principle of domestic and foreign policies. This recognition of the rights of minorities to cultivate their peculiar heritage could greatly contribute to global peace. It could the more readily be realized since today both contemporary superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, lack the characteristics of pure national states. In the very beginning of the Communist Revolution the Lenin government subscribed to the doctrine of national minority rights and the Soviet Union has on the whole adhered to it ever since. True, the Great-Russian nationality is the largest ethnic group within the Soviet Union and in the thirteen years between the two censuses of 1923 and 1939 its share of the total population rose from 53 percent to 58.4 percent,²² but there has been no further increase. Although the Second World War inflicted particularly heavy losses on the national minorities in the western parts of the Soviet Union, the new territorial gains and certain sociobiological factors have changed the ratio. According to the latest reports, the Russian share of the total is now said to be somewhat less than fifty percent. At any rate, today the fifteen non-Russian republics within the Soviet Union are enjoying a rather large degree of autonomy in national-cultural matters. So are the more than 180 national minorities enumerated in Soviet censuses, though with the important exception of the Jewish minority which, for reasons which need not be enumerated here, is

²²Rose M. Somerville, "Counting Noses in the Soviet Union 1930 Census," *American Quarterly on the Soviet Union* 3 (1940): 51-73; Frank Lorimer, *The Population of the Soviet Union. History and Prospect* (Geneva, 1946), pp. 137, 139

denied even the elementary facilities for the cultivation of its ethnic-religious heritage.

In the United States, a population made up of many ethnic, religious, and racial groups will in the foreseeable future preclude the emergence of a national state in the strict sense of the word. In addition, the American people long ago assumed specific responsibilities for some twenty heterogeneous Latin-American republics, even without taking into account its worldwide political, economic, and military obligations. The possibility must also be considered that now, after the end of the DeGaulle era, the Common Market may live up to its original promise of forging a political union of the different European nations; this might reduce to a minimum the sharp national conflicts that have been the bane of Europe's past. All these trends may work in the direction of a decrease of national antagonisms. However, it is probably too early to venture a prediction as to the extent to which the racial conflicts, which have become more acute in recent times, will take the place of former national frictions, thus becoming the main source of international entanglements and upheavals.

In conclusion, I should like to raise the question as to the extent to which organized religion can help solve these new problems and, above all, contribute to the maintenance of permanent peace among nations and races. Shortly after the Second World War, Dr. Luther Evans, who later became the Librarian of Congress and Director-General of UNESCO, suggested the founding of a world organization made up of representatives of all leading religions. Its purpose would be to use their great influence on public opinion in many countries to enhance the peace efforts of the United Nations.²³ It need hardly be stressed that none of us harbored any illusions about the difficulties inherent in this type of religious cooperation on a global scale. Persons associated with UNESCO realized that, for example, in order to prepare a comprehensive world history as objectively as possible, it would be necessary to limit the work for the time being to a scientific and cultural history of humankind, since the political or economic aspects of history still are the subjects of violent differences of opinion.

However, in the last several decades humanity has demonstrated a greater understanding of the need for international cooperation in the field of religion as well. New elements have entered into the picture, changing the status of the world religions, including the ecumenic spirit of the Second Vatican Council and the earlier establishment of the Protestant World Council of Churches, and the diminished violence of atheistic propaganda by Russian Communism (especially since the solemn installation of the Patriarch of the Russian Church under the supervision and with the support of the Russian Government in 1945). These and other indications of greatly

²³Luther Evans, "United Religions for United Nations," *Journal of Liberal Religion* 7 (1945-1946): 213

decreased dissonances among religious groups may conceivably improve the outlook for future cooperation between religious and national groups. One may perhaps hope that this positive development will increase the chances that the destruction of humanity in an atomic holocaust will somehow be avoided.

Study and Discussion Questions

- 1 What role does religion play in the internecine conflicts in Lebanon, Northern Ireland, Quebec, and Yugoslavia? What of Nigeria, Israel, India-Pakistan, Philippines, Southeast Asia?
- 2 Is the influence of the three monotheistic religions becoming less in the world? How? Or is its influence rather becoming another sort? How? If the latter, has the shift been better for humanity, or not?
- 3 How in history has religion manipulated forces of nationalism? How has religion been manipulated by nationalism?
- 5 What precisely is the meaning of *cuius regio, eius religio*? What is the meaning of what Baron says took its place *cuius regio, eius natio*? How has it operated? Is it really ending?
- 6 How has religion influenced the Black American movement for human rights, for cultural identity?
- 7 What are some major examples of the lessening of antagonisms between religions? Counter-examples?
- 8 What possible values do you see in a world organization of all religions? How might it best work? What would be the major obstacles standing in the way of its realization, and how might they be overcome?

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NEW TESTAMENT ISSUES IN JEWISH-CHRISTIAN RELATIONS

Theodore Stylianopoulos

PRECIS

It is important to see what the New Testament within its own witness says about Jewish-Christian relations. The *historical* issues that emerge include: (1) a diversified Judaism of the first century of which Christians formed one community, (2) the ministry of Jesus within Judaism and implying no ultimate break with Judaism, (3) the early Church's claims that distinguished it from the wider Jewish community, (4) tensions and conflicts resulting from the non-acceptance of the gospel by the Jews and from the successful Christian mission to the Gentiles, and (5) the final separation, resulting from the growing Gentile preponderance in the Church.

The *theological* issues that provided the impulse for separation included: (1) the Messianic claims made about Jesus, and (2) the identification of the true Israel.

Jewish-Christian dialogue might well center on the nature and implications of the claim of the church to be an eschatological step beyond the faith community centered on the Mosaic law; such a dialogue might well be self-purifying to the church.

No other valued part of the Christian tradition is more important for Jewish-Christian relations than the New Testament for two reasons. First, the New Testament marks the beginning of Christianity, when the Christian Church was born from the matrix of Judaism, and testifies both to the close connections between the two communities of faith as well as to the decisive factors which separate them. Secondly, the New Testament as Sacred Scripture *par excellence* of Christians has through the centuries exercised a tremendous impact on the Christian view of Judaism, often with very negative consequences for the Jews. Without minimizing the importance of the second matter, which is in itself worthy of extensive research, this paper concentrates on presenting the main aspects of the first, namely, what the New Testament within its own witness says about Jewish-Christian relations.

Historical Issues

The proper perspective of the emergence and then separation of Christianity from Judaism is an historical one. If the New Testament is read only on a timeless nonhistorical plane, the dynamism of the ties and conflicts

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between Judaism and the early church cannot be fully appreciated. Even the decisive theological issues behind the separation of the two faiths must be seen in historical perspective for proper interpretation. Fortunately, today we are in a position to know more about the history of Christian origins than at any other time.

1. *First-Century Judaism.* The Judaism of the first century A.D. was a diversified-religious community. To be sure, all Jews shared a common heritage which identified them as Jews. However, there was variation, too. Quite apart from the Jews who lived in the Graeco-Roman world and were open in different degrees to the influence of Greek culture, there were even in Palestine Jewish religious associations and groupings of varying cohesion with specific theological claims which distinguished them sometimes quite sharply from one another, e.g., the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes. This means that the emerging Christian community within Judaism must not historically be set off from Judaism in a monolithic fashion which would suggest an either/or, i.e., either Judaism or Christianity as two black and white alternatives, but must be seen precisely as an emerging community of Jews sharing a common heritage with other Jews, while receiving its own cohesion and unique integrity from its own distinctive religious claims and interpretations of the Jewish heritage. A Jew of the first century, at least in the earliest Christian decades, was not faced with such an alternative, either "Judaism" or "Christianity," tenaciously clinging to the one while stubbornly rejecting the other. These terms are inadequate conceptual constructs which already presuppose, rather than tell us something about, the original birth, the bonds, and the eventual division of the Christian community of faith from its spiritual home. "Salvation is from the Jews" (Jn. 4:22). However, one must also note that Jewish adherents of a particular religious community, such as the early Christian Church or the Essene community of Qumran, could and did historically make religious claims of such absolute character that marked off their own community from the rest of the Jewish people in rather sharp fashion.

2. *The Ministry of Jesus.* Against the background of Judaism as a diversified religious community, Jesus of Nazareth came forth in person, preaching, and deeds as the eschatological sign of the ages, the divinely-appointed bearer of God's salvation. To enter here into the question of the character of the ministry of Jesus and also into that of the nature of the evidence of the Gospels would be impossible. Suffice it to say that the ministry of Jesus was confined within the setting of Judaism and implied no ultimate break with the Jewish people. Jesus came, as St. Matthew says, "to save his people from their sins" (Mt. 1:21). Contacts with Gentiles, such as the Centurion (Mt. 8:5) and the Syro-Phoenician woman (Mt. 15:21ff.), are seen as exceptional. While Jesus did not base his ministry on the Law, as might a rabbinic teacher, but rather spoke out of his own

unique authority, nevertheless he was circumcised, attended synagogue and temple, and shared the life of his people. This is not to lessen, however, Jesus' pronouncement of judgment on those who did not heed his message.

As far as the nature of the Gospels is concerned, we are now more aware that they are polemical writings, much like the religious literature on Greek Orthodox-Roman Catholic relations after the Great Schism and the Crusades, and like the literature on Roman Catholic-Protestant relations after the Reformation, and that, therefore, the Gospels tend to sharpen and generalize the discontinuity and conflict of Jesus' ministry with Judaism. For example, while the responsibility for Jesus' death is imputed not only to Jesus' primary and immediate opponents, but also to all of the Jews as a whole ("And all of the people answered, 'His blood be on us and on our children' " Mt. 27:25), the Roman authorities—who alone had legal power of death, and specifically Pilate, who was otherwise known as a cruel and oppressive procurator, finally banished by his own Roman superiors on account of misrule—are placed in the best possible light. "Pilate . . . washed his hands before the crowd, saying: 'I am innocent of this man's blood' " (Mt. 27:24). Furthermore, the universalizing of the Christian message with the subsequent total rejection of the Mosaic Law and of the Jewish people are developments within the history of the early Church after the resurrection of Jesus (Mt. 28:19-20; Acts 2:5ff., 13:46ff.).

3. *The Early Church.* The events of the ministry of Jesus, especially his death and resurrection, as well as the eschatological gift of the Spirit, gave the right to the early Christians to claim that the Age to Come, the New Age, had dawned in their midst, and that they, as recipients of God's Spirit, constituted in a unique way God's elect people. These claims of the early followers of Jesus, the Risen Lord, as well as their celebration of baptism and the Lord's Supper in Jesus' name, clearly distinguished the early Christian community from the wider community of Judaism. The Christian Church had its own spiritual integrity from the beginning of Christian history. Still, one must emphasize that in earliest times what we are dealing with is a community within a community, one having its own identity, yet sharing the identity of the larger community, with no thought of either being in final conflict with the Jewish heritage or of breaking away from the Jewish people. As St. Luke puts it: "And day by day they attended the Temple together and broke bread in their homes" (Acts 2:46), awaiting the times of refreshment with the glorious return of Jesus (Acts 3:20). The earliest Christians were Jews proclaiming the good news of salvation to other Jews within the framework of the Jewish heritage and of the Jewish people. The Apostle Peter approaches Cornelius, a Gentile, only with great reservations at the persistence of divine initiative (Acts 10).

4. *Tensions and Conflict.* The first severe tensions between the new community and the Jewish people occurred at a second stage involving two main factors: (a) the perplexing (from a Christian viewpoint) non-

acceptance of the Gospel by the Jewish people as a whole, and (b) the remarkable success of the Christian mission to the Gentiles. The tensions were sharpened by (a) the rejection of the validity of the Mosaic Law in the Gentile mission, and (b) the Jewish persecution of Christians who were preaching a message of salvation without the Law. This period of increasing tension and widening separation, but not yet of irrevocable division, is most clearly evident in the ministry of St. Paul (ca. 35-65 A.D.).

A brief reflection on St. Paul's place in this period is instructive. Out of zeal for the Mosaic Law and his ancestral traditions he was, prior to his conversion, a persecutor of the Christian Church (Gal. 1:13-14). But once he had become a servant of Jesus Christ, St. Paul was the most successful missionary to the Gentiles and the most articulate advocate of the invalidity of the Law insofar as the Christian Gentiles are concerned. As an advocate of the invalidity of the Law for Gentiles, he in turn was now persecuted by Jews and possibly by Christian Jews (Gal. 5:11; 2 Cor. 11:24; Acts 15:1ff., 20:20-21), just as and probably for the same reasons that he persecuted other Christian Jews earlier, i.e., in defense of the Mosaic Law and Jewish traditions.

Nevertheless, St. Paul did not envision a final break between church and synagogue. He did not dispute the validity of the Mosaic Law for Jews and Jewish Christians (Gal. 2:7b). He himself practiced the Law when he was among Jews (1 Cor. 9:20; Acts 16:3, 18:18, 21:26). Although he was persecuted by Jews and wrote some sharp words against them (1 Thess. 2:14ff.), he never for a moment lost the identity of a Jew ("I myself am an Israelite . . . from the tribe of Benjamin," Rom. 11:1) and would gladly be "anathema" and cut off from Christ for the sake of "my brethren, my kinsmen by race" (Rom. 9:3). Most important of all, confronted by the bewildering phenomenon of Jewish unbelief as regards the Messiah Jesus—and he was the first to write a lengthy reflection on it (Rom. 9-11)—he gave what for later generations of Christians can be in part a disturbing answer. For him Jews were still the good stock on which the Gentiles were engrafted as branches or as honorary citizens. The Jews were not to be despised by haughty Christian Gentiles. Though disobedient at that moment of history, the Jews were still the true people of God, the "Israelites," to whom belonged "the sonship, the glory, the covenants, the giving of the Law, the worship, and the promises" (Rom. 9:4). St. Paul could not envision an ultimate separation between the Christian Church and the Jewish people. Nor could he dare contemplate the exclusion of the Jewish people from the divine plan of salvation. Otherwise God's faithfulness to the promises given to the Patriarchs of old would mean nothing, a possibility which for St. Paul was inconceivable (Rom. 11:1, 11, 29).

5. *The Separation.* The course of history was, however, not constrained by the convictions of the great Apostle. In the generation after him, church and synagogue completely parted ways and have ever since

faced each other as irreconcilable opponents, forgetting their once intimate ties. This final stage in Christian-Jewish relations, marking the complete breakdown of the *symbiosis* of the Jewish and Christian communities, is already presupposed by the four Gospels, as well as by the Acts of the Apostles and all of the New Testament books aside from the Pauline letters. We have now an essential shift from the earlier period in that the composition of the Church is overwhelmingly Gentile with little or no identification with the Jewish people. Christian Jews find little room to exist among either Jews or Christian Gentiles, and they eventually dwindle in number and disappear, even though they survive as a kind of curiosity of history well into the second century A.D.

Now the Gentile Church feels entirely free to utilize the criticism of the prophets against the Jews, as well as the criticisms against them of Jesus and of St. Paul himself, with minimal, if any, identification with the Jewish people. This is the period when a whole literature begins to take rise against the Jews (*contra Judaeos*), as in the case of Barnabas, Justin, Tertullian, and many others in subsequent times. It is also at this time that the final conclusion is drawn: the Jews are no longer in any sense God's people; they never really were (*Barn.* iv.6-8)! The only true people of God are the Christians. Writes Justin Martyr: "We are the true and spiritual Israelite nation and the race of Judah and Jacob and Isaac and Abraham" (*Dial.* 11.5). The Jews are hard-hearted, rejected by God, and have no reason for existing as a people, as Jews, except possibly for satisfying God's punitive justice on account of having killed Christ (see Justin, *Dial.* 16.1-4). We have here the seeds of what eventually was translated into actual persecution of Jews by Christians, so furiously and so murderously expressed in modern times.

Theological Issues

If history provides the setting for the unfolding drama of the emergence and division of the Christian Church from Judaism, theology provides the impulses and the ultimate causes. Indeed, it seems that the theological claims of the new faith, however strongly tied to the "old," were too powerful and too radical for the Christian Church to remain within, or even simply to exist side by side with, the synagogue as equally legitimate heirs of God's promises. The history of the early church was, with respect to Judaism, but a commentary on the theology of the church. Two theological issues were most decisive, especially for Christians, in early Jewish-Christian relations, namely, the messianic question and the question concerning the true Israel.

1. *The Messiah*. The christological issue stands at the heart of Christian origins and represents the most crucial difference between church and synagogue. Even in his ministry, Jesus definitely challenged his contem-

poraries with the messianic question. His whole ministry, in his person, deeds, and teachings, posed the christological question. Even though Jesus' ministry was historically confined within the bounds of Judaism, the first signs of the division of the Christian Church from Judaism were already present in the ministry of Jesus, theologically and christologically. On the one hand, Jesus gathered the twelve disciples and other followers who responded to the claims of his person and ministry, and who after the resurrection constituted the nucleus of the early church as the new eschatological people of God. On the other hand, Jesus was rejected by the authorities and the majority of the Jews and was put to death by the Romans. For the one group Jesus was an impostor, a deceiver of the people, a dangerous person who could upset religious and political stability. For the other group, Jesus was the Messiah, the Lord, the divine agent of salvation, who was to be proclaimed universally to all humanity.

The witness of the early church to Jesus as *the* Messiah is so overwhelming and so triumphal that it leaves little room for theological dialogue between the two communities of faith. "There is salvation in no one else, for there is no other name under heaven given among men by which we must be saved" (Acts 4:12). "Christ is the end of the Law" (Rom. 10:4). "At the name of Jesus every knee should bow, in heaven and on earth and under the earth, and every one confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father" (Phil. 2:11). One need not go further. The witness of the New Testament is so Christocentric, so absolute and so final in its christological claim, that the natural Christian attitude to non-Christians, including Jews, is one not of dialogue but of evangelization.

On what theological basis, then, can a Jewish-Christian dialogue be conducted today? If such a theological basis can be found, and I believe it can be found, it is not a christological basis, at least not so far as the Christology of the New Testament is concerned. To be sure, in modern times there have been efforts to soften the christological claim and to place the Jewish and Christian faiths on equal theological footing as two expressions of the divine economy in history rooted in the same Creator God. These efforts have been partly motivated and partly reinforced by the realization that traditional Christology has often been the source of wrong Christian attitudes toward Jews.

I believe that the best insight of modern biblical studies is the profound awareness of the provisional (eschatological) character of Christian salvation. Christians, too, are in a real sense still *waiting* for the true manifestation of their Messiah and the final conquest of death and corruption. In the present state of affairs, they also are very much open to the powers of death, sin, corruption, sickness, war, ignorance, and all manner of moral evil. They are not merely patient sufferers of such a condition, but are often themselves instruments of evil as the history of Christian societies, as well as of the Church, easily shows. In the profound Pauline sense, Christians

are still on the way to the goal and presently see reality only dimly. For this reason, they are, as they have often been, open to moral failure. This understanding of the incomplete and imperfect character of Christian existence, if allowed to penetrate the hearts and minds of Christians at large, would strike at the heart of Christian triumphalism.

However, Christians know who their Messiah is: Jesus of Nazareth. Even if they now apprehend Jesus only in part, they know of no other way to God except through Jesus Christ. Christ is the foundation of their existence and the basis of their salvation. What is needed, therefore, is not a minimization of Christology but a correction of the triumphalistic inferences which are drawn from the christological claim. What is needed is not a modification of the Christology of the New Testament, but an exposure of Christian *sinfulness* toward the Jews. The evil is this: abuse of transcendent theological claims in a larger social, political, and economic process which, together with other factors, results in the oppression of a minority. But this phenomenon is not uniquely Christian. It can be found among Christians, Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus, and Jews.

On the theological basis of the Christian ethic, an ethic grounded on the experience of salvation through Christ, erroneous Christian attitudes and evil Christian actions toward the Jews must be condemned unequivocally for what they are: a contradiction of Christ. The crucial question for every believing Christian, as probably also for every believing Jew, is this: can I hold to the unique theological claims of my sacred tradition without allowing these transcendent claims to be used for exploitation, oppression, prejudice, and injustice against those who hold to different theological claims? This is the question that is proper for a Jewish-Christian dialogue. Mutual understanding of each other's claims and practice of the common spiritual values which the two faiths derive from Holy Scripture, such as human worth, justice, mercy, love, and freedom, may liberate us from fears, prejudices, and sinister attitudes which are deeply ingrained in our hearts.

2. *The True Israel*. The New Testament nowhere expounds a full ecclesiology, a theory of the church. Nevertheless, as in the case of christology, the ecclesiological claims of the New Testament are so unambiguous as to leave no doubt. The true eschatological people of God, the "elect," the "children of the promises," the "co-heirs with Christ" (Rom. 1:7, 8:17, 9:8), are the believers, whether Jews or Gentiles, the ones who have accepted Jesus as the Messiah. Christology is the definitive criterion of ecclesiology. But ecclesiology, too, is expressed in absolute terms. The logical corollary to the principle that there is salvation in no one else, other than Christ, is that there is salvation nowhere else, except where Christ is, namely, the Church which is Christ's body.

The New Testament, with the exception of the Pauline epistles, as we have noted, was written when the two faiths had completely parted ways. It

everywhere assumes that the Church has supplanted Judaism as the true Israel (e.g., Mt. 8:11, 21:41-43). But even the Apostle Paul does not suppose that his fellow unbelieving Jews are on an equal footing with Christian believers. It is true that he regards the Jews as the good olive tree onto which the Gentiles are grafted (Rom. 11:17ff.). He cannot contemplate the end of salvation history without the salvation of the Jews (Rom. 11:25-32). Nevertheless, the unbelieving Jews are for him now in a state of disobedience and Israel's election is presently, as Eckardt correctly notes, a "non-functioning election."¹ For Paul, too, the Jews are in a paradoxical situation. They are the elect, yet the disobedient elect with respect to faith in Christ. "As regards the gospel they are enemies of God . . . , but as regards election they are beloved for the sake of their forefathers" (Rom. 11:28). St. Paul is absolutely convinced of the ultimate salvation of the Jews, but there is no reason to think that the anticipated inclusion of the Jews among God's faithful people will not for him be connected to the acknowledgement of Jesus as the Messiah. St. Paul's Christocentrism would probably allow for nothing else.

Is there any room for a Jewish-Christian dialogue if the ecclesiological claim of the New Testament is maintained as rigorously as the christological one? Once again, there can be no question about a modification or minimization of the church's uniqueness as the messianic people of God. The church sees in Christ and in its own unity around Christ an eschatological step beyond the community of faith which centers itself on the Mosaic Law. This claim cannot be erased without an inner collapse of the theological self-understanding of the church. Nor can it be placed on the agenda of a dialogue as a subject of negotiation. What can be discussed is the precise nature of this claim and its implications, so that triumphalistic inferences may not be drawn from it. What can be discussed is the role of the church in history which often is a contradiction of the true nature of the church as the new humanity in Christ. What needs to be recognized is that transcendent claims of the church have often been used, or rather abused, as justification for the oppression of the Jewish people. But again, it must be noted that a cultural majority—whether of Christians, or Muslims, or Jews—has always been open to the temptation of such abuse of its transcendent claims, together with other factors, against cultural minorities for selfish purposes.

As far as the Greek Orthodox Church is concerned, I think that we need to concentrate on the following issues in a continuing Jewish-Christian dialogue: (a) the New Testament, as sacred as it is for us, contains in its sweeping anti-Jewish polemics the first seeds of anti-Semitism; (b) the use of the New Testament as Sacred Scripture for worship and teaching in the church has encouraged attitudes of prejudice and hostility against Jews; (c) the same is true of many Christian hymns and liturgies based on biblical

¹A Roy Eckardt, *Elder and Younger Brothers* (Scribner's, 1967), p. 58

themes, images, or statements; and (d) the absolute christological and ecclesiological claims of the New Testament involve or should involve an eschatological reality of spiritual newness which is in no way expressed, but rather contradicted by, Christian prejudice, hostility, or evil actions against Jews.

There is much to be discussed in a Jewish-Christian dialogue. For Christians, such a dialogue offers an opportunity of radical self-examination, repentance, and self-correction. In the light of history, Christians have a spiritual and moral obligation to pursue this dialogue. If we are able to use them more properly, and if we are able to eliminate unjustified formulations in our hymns and liturgies against Jews, then we may be able to erase prejudice and hate from our minds and hearts as well. This is also a process of self-purification, for then we will be more true to ourselves as Christians.

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Study and Discussion Questions

- 1 "The ministry of Jesus implied no ultimate break with the Jewish people" Discuss
2. What does it mean to characterize the gospels as "polemical"? Does "polemical" necessarily suggest "untrue"?
- 3 Discuss in what way the author considers the polemical nature of the gospels a relevant point in Jewish-Christian dialogue
- 4 From the New Testament data, what were the claims of the early Christians that clearly distinguished them from other Jewish communities?
- 5 How does the author picture Paul's role in the emerging separation of the Christian community from Judaism? Do you agree with his assessment?

- 6 Is the author consistent when, on the one hand, he states, "The witness of the early church to Jesus as the Messiah is so overwhelming . . . that it leaves little room for theological discussion between the two communities of faith" and, on the other hand, states that a theological basis can be found? Discuss
- 7 Discuss the modern efforts to "soften the christological claim" to which the author refers
8. In what way is "the provisional character of Christian salvation" an important element in the author's approach to building bridges between Christians and Jews?
- 9 Is it possible, according to the author, to maintain the church's self-understanding as the Messianic People of God and yet continue meaningful dialogue with the Jews? Discuss.
- 10 What agenda does the author suggest for the Greek Orthodox Church in its continuing dialogue with the Jews?

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one to be reserved in endorsing this book but, rather, it is that the objectives of the work are not met and that the orientation of the author may create confusion and problematic attitudes for the uncritical reader.

It is important to review such material, not only because of its wide circulation but because of the methodological problems that it illustrates for religion and psychology. The criticisms cited here do not relate simply to the difficulties in Dr. Grounds' book but also to the complexity in relating modern understandings of life with Scripture. Such endeavors require a working model that guides a constructive awareness, analysis and dialogue between religious and secular orientations. A constructive dialogue would permit mutual growth for both religious and psychological orientations through a mutual appreciation of similarities, differences and special contributions, finally acknowledging that God's presence and Truth are not limited to any corner of speculation—religious or otherwise.

John T. Chirban
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Orthodox Iconography. By Constantine Cavarinos. Belmont, Massachusetts: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1977. Pp. xii, 76. Frontispiece and 24 plates. Cloth \$6.50. Paper \$3.95.

Dr. Cavarinos has labored hard and steadily to make traditional Orthodox iconography known through his publications, lectures, and teaching. In this volume he has gathered four essays dealing with the history of Orthodox iconography, the iconographic decoration of churches, the functions of icons, and the theology and aesthetics of Byzantine iconography. In addition, he has included three appendices with authoritative early texts of St. John Damascene and the Seventh Ecumenical Synod on icons, explanations of the techniques of iconography by the renowned Photios Kontoglou, and reviews of two Russian books on icons (Eugene N. Trubetskoi's *Icons: Theology in Color* and Leonidas Ouspensky and Vladimir Lossky's *The Meaning of Icons*). The first two chapters on the history of iconography and church decoration were published originally in *The Orthodox Ethos* (edited by A. J. Philippou in 1964); the third chapter on the function of icons appears here for the first time; the fourth chapter was contained in a long article entitled "Theology and Aesthetics of Byzantine Iconography" in the January-June 1972 issue of the Athenian scholarly journal *Theologia*, whereas the texts of St. John Damascene and the Seventh Ecumenical Synod appeared originally in the pamphlet, *The Icon: Its Spiritual Basis and Purpose* (1955). The translations from

Kontoglou are printed here in English for the first time. The review of Trubetskoi's book appeared in *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* in 1974, while that of Ouspensky and Lossky's work was published in *Speculum* in 1957.

Addressed to those interested in the Eastern Orthodox Church, *Orthodox Iconography* will be particularly informative to those concerned with the art of painting in its educational and religious uses. Drawing upon not only his personal observations but also his first-hand knowledge of the writings of the Church Fathers and modern authorities on Orthodox iconography, Dr. Cavarnos emphasizes that "True iconography is intended to take us beyond anatomy and the three-dimensional world of matter to a realm that is immaterial, spaceless, timeless—the realm of the spirit, of eternity. And hence the forms and colors are not those that one customarily observes around him, but have something unworldly about them. The iconographer does not endeavor to give the illusion of material reality, a photographic likeness of men, mountains, trees, animals, buildings, and so on. He gives a schematic representation of these, leaving out everything that is not essential" (pp. 38-39). Clearly the "icon is *essentially a symbol*, and a symbol which is designed to lead from the physical and psychophysical realms to the spiritual realm" (p. 39).

Orthodox Iconography gives the reader the practical and theoretical information that is needed to understand the history, the nature, the function, the purpose, and the value of the icon in Eastern Orthodoxy. "A true icon expresses *spiritual beauty*" (p. 40). Because the icon is directly related to Orthodox religion, its basic efficacy can be tested by how much "we become like that which we habitually contemplate." Spiritual ascent, *theosis* (union with God through grace, 'divinization'), and salvation (*soteria*) are involved, because that which promotes spirituality promotes faith, meekness, humility, passionlessness or dispassion (*apatheia*), and spiritual love. "Love of God is love of Him as the supreme, all-beautiful, all-good, all-perfect personal Being and the aspiration for union with Him by grace. This union is called *theosis*, 'deification,' and is the final end for which man was created" (p. 45). This is the theology involved in the icon; it must be clearly understood if a proper appreciation is to be acquired of the icon as a promoter of—and instrument for—the acquisition of the virtues that make man a likeness of God.

Orthodox Iconography is an indispensable resource for every student of Orthodox Christianity and for every Orthodox Christian. Dr. Cavarnos is to be congratulated for presenting us with such a lucid and valuable volume.

John E. Rexine

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JOSEPH J. ALLEN

THE ORTHODOX PRIESTLY CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE 70's AND 80's

Introduction: Consciousness and Entrance

The first impulse for the Orthodox writer, particularly as he explores one subject such as "The Orthodox Priestly Consciousness," is to turn to sources under which our entire ethos is subsumed. We are, after all, a Church of the great *παράδοσις*, the great Tradition, and thus we appeal to our sacramental life, the great Fathers of our Church, and Holy Scripture, which comprise that great Tradition.

One cannot deal with the "Orthodox" perspective of Priestly consciousness without some degree of study and synthesizing of the various patristic reflections. However, it should be stated here that reference to the works of the Fathers in such a study must speak about more than the 'shoulds' and 'woulds' of the Priesthood, e.g. Chrysostom's *On the Priesthood*. I refer to what the Priesthood *means* in terms of 'consciousness' for today.

Particularly important, then, are those patristic reflections which deal with Baptism and the Eucharist as *ἡ εἵσοδος τῶν ἁγίων σου*, the "entrance of the Holy ones." This is true because our 'consciousness' as Orthodox Priests, which we will shortly define, must ultimately deal with the concept of a continual 'entrance' *ἐν Χριστῷ* with its varying implications.

St. Paul, in Romans 6:1-11, aptly set the stage for both the need for seeing the Priestly consciousness in relation to the concept of entrance as begun—but not ended—at the Baptismal event, and the Fathers' use of such Baptismal imagery as it relates to the task of the Priesthood.

Specifically, a task such as this would have to include implications, beginning with Baptismal images, which extend from the Pauline Epistles, through the Apostolic Fathers and Apologists, e.g. St. Ignatius of Antioch, through St. Irenaeus' theory of 'recapitulation,' St. Athanasius' early theory of *Θέωσις*, St. Hippolytus of Rome, and most particularly for the Orthodox, St. Cyril of Jerusalem (the *Mystagogical Catechesis and Proto-*

catechesis), the Cappadocians, St. John Chrysostom—and even, in part, Theodore Mopsuestia.

For these Fathers, whose own consciousness was pregnant with the idea of *ἡ εἰσόδος*, Baptism was only the beginning of an ongoing configuration of every individual life to Christ's death and Resurrection. It was to be celebrated *pas encore*, but its action, i.e., the 'event,' was related to and fulfilled in the 'process' of continual growth. Their consciousness was inundated with this life-task.

The writings of the Fathers, then, are probably where any Orthodox writer would begin; it is good and proper to do so. In fact, timely with this point, we could refer to the recent issue of the *Theological Review*, published by this School, to see a very succinct review of the Priesthood as seen through the writing of the Three Hierarchs (see "The Image of the Priest According to the Three Hierarchs" by Lewis J. Patsavos). Furthermore, it seems by the title of the subjects which were presented before this talk, many such points which deal around the 'woulds' and 'shoulds' of the Priesthood will have been developed.

The title of this particular paper, however, compels a presentation in light of both that which we have received, i.e., the great Tradition, and its application to our present and most complex situation 'in the 70's and 80's.' I daresay that it is that latter part of the title which represents the greatest problem and demands of us, again, more than a patristical exposition, for example, of the 'shoulds' of the Priesthood. In short, the title implies more than 'removing the dust from the furniture,' important as that may be as a beginning point; we must investigate how those 'shoulds,' given to us by our Orthodox Tradition, can be applicable to a consciousness in which life is to be directed toward 'entrance.'

The course of that which follows will be to investigate first the *meaning* of Priestly consciousness, and secondly, what it is that we (as Priests) are to have a consciousness of.

The Meaning of Consciousness for the Priesthood

Before we continue we must side-step for a moment in order to first understand exactly what we mean by 'consciousness.' In order to do so, we must make two important points which will reveal its meaning.

First, the word 'consciousness' as it is meant in a presentation such as this refers to the ability to 'discern'; increasing consciousness means increasing discernment. As an example, one can argue that the world is there whether or not one knows it. But the world is there *for man when he discovers it*. Joan Reviere meant this when she said: "The baby cannot distinguish between 'me' and 'not-me.'"¹ The infant, which can be for us an example for this point, is not able to 'discern'; he is not conscious of *his own self* apart from, for example, his mother's breast.

For the infant not yet 'discerning,' there is not even awareness of reality *outside himself* (The Narcissus Myth speaks the 'truth' about this human condition in which one is only aware of, and enraptured by, his own self). The infant, since his self and the outside source of his nourishment are one, finds himself in a state before any subject-object differentiation; he has not discovered his world or his place in that world. He has no sense of his own 'identity' as a separate entity. One, therefore, cannot 'discern' even opposites or differentiate phenomena at all where there is yet no light of consciousness.

Phylogenetically, like the above ontogenetic aspect of consciousness, the condition of Adam and Eve before 'the Fall' meant this condition before discernment and differentiation. That, in turn, means the condition *before* "the knowledge of good and evil" which was surely needed by all of us after 'the Fall.'

Owing to the orientation and scope of this presentation, however, little more can be said here, but this is surely how one such as Berdyaev can even say, "moral distinctions are a result of the Fall."²

I have taken the time to make these points here because all that follows with regard to the consciousness of the Priesthood needs such an understanding; much more could be explored and developed were this a discussion solely of 'consciousness.' These understandings, more specifically, are important because they point up the fact that consciousness for the Priesthood *also* means certain qualities of discernment: one's sense of self, one's self-possession, one's being, one's identity—all of which refer to *the image one has of himself and of his task* in the world.

1. Joan Reviere, "Hate, Greed and Aggression," *Love, Hate and Reparation* (London: The Hogarth Press, Ltd., 1967), p. 9.

2. Nicholas Berdyaev, *The Destiny of Man* (New York: Harper and Row, 1960), p.35.

Furthermore, the *operation and function* of one's consciousness proceed from a relatively permanent pattern. As one functions, then, certain structures are released. Thus, arithmetic skills form one structure, medicine another, language another, etc. One's 'state' of consciousness is composed of all the structures that are released within a person at any given moment. Out of all the components of what it is that shapes a 'personality,' we can say that one's consciousness lies in the forefront.

What does all this have to do with the Orthodox and Priestly consciousness as it confronts the problems of the 70's and 80's, and in its attempt to continue in the process of ἡ εἰσόδος? In other words, about *what* do we have to be aware, sensitive and 'discerning,' especially if we believe that the real *locus theologicus* of the Fathers which guides us to guide others is the 'history of salvation?' How are our lives in the Priesthood supposed to be a transparency, a 'symbol' in the purest sense, which makes visible, audible, and even tangible, the presence of Christ?

These are 'identity' questions which deal at this level of consciousness. They are complicated by the fact that the Orthodox Priest cannot be "now a Priest, now not a Priest," in the professional sense of the word. His person, his being, indeed, his very personality, are all forthcoming from a *life* (rather than an occupation or profession) which has a relatively permanent pattern and structure. It seems that both the writings and the lives of the Fathers of our Church testify to this truth: the consciousness of the Priesthood is a *life*-consciousness.

The second point with regard to the meaning of the consciousness of the Priesthood has to do with the fact that consciousness is always consciousness *of something*. Contrary to many contemporary theories of 'self-realization' and psychological liberation, it is *not* something in itself which then enters into a relationship with something else. The relationship to the 'other' enters into the very essence of consciousness, and it is thus codetermined by the term to which it is related. Said simply, *there is no self-contained consciousness*.³ The consciousness of the Priesthood, i.e., the self-awareness of the Priest, cannot be separated from the 'other'—God, man, Church, cosmos, etc.—who helps to formulate his very own consciousness.

3. Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. Colin Smith (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962), p. VIII.

This is even true as the Priest deals with God; God in His essence may remain *ἀκατάληπτος*, 'incomprehensible,' but that very incomprehensibility becomes a part of his consciousness. In fact, it is precisely on that account, i.e., God as the *Θάτερον*, the 'wholly Other,' that one like St. Gregory of Nyssa claims man's consciousness is formed as he engages his life in the process of *ἄπαντος πορεία* ("endless seeking").

Having made these points, if only in part due to the limitations of this particular paper, about the *meaning* of consciousness, and in particular the Priestly consciousness, we can now turn to *how it relates* to the problems of the 70's and 80's as it endeavors to bring man to God, that is, as it attempts to fulfill the Baptismal challenge of continual 'entrance.' We thus move from what it *means*, to what we are, in fact, to have a consciousness *of* in this life.

We can locate three of the many areas of how the Priestly consciousness is to deal with our times. The three areas, at one point or another, must deal with both the Priestly consciousness of *itself*, or of one's own Priesthood, and a consciousness of the 'other' with which he must deal.

These three areas of consciousness are: 1) the Priestly consciousness of the personhood of 'other,' 2) the Priestly consciousness of self, and 3) the Priestly consciousness of Christ.

The Priestly Consciousness of the Personhood of 'Other'

All these three areas are most important in terms of consciousness today, especially as we face the dilemma of the immediate future. Considering the Priestly consciousness of personhood, one only has to remember the stunning prospects of Alvin Toffler's *Future Shock*: genetically prescribed babies bred in test tubes and 'purchased' in a baby mart; the development of 'super-brains' to engage in horrible warfare; 'cloning,' i.e., physically copying a living organism from genetic material, etc. He says, further, "... it may then become possible to combine the human brain with a whole set of artificial sensors, receptors and effectors, and to call that tangle of wire and plastic a human being."⁴ No person can say where this really will end. What kind of blurred definition of 'man' is this? In this bicentennial year, to what "inalienable rights" can we refer, in

4. Alvin Toffler, *Future Shock* (New York: Bantam Books, 1970), p. 209.

the face of such control by the arbitrary wish of the technologist? Can we hope that someone, somewhere, will believe that something which *can* be done, should not *necessarily* be done?

All this seems to be a bizarre fantasy. It may be. For sure, these are, in a sense, 'new' problems, and along with the current problems of deciding who is living and dead, i.e., problems of Euthanasia, of laws which freely allow abortion, or possibilities for organ transplantation, etc. (before all of which our Fathers would surely have been left mind-boggled!), we are called to the greatest concentration of value definition, of knowledge of spiritual error, and of application of the timeless laws of our faith.

As was earlier mentioned, each answer for each question cannot yet totally be had. But the one timeless law that we must tenaciously stick by is "the law of personhood." All of what we have hitherto proposed as futuristic and frightening leads to a condition of objectification and depersonalization of human life. Here is where the teaching of the Fathers surely applies: man created with the *imago dei*, one who by that definition can cooperate freely in the process of *συνεργεία* with God's grace. Our consciousness of the Priesthood can never accept any idea of 'other' who is depersonalized. We are to lead to 'entrance' not objects, but persons; *τῶν ἁγίων σου*, thy holy ones, are selves, persons, saints! Our priestly consciousness of 'other,' in terms of this ultimate condition of depersonalization and objectification of human life, although it may not have each individual *answer*, can be a challenge in the form of this question: Can a Church, so rooted in the Christ-like encounter (*ἡ εἵσοδος*), develop from that rootedness in those universal teachings of the Fathers, the Liturgy, etc., a strategy for one such future? Can our great *παράδοσις* speak clearly in its face? Losing our sense of balance before such possibilities, will we be caught up in such extreme polarities as the belief that the Fathers are either a panacea for all our contemporary problems, or conversely, that they are completely worthless? The continual asking of such *questions* is only the beginning of arriving at some sort of *answers*, but these questions must be asked *ab origine*. Of course, we must then find the means and the instruments of decision and communication for the Orthodox consciousness to speak to these problems. One can only hope that Orthodox hierarchy and seminaries will initiate these discussions and procedures quickly.

we can easily miss this pervading condition in those whom we serve as Priests.

It is very easy to get an audience if one preaches against conceit and pride in one's self, for most people feel so empty and convinced of their lack of worth anyway, that they readily agree that the one who is condemning them must be right.⁸

How difficult it is for one to live the ideals of Christian life when caught up in this condition! Charles Reich in the *Greening of America*:

We have all known the loneliness, the emptiness, the plastic isolation of contemporary America . . . and what caused the American system to go wrong in such an organic way? The first crucial fact is the existence of a universal sense of powerlessness.⁹

It is known by many names: apathy, passivity, boredom, alienation, anxiety—in fact, one could well call it *legion*—all different ways of referring to the experience of meaninglessness and insignificance. Our Priestly consciousness of the personhood of 'other,' that is, the one whom we serve as Priest, will constantly be faced with the possibility of his inner experience of impotence, of having the conviction that even if he *did* act, his actions would be ineffective and make no difference.

We have already alluded to the fact that there is a great difference between pride and the feeling of self-worth. The central core of our ministry, as we are to lead the Baptized self, is to deal with this loss of 'the sense of self,' of the undermining of his experience of himself *as responsible*, of his will and ability to make decisions, of the lack of faith in the effect of his action.

This feeling of self-worth which we must continually pass on to Baptized selves also has moral implications beyond those which we have just mentioned. What one does or desires, since it seems to make no difference in any case, will finally arrive

8. May, p. 85.

9. Charles Reich, *The Greening of America* (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 10.

Meaninglessness and Insignificance

But there are also less phenomenal aspects of dealing with the Priestly consciousness of the personhood of 'other,' and it is closely related to our previous point on depersonalization. We mean here the problem of *meaninglessness and insignificance*. It is related to the former because the 'other' whom we serve and whom we want to lead to 'entrance,' in fact depersonalizes *himself* when he suffers from this condition by not realizing the value of his own self.

The Church is built upon each self, whom St. Peter called the λίθα ζῶντες, the "living stones" (I Peter 2:5). One suffering from this condition of meaninglessness can hardly see himself as a part of, or operate within, the Church as a 'living stone.' Our Priestly consciousness must constantly confront this condition by helping 'other' to question and discover that his life has meaning and significance.

In his introduction to Victor Frankl's book, *Man's Search for Meaning*,⁵ Gordon Allport comments that Frankl would sometimes ask those whom he was trying to help: "Why do you not commit suicide?" This is a very important question about one's meaning in life.

It is doubtful whether anyone really begins to live, that is, to affirm and choose his own existence, until he has frankly confronted the terrifying choice that he could wipe out his existence, but *chooses* not to. Since one is free to die, he is free also to live.⁶

One chooses 'not to die' when he has decided to live, that is, when his life has meaning. Hermann Diem further comments about the task of our Priestly consciousness of the meaningfulness of the life of 'other.' "Humanity can be healthy only when each man is passionately concerned with the way he should live his life."⁷

The implications of such meaninglessness and insignificance are all around us. In our preaching against the evil cause by 'pride,'

5. Victor Frankl, *Man's Search for Meaning* (New York: Washington Square Press, 1963), p. IX.

6. Rollo May, *Man's Search for Himself* (New York: The New American Library, Inc., 1967), p. 146.

7. Hermann Diem, *Kierkegaard* (Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1970), p. 176.

at a 'numbing' stage in which he withdraws into apathy. The moral outcome of one's loss of self-worth, of insignificance, etc., is captured by the following example, albeit in the extreme condition of the concentration camp, where the fall into complete 'numbing' can be seen:

The man with the corpse approached the steps. Wearily he dragged himself up. Then the body: first the feet, then the trunk, and finally—with an uncanny rattling noise—the head of the corpse bumped up the two steps. My place was on the opposite side of the hut, next to the small, sole window, which was near the floor. While my cold hands clasped a bowl of hot soup from which I sipped greedily, I happened to look out of the window. The corpse which had just been removed stared in at me with glazed eyes. Two hours before I had spoken to that man. Now I continued sipping my soup.¹⁰

It is *care* which stands against hopelessness; there is no hope if one does not care. As elementary as it seems, we as Priests must have a consciousness of *care* as the beginning of teaching others to do likewise. This lesson has been given to us: the Christian has hope because God, through Christ and the Holy Spirit, *cares* about him. Thus, man must care about self, his destiny, others.

In terms of our consciousness of the personhood of 'other,' we cannot forget that for one to care, one must first feel 'cared for'; we have come to realize that to be 'cared for' and to 'care about' are not easily separated. If we expect them to 'care about' self, others, God, 'entrance,' etc., we must genuinely 'care for' them.

The Priestly Consciousness of Self

The second consideration of the Priestly consciousness deals with the awareness or the 'discernment' of our *selves* as Priests. It is inextricably bound to our consciousness of 'other.' As we have just mentioned, there is no self-contained consciousness; 'other' is a very part of 'self.' For the Orthodox, for example,

10. Frankl, pp. 34-35.

those who speak of 'self-realization' must come to know that Christ must be a very part of the self which must be realized. In short, if 'other' is Christ, we then come to realize that self-consciousness cannot be disassociated from Christ-consciousness. Furthermore, this Christ-consciousness is the true dividing line between popular religion in general and the Christian Faith. Such ideas of general 'religion' as good, helpful, democratic, etc., so popular in this bicentennial year, may even be demonic and in need of exorcism. It is Christ-consciousness bound to self-consciousness which reminds us that Orthodox Christianity has a 'content' and, although it may be phenomenologically and cosmologically in continuity with 'religion,' is different from it.

More particularly, as to our awareness of ourselves as persons who are Christ-conscious and thus leading others to 'entrance,' we can turn to two of the many images which can lead to that awareness. The first awareness focuses upon our role-awareness, the second upon the awareness of our own humanity.

Role-Awareness

In a recent and most enlightening book, *Pastoral Care in the Modern Hospital*, the author compares, quite deliberately and not cynically, the hospital chaplain with a *clown*. The manner in which he does that speaks of these points of role-awareness as Priests.

His point is that the clown is a necessity in the circus since he brings continuity to it. It is the clown who is the genuine *human* thread that runs throughout the entire circus, holding it together as a coherent and meaningful process, rather than a mere series of unrelated and expert acts. Staying with this analogy for a moment more, are we not as Priests in this life, just as the clown is to the circus, the genuine human thread which is to be the continuity and the 'holding together' in the face of the entire gamut of emotions? Do we not have to weave together in a meaningful and depthful manner an experience of sorrow as expressed by St. John of Damascus in the Funeral Service, "I weep and I wail when I think upon death . . .," and also the joy as expressed in the Marriage Sacrament, "Crown them with glory and honor"? Do we not have to offer coherence to a life which extends from birth, to baptism, to growth, to marriage, and even a perspective that enables us to see beyond this life?

In this way, our consciousness of ourselves in the "arena of life" to which St. John Chrysostom refers in his *First Homily to the Catechumens*, must be like the consciousness of the clown in another arena, that is, as he (the clown) is

to show the ability to find the genuine, the authentic, on the edges of life: the wry smile in the face of failure; the strange victory of the man who recognizes his weakness, his powerlessness and failure, and accepts it as a part of the scheme of things; the little man who continues to have faith in something indestructible.¹¹

We, as Priests, certainly have to be rooted in the tenets of our Faith, the truths about life, death, resurrection, Baptism, the Eucharist, etc., as we live in these boundary situations of our existence: anxiety, grief, the absurd, setbacks.

Of the clown, it can be said that he has an

Openness and sympathy in love; a feel for the fringes of human life; a kind of inner freedom; the ability to share suffering, compassion; humor . . . ; a great deal of patience and wisdom.¹²

Since, as we have said, our Priestly consciousness is to be a life-consciousness, our entire life must be, at once, person and symbol, i.e., person who must point beyond himself to a greater reality. Above such a model of our person, i.e., one who has a consciousness of his 'self' as such a symbol, is the question, "Can we lead others to where we are not?"

Awareness of Our Own Humanity

Besides our role-awareness with the Priestly consciousness of self, we must also have an awareness of our own humanity. Unless that awareness is part of our structure of consciousness, we will be more 'sheriff' than shepherd.

We, as Priests, for example, must not only be aware of the presence of the Evil One—the Devil—who is operative in our external world, but must also come to realize the need to struggle with the sign of the old Adam *within*, with a kind of *possibility to do evil* which exists in our "inward parts," as *Psalms 51* says.

11. Heije Faber, *Pastoral Care in the Modern Hospital* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971). p. 82.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

The problem with many of us Priests is that we fail to even *recognize* it; we do not bring it into our consciousness, and thus we feel immune; it belongs 'out there' with the parishioner. Unless one recognizes this capacity to do evil as a possibility in his own life, and as part of his humanity, *it controls him* instead of his controlling it.

Our Liturgy is full of this recognition of that 'dark side' of our lives. Every "Lord, have mercy" speaks of it. The Communion Prayer of St. John Chrysostom, "I believe, O Lord, and I confess that thou art the Son of the living God who came into the world to save sinners of whom *I am* chief . . ." Or the Cherubic Prayer: "Look down upon me, a sinner, thine unprofitable servant, and cleanse my soul and heart from an evil conscience . . ."

Such consciousness of our humanity, of our limitations, of our possibility to do evil, etc., is not a 'put down,' as some critics of the Church have claimed She is interested in doing. They claim the Church deprives us, makes us neurotic, pushes man down. Not that 'put down,' but rather, it puts man right back there with the first Adam (before he 'fell'), when his initial vision of himself was as one who is *limited, dependent, created*—in the deepest sense—*caused*, standing before Him who is unlimited, who is the *Causar*.

Only *after* the recognition that we are limited do we as Priests know *from* where to begin; the Priest knows his identity as a man created and thus is able himself to move, to create, to be a 'causer.'

Consciousness of one's limitedness as a Priest is related to the very movement of the Liturgy. In the Liturgy, we move from the Greek Ektenia and its supplicative words of limited beings, along with the prayer of the Trisagion and its most important words "ὁ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ οὐτος" ("who has creat out of nothing"), up to Στῶμεν καλῶς ("Let us stand aright—" or beautiful, or even in this same *sense* of the Liturgy—"reborn"), all of which indicates that only after the expression of our limitation can we be the Priest who 'offers' and who stands again at the center of the cosmos as the primordial Priest and lifts up the gifts.

This is absolutely crucial to the Orthodox vision of our own selves as Priests. If we are to lead other Baptized selves to ἡ εἰσοδος, if our mission and ministry is to reconcile man and God,

we must first engage in the struggle to *reconcile ourselves*. This struggle entails a recognition and consciousness of our own inner lives as limited, dependent and human.

We can only ask here: how many Priests are cut off from the 'depths' of those they serve, because they are cut off from their own 'depths'? How many Priests 'act out' in a surface way, i.e., as a 'form,' because they are truncated from their own depths. And yet, we are reminded that it is from those very depths that we indeed struggle before God: "Out of the depths have I cried unto thee, O Lord" (*Psalm 130* and *Vespers*).

For us Americans, this recognition of our capacity to do evil is even more difficult. It was St. Paul who said, "Wretched man that I am, Who will deliver me . . ." And again he says, "The things I don't want to do, that is what I do!" He recognized the reality of the 'old Adam,' the defect, the mark—and his ministry reflected that kind of humility. The same idea is difficult for us as Americans, because we somehow think we have reached the 'objective right.' Our hero is a Popeye and Superman, a Batman who is the 'proper citizen.' How shocked we are that a Watergate could happen!

However, it is imperative that we Priests avoid delusion. How else can we 'listen'? One who is not in touch with his own inner depths cannot listen; he *hears*, but he hears only words and not meanings. And we mean here to listen to both God and man.

When someone who is suffering deeply comes to us, he is saying more than the words are speaking; his whole body speaks; his heart and mind hurt; and we must 'listen' at *that* level to encounter his pain. He who is not in touch with his own pain cannot listen in this depth.

This is a type of 'listening with the third ear'—a passive awareness and sensitivity to all these phenomena. These are often called *metacommunications*. With this deep communication, this true 'listening,' we touch closely the image that Christ Himself gives us as shepherd and counselor. There is here a 'compulsion to surrender.' With the Priesthood, we surrender to those we love like the artist surrenders to his art, the craftsman surrenders to his craft, the mother surrenders to her child. Such complete listening, which begins with one's own human limitedness, requires such a surrender to this 'other,' allowing him to enter into us!

Healing can happen no other way. We would rather not get involved, rather not communicate with his pain; better to remain at the surface level where we do not get hurt. This is true because to listen like this is like a wound. A wound is an opening in the walls—a passage through which we may also become infected; it hurts. But precisely here is the image of Christ as the ‘wounded healer,’ the one who heals by his own wounds. We, too, as we deal with the Priestly consciousness of self, must be in touch with our own humanity, and then, ‘listening,’ must be wounded healers.

The Priestly Consciousness of Christ

The third and last aspect of the Priestly consciousness is the consciousness of Christ. We have already said much about this. Just to be mentioned now, however, is the reminder that in the Liturgy, the Sacrament of the Eucharist represents the redemptive acts of Christ with the same ontological reality which it had when it was elicited by Christ on earth. In the same sense in which we can see that the act which gives to us the Sacrament happened in one moment, we can understand that, in fact, it also continues as a kind of *interior disposition*, a stable *habitus*; our *act* of the Sacrament as Priests must carry this dual dynamic. More than any particular act, then, our consciousness must live in this *habitual disposition* which is rather the *source* of action.

Finally, however, returning to our previous point of ‘listening,’ we as Orthodox Priests must at times be more like Mary than Martha. None of the points which were hitherto presented can be realized without taking that time, like Mary, to stop all the activity and hustle in order to sit at the feet of Christ and listen. Unlike Martha, who was “troubled over many things,” we, like Mary, must choose as the scripture says, “the good part which shall not be taken away from her.”

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THOMAS FITZGERALD

THE PATRIARCHAL ENCYCLICALS ON CHRISTIAN UNITY 1902-1973

Introduction

The Ecumenical Movement is one of the most important aspects of contemporary Christianity. Not since the schism between the Church of Rome and the Church of Constantinople in the eleventh century or the Reformation in the sixteenth century has there been a more important ecclesiological event to touch the lives of layperson, cleric, and theologian. In the years which have passed since the beginning of this century, we have witnessed the achievement of more toward the understanding of the various Christian traditions and the overcoming of the barriers which divide those traditions than in any period of equal length in the history of the Church. Only in this century have persons from every major tradition of Christianity come to reaffirm the conviction that division before the Holy Altar is not normal to the life of the Church. Such divisions are serious not simply because a divided Church gives scandal to the world but also because divisions have the ability to poison and pervert all our Church actions, our theological reflections, and our common mission to the world.

Under the leadership of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the Orthodox Church has been an active participant in the contemporary quest for Christian unity since the beginning of this century. Although the degree and quality of Orthodox participation have developed throughout the years, the positive commitment of the Orthodox Church in general and the Patriarchate of Constantinople in particular, to the principals of ecumenism has remained constant and firm. It is expressed forcefully by Archbishop Iakovos, who has been devoted to the quest for Christian unity for more than thirty years. He says:

Orthodoxy being true to her history and traditions and compelled by the consciousness of her God-ordained task, is present and intends to be present and to participate actively in

all ecumenical conversations so long as their aim is to restore the disrupted unity of Christendom.¹

There are a number of documents which bear witness to Orthodoxy's participation in the contemporary ecumenical movement.² Among the most important of these are the Encyclicals which have been issued by the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the *primus inter pares* episcopal See of Eastern Christianity. Although no encyclical should be viewed as a dogmatic statement, they are of the greatest significance because they reflect the developing tradition of the Church. The Patriarchal Encyclicals manifest the official teaching of the Church on a given subject and at a particular time in history.

This study will examine four major encyclicals devoted to the cause of Christian unity which have been promulgated by the Ecumenical Patriarchate thus far during this century. These official documents reveal that the Church of Constantinople's commitment to the quest for Christian unity has been official and constant from the very beginning of this century. The Patriarchate's involvement in the Ecumenical Movement has not resulted from chance or from the prompting of other Churches. Quite to the contrary, its participation is an expression of Orthodoxy's deep-rooted belief that schism and division not only are contrary to the prayer of our Lord, but are also alien and debilitating to the life of the Church.

The Early Encyclicals of 1902 and 1920

The first Patriarchal encyclical of this century which considered the issue of Christian unity was promulgated long before there were any major signs of those trends which we call today the 'Ecumenical Movement.' On 12 June 1902, Patriarch Joachim III issued the first encyclical of this century in which the question of Orthodox relations with the Western Churches was formally raised. The encyclical was addressed from the Church of Constantinople to its sister autocephalous Orthodox Churches. The purpose of the document was twofold. First, the letter suggested the possibility of some form of theological

1. Archbishop Iakovos, "The Contribution of Eastern Orthodoxy to the Ecumenical Movement," *Ecumenical Review* 11.4 (1959), 396.

2. See *Guidelines for Orthodox Christians in Ecumenical Relations*, ed. Robert Stephanopoulos (New York: Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops in America, 1973), and *Tomos Agapis, Vatican-Phanar 1958-1970* (Rome, 1971).

In following the "path of evangelical love and peace," the letter forsook the path of hostility and polemics which at the turn of the century had been quite commonplace in conversations between divided Christians.

There are two other important aspects of this encyclical which demand further attention. For one thing, the letter made a significant affirmation regarding the possibility of unity. In spite of existing divisions which deserved common study, the encyclical expressed the belief that the unity of the Church was "a real possibility in time." This conviction boldly confronts those who believe that the unity of the Church is something to be realized only in the *Parousia*. In expressing this very positive view which sees the real possibility of overcoming differences, the encyclical clearly sees schism and division not as a necessary problem which must be tolerated, but rather as an evil abomination and scandal which must be eliminated. To see schism and division in this light is also to believe that the Church has a real obligation in the present to work toward their removal.

Further, the encyclical provided in outline fashion a modest proposal on how such a task might be undertaken. The Patriarch expressed the conviction that the pilgrimage to unity could be inaugurated by the various Churches through such simple steps as the recognition of similarities and the re-examination of controversial issues. Here, the encyclical made a very practical and significant proposal for joint theological discussion and dialogue, which has now become commonplace. The important principle expressed was the belief that existing differences should not prevent contacts between the traditions for common theological reflection. The modest proposal was a clear sign that the centuries-old formal isolation between East and West could be broken and that formal contacts could be established.

Professor Basil Istavrides, the distinguished author and theologian attached to the Ecumenical Patriarchate, has written that the autocephalous Orthodox Churches favorably received and accepted the modest proposal of the Patriarch. Besides expressing willingness to examine their relations with the Western Churches in general, they also proposed further investigation and research with regard to relationships with the Anglican Church in particular. Moreover, they expressed the desire for

dialogue with the West. The letter declared that "the subject of continuous prayer and petition in our Church, and of every true Christian guided by the gospel teaching of unity is the pious and heartfelt yearning for union of those in the Orthodox faith with all who believe in Christ."³

Secondly, the encyclical asks the various Orthodox Churches whether or not the time was ripe for preliminary intra-Orthodox meetings which would serve as preparation for an "open and friendly rapprochement." Implied in the Patriarch's question was the belief that any dialogue with the West had to be undertaken with the agreement of all the autocephalous Churches. The body of the encyclical of 1902 states:

The union of all as a possibility in time, of course with the divine grace which cooperates with persons who walk in the paths of evangelical love and peace, can surely be hoped for and tended to in a manner which would smooth out the present difficult road, finding similarities and points of contact, or even mutual controverted points previously overlooked, up to the moment when the entire task is completed and the prayer of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ is fulfilled for the common joy and benefit of the one flock and of the one shepherd.⁴

When we consider fully that these words were offered seventy-five years ago, we are obliged to conclude that the Great Church of Constantinople was one of the major founders of the contemporary ecumenical movement. In addition to the Patriarchate's convictions regarding unity, we should also note well the irenic tone of the letter. Although the encyclical was addressed solely to sister Orthodox Churches, it emphasized the real possibility of reconciliation and dialogue with the West. This is especially important when we recall the political and religious situation of Greece and Asia Minor throughout the nineteenth century. The unfortunate proselytism by Protestant missionaries and the religious consequences of the development of the Kingdom and Church of Greece had placed a great burden upon the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Therefore, the cautious yet peaceful tenure of the encyclical is especially significant.

3. *Guidelines*, p. 25.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

the intensification of dialogue with the Oriental Orthodox Churches.⁵ It is most regrettable, however, that the catastrophic political disruptions and massacres which afflicted Asia Minor during the early years of this century drained the resources of the Eastern Churches and, as a consequence, made any formal effort toward *rapprochement* an impossibility at that time. Yet, in the year 1902 the Ecumenical Patriarchate had taken an important initiative.

In January of the year 1920 the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople issued its second major encyclical devoted to the topic of Christian unity. The letter was universal in nature because it was addressed "Unto all the Churches of Christ Wheresoever They Be."⁶ This document was probably the first official correspondence of this century to be addressed from a major ecclesiastical center to Churches of differing traditions.

The letter sent brotherly greetings to all the Churches and it invited them to consider seriously the formation of a fellowship (*koinonia*) of Churches which would lead to a "complete and blessed union which may some day be attained with God's help."⁷ In many ways the encyclical echoed the themes of the letter of 1902. In addition to emphasizing the real possibility of unity, it said that "Our Church is persuaded that closer relationship and mutual understanding among the several Christian Churches is not hindered by their doctrinal differences."⁸ Since the Patriarchal Throne was vacant at the time, the encyclical contained the signatures of the *Locum Tenens*, Metropolitan Dorotheos of Prussa, and eleven other Archbishop-Metropolitans of the Patriarchate. In the course of time it was revealed that the text of the historic encyclical had been drafted by Archbishop Germanos who, eighteen years after the encyclical was published, was to become one of the first presidents of the World Council of Churches.

The theme of the encyclical was so anticipatory of the goals of the contemporary ecumenical movement in general and the World Council of Churches in particular that much of it is

5. Basil Istavridis, "The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the World Council of Churches," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 4.1 (1963), 10.

6. G.K.A. Bell, (ed.), *Documents on Christian Unity 1920-1930* (London, 1955), p. 17.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Guidelines*, p. 27.

worthy of closer attention. The letter begins:

Our Church is of the opinion that closer intercourse with each other and a mutual understanding between the several Christian Churches is not prevented by the doctrinal differences between them, and that such an understanding is highly desirable and necessary, and in many ways useful in the well-conceived interest of each one of the Churches taken apart and as a whole Christian body, as also for preparing and facilitating the complete and blessed union which may some day be attained with God's help; Our Church, therefore, deems the present time most opportune for bringing forth and considering this important question in common. For although owing to old prejudices, traditions and even pretensions, it is probable that there may now arise or be brought forward the same difficulties which have so often frustrated the work of union; nevertheless, seeing that it is now a question of mere contact and understanding; the difficulties, in our mind, will in any case be less serious, and if there be good will and disruption, neither can they nor should they constitute an invincible and insuperable obstacle.⁹

The entire encyclical demands careful study by all those involved in the contemporary ecumenical movement, especially those who represent the Orthodox Churches. There is much foresight and wisdom. There is great depth in both the content and tone of the Patriarchal letter. More than fifty years after its promulgation, it is now evident that the encyclical made a practical proposal for what has now become a reality. Moreover, the scope and content of the encyclical clearly indicated that the thousand-year-old official isolation between East and West had begun to crack under the leadership of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

There are two important insights which the encyclical conveyed and which continue to be of value to those who seek the unity of the Churches. First and foremost, the letter boldly declared that the time had come for Christians of the various traditions to seek each other in love for formal contact and mutual understanding. The Patriarchate had made this clear in its 1902 encyclical to sister Orthodox Churches. Now, it pub-

9. Bell, *Documents*, p. 17.

licly and formally declared this to the Churches of the West as well. The encyclical affirmed that the removal of mutual distrust and friction was the first step in the great *rapprochement* which would begin the process of healing the division of the Churches. The encyclical once again expressed the Patriarchate's conviction that Christian unity was a real possibility, and that the steps toward this goal should be undertaken at once. The letter noted that the initial steps could be taken despite the dogmatic differences which apparently divided Christians, as well as the subtle historical and social factors which often breed mistrust and animosity. Simply stated, the encyclical affirmed that love should be revived and strengthened in order that the Churches "may no longer look upon each other as strangers and enemies, but as relatives and friends in Christ, 'fellow heirs, members of the same body and partakers of the promise of Christ Jesus through the gospel' (Eph. 3:6)." ¹⁰

In the encyclical of 1920 the Patriarchate was not content simply to offer its opinion on the value and real possibility of Christian unity. In order to initiate formal contacts between the Churches and to undertake various measures which could lead to the unity of the Church, the Patriarchate identified eleven critical areas in which discussion could begin, and through which mutual understanding and trust could be developed.

And this friendship and kindly disposition toward each other can, to our mind, be demonstrated and more especially proved in the following manner:

- (a) By acceptance of a uniform calendar for a simultaneous celebration of all the great Christian feasts by all the Churches;
- (b) by the exchange of brotherly letters on the great feasts of the ecclesiastical year, when it is customary to do so, and on other exceptional occasions;
- (c) by more friendly relations between the representatives of the various Churches wherever they be;
- (d) by exchanges between theological schools and the representatives of theological study, and by the exchange of theological and ecclesiastical periodicals and works published in each Church;
- (e) by convening Pan-Christian Conferences to examine questions of common interest to all Churches;
- (f) by the exchange of students between the

10. *Guidelines*, p. 28.

seminaries of the different Churches; (g) by the impartial and more historical examination of doctrinal differences both from the chair and in theological treatises; (h) by mutually respecting the customs and usages prevailing in each Church; (i) by allowing to each other the use of places of prayer and of cemeteries for the funeral and burial of persons belonging to other confessions dying in foreign lands; (j) by the settlement of the question of mixed marriages between the various confessions; (k) and, finally, by the mutual support of the Churches in the work of strengthening religious relief, of charity, and the like.¹¹

From our vantage point, we can see that the concerns expressed in these proposals have become very important aspects of the contemporary ecumenical movement. However, it should not be forgotten that in the year 1920 these modest proposals undoubtedly were considered by some to be utopian, perhaps even naive. Therefore, the significance of these eleven suggestions cannot be overestimated. They represented the first concrete agenda for the proposed dialogue among the Churches. In raising these concerns, the Patriarchate not only indicated the seriousness with which it viewed the scandal of disunity but also affirmed its conviction that reconciliation had to be undertaken immediately and at a number of levels. The proposals were a clear and farsighted call to action.

In addition to the rich content of this encyclical, one should also note well the irenic tone in which it was written. The attitude expressed throughout the encyclical indicated that the Church of Constantinople perceived the quest for unity not in terms of ecclesiastical triumphalism, but rather in terms of creative and brotherly dialogue guided by the Holy Spirit. The encyclical not only expressed the belief that Christian unity was a real possibility but also acknowledged that this unity would be the result of genuine consultation, discussion, and common prayer. The letter was addressed to "all the Churches of Christ," and one can infer from this salutation that the Patriarchate was making recognition of ecclesial reality in those Christian communities which were not part of the federation of Eastern Orthodox Churches in communion with the See of Constantinople. The use of Paul's words—"Fellow heirs, members of the same

11. Bell, *Documents*, pp. 19-20.

body, and partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus"— clearly expresses this recognition. Indeed, the language of reconciliation is remarkable and cannot be conceived in any way as simple ecclesiastical etiquette. Despite the many theological, cultural, and historical factors which have alienated East and West for centuries, words of bitterness and condemnation are conspicuous by their absence. Rather, one finds throughout the encyclical a profound expression of hope.

The encyclical of the Patriarchate proved to be both the forerunner to and the inspiration for Orthodox representation in fledgling ecumenical conferences held in the early part of this century. Both the Stockholm Conference on "Life and Work" in 1925 and the Lausanne assembly on "Faith and Order" in 1927 had small delegations from Orthodox Churches. Nearly ten years later at similar conferences in Oxford and Edinburgh, Orthodox interest and representation had increased. In the year 1948 the Patriarchate's vision of a 'koinonia' of all Churches became a reality with the formal establishment of the World Council of Churches. At the first historic assembly convened at Amsterdam the Orthodox Churches were officially represented with delegates from the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the Churches of Greece, Syria, and the United States. Orthodox representation at this assembly bore witness to the fact that from its inception the World Council was designed to be truly ecumenical and not simply an association of Western Reformation Churches. As a clear sign of the Patriarchate's commitment to the Council and as a symbol of the Council's ecumenical character, the late Archbishop Germanos of the Holy Synod accepted the position of one of the first co-presidents.

The Later Encyclicals of 1952 and 1973

When the late and beloved Athenagoras I became Ecumenical Patriarch on 27 January 1949, a new era was about to develop in the quest for Christian unity. Prior to the election, His Holiness had served with distinction as Archbishop of Corfu and later as Archbishop of the Americas. In these ministries he had come to sense deeply and in a personal way the agony of senseless human suffering and the tragedy of Christian disunity. With the ascension of Patriarch Athenagoras to the venerable episcopal throne of Constantinople, the title 'Ecumenical

Patriarch' was to take on a rich, contemporary dimension. Originally, from the fifth century the title referred to the spiritual care of the Patriarch of Constantinople for Orthodox Christians who lived in lands which had no autocephalous Church. In the twentieth century Patriarch Athenagoras envisioned the Church of Constantinople as a witness to Orthodoxy's quest for the unity and catholicity of the whole Church. He sought to show both by word and by deed the sacrificial love of the ancient Patriarchate for the universal Church and for the world which it was called to serve. From the first day he became Patriarch to the day of his death, Athenagoras was to employ the Patriarchate for the service of unity among the whole People of God. Speaking from the depths of his love for the Church he once said:

Our most holy Orthodox Church should not and cannot hide away the treasure which is its faith nor the wealth of its traditions; rather she must offer herself to the world in a spirit of humble service, with a view to the transfiguration of the world in Christ.¹²

It was only three years after he became Patriarch that Athenagoras addressed himself through an encyclical to the subject of Orthodox representation in the embryonic ecumenical movement. On 31 January 1952, just prior to the third world conference on "Faith and Order" which convened at Lund, Sweden, the Patriarch issued an encyclical addressed to the hierarchs of the various autocephalous Orthodox Churches. In many ways the document was reminiscent of the encyclical of 1902 in that it was concerned with Orthodoxy's role in the quest for Christian unity as well as its mode of involvement in the World Council of Churches.¹³

In the first place, the Patriarch sought to reaffirm and foster unified Orthodox participation in the search for Christian unity, especially through the World Council of Churches. The encyclical declared strongly that "the task of *rapprochement* and co-operation between all Christian confessions and organizations is a sacred obligation and a holy duty."¹⁴ The Patriarch com-

12. Cited in Olivier Clement, "Athenagoras I: Orthodoxy in the Service of Unity," *Ecumenical Review* 21.3 (1969), 316.

13. *Guidelines*, p. 39.

14. *Ibid.*

mended the purpose of the newly established Council and reminded his fellow bishops of the Orthodox Churches that the constitution of the Council expressed clearly that:

Its function is to facilitate common action by the Churches, to promote cooperation in the study of the Christian spirit, to promote the growth of the ecumenical consciousness in the members of all the Churches, to support the distribution of the Sacred Gospel, and to preserve, uplift and cause to prevail the spiritual values of man, in the most general Christian context.¹⁵

With this in mind, the Patriarch declared that the aim of the Council was "pleasing to God" and that future participation and cooperation of the Orthodox Church in the Council was necessary.

While emphasizing the value of the World Council of Churches, the encyclical also suggested an attitude of cautious involvement. In writing to his fellow bishops, the Patriarch said that he felt that representation in these fledgling ecumenical conferences should be limited—owing to Orthodoxy's past experience at similar gatherings in the early part of this century. Therefore, Athenagoras made the following three suggestions: first, the Patriarch asked that participation in the discussion of the "Faith and Order" committee be avoided for the present; second, the presence of delegates from all autocephalous Orthodox Churches was advocated, since this would give the proper authority and prestige to her participation; third, a permanent Synodical Commission on Ecumenism was suggested "in order to study, in cooperation with the professors of the Theological Schools, the different problems involved, and in order to clarify beforehand the point of view of the Orthodox Church about them and the attitude she would adopt."¹⁶ Moreover, the Patriarch asked that Orthodox clerical delegates in ecumenical gatherings be prudent with regard to participation in services of worship with non-Orthodox.

These suggestions offered by the Patriarch can be understood when one remembers that in the early ecumenical gatherings Orthodoxy found itself confronted with a predominantly

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

Western Protestant emphasis. The conferences of the first half of this century were not without problems and frustrations. Not only were there differences in customs and traditions between the Orthodox and the Protestants, but also there were more subtle differences in dogmatic definitions, theological language and ecclesiastical priorities. At times the Orthodox representatives and their views appeared overwhelmed by the sheer number of Protestant delegates as well as the prominence of Western theological thought.

The Patriarch justifiably advocated an initial period of restraint and cautious representation because he did not wish to see Orthodoxy take an inferior position in ecumenical dialogues or theological conversations. He knew that the traditions of Eastern Christianity had much to offer to the quest for Christian unity; yet, he also recognized that the much desired phase of true bilateral dialogue had not yet become a reality. The advocacy of moderation, the call for greater Orthodox representation and for a Synodical Commission on Ecumenism clearly bore witness to Athenagoras' conviction that all of Orthodoxy had to take seriously the ecumenical challenge. He believed that the Orthodox Church should participate in the ecumenical movement, not in a reluctant or defensive fashion, but "with the strength and authority appropriate to her position and to her historic mission in the world of inter-Christian relationships."¹⁷

Indeed, with the deepening of an ecumenical consciousness and increased theological study of issues related to Christian unity by the various autocephalous Orthodox Churches as well as the increasing number of Orthodox delegates, the policy of cautious representation gradually changed to one of total participation by the Orthodox in all major ecumenical conferences. At the third Assembly of the World Council of Churches in New Delhi in 1961, Archbishop Iakovos, who was one of the Council's co-presidents, addressed himself to the change of policy. Speaking on behalf of all the Orthodox delegations, he stated:

The Orthodox delegations to the Third Assembly here decided not to issue statements, either in opposition or of

17. Ibid.

clarification of their theological or ecclesiastical position on matters of unity, witness and service, unless it becomes an absolute necessity.

Instead of making statements, as was the policy in the past, the Orthodox, as full-fledged members of the W.C.C., feel it their duty to voice their opinions freely in all sections, sub-sections, and committees, and also to participate in the drafting of the reports and resolutions, and express their agreement and disagreement in the form of real contribution to the threefold work and mission of the General Assembly. It has become more apparent in this Assembly that the participation of Orthodoxy in the ecumenical movement should be founded on the very principle of its participation, i.e., to bring testimony of their conception and teaching of unity, witness and service . . .

Finally, unity should cease to be understood as amalgamation or culmination of all existing Churches into one—or as bilateral or tripartite mergers inspired by conventional or expedient motives—and it should be conceived as a personal concern and commitment for every Christian in today's world and in God's Name. The way to unity is a long one, and not one without obstacles. But we shall be able to walk it to the end if we serve and proclaim our common faith, in humility, love and truth.¹⁸

The Third Assembly of the World Council of Churches in 1961 represented a significant landmark in the relationship of Orthodoxy to the ecumenical movement in general and the Council in particular. Its significance can be traced to two important and interrelated events. First, at New Delhi admission was granted to delegations from four major Orthodox Churches: those of Russia, Bulgaria, Roumania, and Poland. The entrance of these Churches into the Council was hailed as a major event in the history of the ecumenical movement and brought the number of Orthodox delegations to thirteen.

The second and equally important factor was the change in Orthodox policy toward the Council which was outlined by Archbishop Iakovos. Under the devoted and painstaking leadership of Iakovos, the Orthodox delegations entered into a

18. Cited in P. De Velter, "The Eastern Churches and the World Council of Churches," *Eastern Churches Quarterly* 14.5 (1962), 280-281.

new phase of relationship with the World Council of Churches. The decision not to issue separate statements "unless it becomes absolutely necessary" was an expression of Orthodoxy's willingness to take its rightful place in all the deliberations and activities of the Council. Both the increase in Orthodox delegations and the formal change in policy were strong vindications of the patient and responsible leadership of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in the ecumenical realm.

The multifarious development of the ecumenical movement which has taken place only within the past fifteen years is monumental. The Assembly of the World Council in New Delhi in 1961 was a harbinger of the extensive progress which was to take place among the Churches in the areas of mutual understanding, common service, and reconciliation. This development was manifest in the ecumenical spirit expressed at both the Pan-Orthodox Synods and the Second Vatican Council. It has also been expressed at such important events as the lifting of the anathemas of 1054 between the Church of Rome and the Church of Constantinople, the exchange of episcopal visitations and gifts, as well as the fruitful dialogue between the Oriental Orthodox and the Eastern Orthodox Churches. Parallel to these, there has also been an increase in both formal and informal inter-Church bilateral theological commissions as well as numerous local expressions of ecumenical consciousness, common prayer, service, and study. "When we think of the long history of separation between Churches, it remains surprising how transparent the dividing walls have become. There is much reason for gratitude. The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Orthodox Churches in general have contributed much to this development."¹⁹

The progress of the ecumenical movement is reflected in the most recent encyclical of the Patriarchate devoted to the challenge of Christian unity. This encyclical was promulgated on 16 August 1973 and was issued to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of the World Council of Churches.²⁰ The text of this significant letter was devoted to a

19. "Response to the Ecumenical Patriarchate," *Ecumenical Review* 26.2 (1974), 326.

20. "Declaration of the Ecumenical Patriarchate on the Occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the World Council of Churches," *Ecumenical Review* 25.4 (1973), 475.

review of the past accomplishments of the Council and to consideration of its future direction. In his analysis of the document, Archbishop Iakovos has stated that the encyclical "consists of a historical text worthy of those of 1902, 1920, and 1952, because it reaffirms the pioneer role which the Great Church of Christ in Constantinople played in inter-Church relations, having always in mind the reunion of the divided Church into one flock and under one Shepherd."²¹

The encyclical began by strongly praising the work of the W.C.C. over its twenty-five-year history. The Patriarchate affirmed that the Council "constitutes one of the means chosen by the Lord to make the new commandment of love audible among persons and the precepts of reconciliation, peace, and accord more precious to His Church."²² The introductory remarks clearly indicated the singular importance which the Church of Constantinople attached to the life and mission of the Council. In the spirit of the previous encyclicals, this letter forcefully reaffirmed the commitment of the Patriarchate to the quest for Christian unity as well as to the mission of the World Council of Churches.

Following a review of the Patriarchate's role in the early phases of the ecumenical movement, the encyclical took note of the positive contributions which Orthodoxy has made to the Council. In clear opposition to those who have claimed that the Council is merely a Protestant organization, the document identified four critical areas in which the Council has benefited significantly from the active presence of the Orthodox Churches. These are:

- a. The broadening of the basis of the constitution of the World Council of Churches in accordance with a proper Trinitarian approach.
- b. The clarification of the theology of mission as basic to the aim of the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church.
- c. The recognition of the need to abandon former methods of proselytism and the unequivocal condemnation of these along with the reaching of a common definition of the basic principles of religious liberty

21. Archbishop Iakovos, "The Patriarchal Declaration: A Source of Wisdom for All," *Orthodox Observer* 39.662 (19 September 1973), 1.

22. "Declaration," p. 475.

d. The taking up into ecumenical theological studies of such traditional theological themes as an understanding of Holy Tradition, the witness of the Fathers and the Ecumenical Councils, the Christology of Chalcedon, the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, the nature and essential marks of the Church, of Baptism, of the Eucharist, of the sacred ministry²³

These significant areas of Orthodox contribution to the W.C.C. were emphasized for two very important reasons. First, in addressing itself primarily to the members of the Council, the Church of Constantinople was witnessing to the value of Orthodox presence and active participation in the work of the Council. It did this not with a sense of triumphalism but rather in a spirit of charismatic service and witness. The encyclical acknowledged that the traditions of Eastern Christianity have many valuable but often overlooked perspectives which not only have contributed to the development of the ecumenical movement but also have assisted in the genuine renewal of the Churches in our day.

Second, the Patriarchate was responding to the small but vocal group of conservatives within Orthodoxy who claim that Orthodox participation in the ecumenical movement necessarily constitutes the abandonment of dogmatic convictions. The encyclical opposed this view. Orthodox participation in the quest for Christian unity has not in any way compromised the teachings of the Church. Quite the contrary, Orthodox presence and participation in the World Council of Churches and other ecumenical forums not only have witnessed to the traditions of the 'undivided' Church but also have served to enrich and enhance contemporary Western theology and church life.

It is worthwhile to note that the editors of the *Ecumenical Review* recently addressed themselves to this very point. They stated:

We came to see again how badly the ecumenical movement needs the distinctive witness of Orthodoxy; to a life of unity in which all outward signs of language, custom, and even authority are experiences as subordinate to the active working of the Holy Spirit amid His people, and to a life

23. Ibid.

of **worship** in which the Eucharist is the distinctive moment which reflects and leads to a cosmic vision embracing all history, all human life. How can the West, ever so expert at dividing up things, learn again of this wholeness?²⁴

Having reviewed the positive role which the Orthodox Church has played in the development of the ecumenical movement, the Patriarchal encyclical also acknowledged that Orthodoxy has benefited from its contemporary associations with other Churches and confessions. The letter stated that this enrichment is evident in the broad areas of inter-Church experience and theological study as well as in the realm of apostolic works of charity and mutual assistance "which have placed Christ in the hearts of millions of distressed Christians and many of our afflicted fellowmen. All these things together have contributed and are continuing to contribute to the opening of hearts in a Christ-beloved interpretation of Christian Churches and confessions that confess the same Lord."²⁵

The third and most significant portion of the encyclical was devoted to an evaluation of the present state and future direction of the World Council of Churches. Noting with much concern the growing tendency toward "secular ecumenism," the encyclical recognized that the Council feels compelled to address itself formally to the many problems which confront humanity. "The Council lives and functions, of course, within a multidimensional and painful reality. Naturally, the problems of our sick society are also its problems, as well as the problems of the individual Christian Churches."²⁶ The Patriarchate seriously questioned, however, whether various social, economic, and political issues should become the principal objects of the Council's concern. It asked, "Is it possible that all these issues, and only these, constitute the object and sole orientation of the World Council of Churches? The question is fundamental. The member Churches must apply themselves to the issues arising from this question."²⁷

The encyclical stated that there exists a very serious polarization with regard to the resolution of this question. To some

24. "Ecumenical Diary," *Ecumenical Review* 26.1 (1974), 139.

25. "Declaration," p. 475.

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*

the Council is viewed as an organization which can assist individual Churches in their socio-political aims. These Churches and their delegates are willing to reflect theologically only when there is a possibility of finding religious justification for their position. To others the Council is viewed exclusively as an ideological forum in which the 'time worn' theological formulas can be expounded with the end being the perpetuation of differences and the widening of division. The Patriarchate firmly believes that both extremes are dangerous and that both are detrimental to the genuine work of the Council.

The Patriarchate felt that the polarization could be overcome and that an end to the 'crisis' of the ecumenical movement could be achieved if a true balance were reached between the two extremes, thereby reaffirming the traditional aims and aspirations of the Council. "The declaration rightly points to the double task of the Church. Above all it needs to praise God for His gift of salvation and the hope He has placed in our hearts. But at the same time it is called to serve people."²⁸ The Patriarchate holds firmly to the principle that there cannot be a separation between faith and work, between worship and service, or between theology and Church life. It is because of this principle, which is so important to Eastern Christianity, that Orthodoxy under the leadership of the Patriarchate of Constantinople has constantly taught that the voice and power of the Christian message to the world are suspect and weak so long as Christians are visibly divided among themselves. Service to the world and the quest for Christian unity are interrelated. Indeed, a divided Church cannot thoroughly heal a broken world.

Seeking to chart a moderate course between the extremes within the Council, the encyclical offered eight specific suggestions for consideration. All of these were related to the nature of the Council, its fundamental purpose as an agent of the Churches in the quest for unity, and the relationship of the Council to the world. While each point is worthy of study, one is especially significant. This is the Patriarchate's concern over the requirements for membership in the Council.

First, the encyclical stated that the Church of Constantinople would welcome the formal membership in the Council of the

28. "Response," p. 326.

Roman Catholic Church. Its presence would be enriching and would contribute further to the pan-Christian character of the Council. However, the Patriarchate saw a real danger and threat to the integrity of the Council if it acted to include "movements or agencies or extra-ecclesial groups evidently lacking in ecclesiastical characteristics."²⁹ The Church of Constantinople believes that this unfortunate tendency must be avoided or terminated because it would result "in a digression for the Council" and "would place many of the member Churches in an extremely difficult position."³⁰ Here, the Patriarchate is raising a very serious issue. It is calling upon the Council to reflect upon and to define more clearly its view of ecclesial reality. The encyclical has raised the very important question of what criteria determine whether a community can properly be recognized as a church. Indeed, the very question of ecclesiology, the nature of an authentic Christian church, may be central to the entire future of the contemporary ecumenical movement.

Conclusion

The study of the four encyclicals devoted to the cause of Christian unity which have been promulgated during this century by the Patriarchate of Constantinople reveals that these are important documents in the history of the contemporary ecumenical movement. The letters clearly show that the Orthodox Church in general and the Patriarchate of Constantinople in particular have been active, responsible participants in the quest for Christian unity since the beginning of this century. Reflecting the pioneering ecumenical efforts and initiatives of the Church of Constantinople, the encyclicals reveal the Patriarchate as one of the foremost protagonists in the struggle against the divisions which separate Christians.

The early encyclicals of 1902 and 1920 dramatically called for theological dialogue and charitable cooperation among Christians long before any major or formalized movement had been inaugurated. Advocating a significant principle, these letters expressed the belief that existing dogmatic differences should not prevent those common efforts which "will prepare and facilitate that perfect and blessed union which, with God's

29. "Declaration," p. 475.

30. Ibid.

help, may one day be realized.”³¹ Truly, these early encyclicals, which reflected the vision of the Church of Constantinople, contributed greatly to the establishment of the World Council of Churches in 1948.

The later encyclicals of 1952 and 1973 expressed the Patriarchate's continued commitment to the goal of Christian unity. The letter of 1952 established a positive direction for Orthodox participation in the fledgling World Council of Churches: Expressing the respected position in the ecumenical movement which the Patriarchate had attained, the letter of 1973 challenged the members of the World Council of Churches to avoid the dangers of “secular ecumenism” and to remain faithful to the constitution of the Council, which emphasized ecclesiastical and religious goals.

One of Orthodoxy's formidable tasks is to affirm its own existence and to reveal its unique treasure of faith in a contemporary Christianity so frequently identified solely with its Western expression. The four encyclicals of the Patriarchate have done much to remind the Christian West of the vision of divine-human life in Christ, of the rich theology, of the living traditions which characterize the Orthodox Church. Reflecting the Patriarchate's concern for the whole Church of Christ as it exists in space and in time, the encyclicals reveal Orthodoxy not as an island for the disenchanted nor as a museum for antiquarians but rather as the joyous revelation of life in the Holy Trinity expressed in the undefiled faith received from the Apostles. All of the encyclicals, therefore, have given substance to the prayer of the Church “for the unity of the faith and for communion with the Holy Spirit.”

31. *Guidelines*, p. 27.

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The real cause for our tragic alienation from each other is that our understandings of Christian faith and practice are different; and our understandings are different because our views of authority are different. Therefore, in discussing the subject of authority we are dealing with the root problem, the source of our estrangement. And it may be that we will please God by finding here also the source of a healing reconciliation. That is undoubtedly His will and it should therefore be ours as well.

What is Authority?

The subject of authority is of primary importance in both Christian theology and Christian living. That is true because, if it is followed with consistency, the authority that is assumed or accepted determines the structure and content of theology, and it also provides the motivation and guidelines for personal and corporate life. Stated in Aristotelian terms, authority supplies both the formal and material causes of Christian doctrine and practice. It controls what we are and what we do.

Because the subject is so crucial, therefore, special care in definition is required. What is the precise meaning of the concept "authority" in religion? It is well known that in the history of Christian thought two types of authority have been designated: *causative* authority and *normative* authority. The first refers to power—original force, as in Aristotle's efficient and final causes; and the second refers to judgment—the standard by which truth and right are measured. In theology, causative authority must therefore be defined ultimately as God Himself, the First Cause, the source and goal of all that is besides Himself; and normative authority is that which can lead us to God or by which we can judge the truth of our beliefs (orthodoxy) and the correctness of our deeds (righteousness).

This paper will deal in the main with normative authority rather than with causative authority since that procedure is more in the interest of our dialogue. A discussion of causative authority would lead us to our views of God, and it is probable that we really have very few dogmatic differences on that subject. However, before we have come to the end of this presentation we may find that the two types of authority are too closely related to be separable, and that fact also may con-

tribute to our mutual understanding and possible spiritual reconciliation.

Let us proceed, then, by probing for a clear and adequate definition of normative authority. Considered *in abstracto*, must it have some necessary nature? What characteristics are required if it is to be acceptable, useful and effective? We may agree that there are at least three: immediate availability, intrinsic value and ultimate claim.

Immediate availability means that whatever is proposed as authority must be so objectively present and generally recognizable that there can be no confusion or difficulty in finding or using it. Authority must be public and open; it cannot be hidden or esoteric. Intrinsic value means that the worth of the authority will be self-evident and autonomous. Its truth must be axiomatic and its strength must be derived from its own coherence and integrity. And, finally, ultimate claim means that the accepted authority is the final arbiter, the highest court to which appeal can be made. Truth and right are determined in the light of this standard in such a way that subsequent debate is not about what they are but whether they are being followed.

When normative authority is defined in this manner it becomes evident immediately that God is not the authority we seek but instead He is the source and goal of authority. He is the author but not the authority. The proper function of normative authority is to provide instruction, guidance and persuasion. It is the means, not the end. When we find this authority and follow it we are led from error to truth, from sinfulness to righteousness, from alienation to reconciliation.

Let us recall that a variety of normative authorities have been accepted during the long history of Christendom. First there was Jesus Himself, in the days of His flesh. His followers desired no other guide as long as He was present. More and more, as their faith in Him grew, they believed that He was the Messiah, the Christ, and they found themselves walking with Him into the presence of God. Even when He seemed to teach and act contrary to the Torah and when He was opposed and repudiated by their most respected religious leaders, they still put their trust in Him and believed that in Him was the way, the truth and the life.

When Jesus of Nazareth was no longer present in the flesh

His followers began to depend directly upon the Holy Spirit of God for instruction and guidance. It was as Jesus had promised. They received a rich variety of gifts from the Spirit, including courage and leadership, and there seemed to be no need for any other authority. But soon came divisions, disputes and excesses. These misfortunes are found even in the earliest Christian writings, such as the first letters of St. Paul to the churches at Thessalonika and Corinth. Questions arose concerning spiritual gifts and their validity. Who was a true prophet and who was a false one? How could a Christian distinguish with certainty truth from error, right from wrong, the Tradition of the Apostles from the traditions of men?

This vexing problem of authority reached the point of crisis in the second century with the rise of heresies and schisms such as Gnosticism and Montanism. Out of the struggle with these and other movements there emerged a three-fold, interlocking, normative authority which claimed Apostolic origin and sanction. First there was the Apostolic teaching, summarized in the Apostles' Creed. Second, as the guardian and guarantor of that teaching, there was the Apostolic institution, the universal Church, with its bishops serving as successors of the Apostles. And, third, there was the Apostolic witness, written and canonized as Christian Scriptures, an addition to the Jewish Scriptures.

That three-fold Apostolic authority remained normative among Christians, with some exceptions, and variously interpreted, until the beginning of modern times. However, an erosion occurred, primarily in the West, as a consequence of what are known as the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, especially the latter. That issue is exceedingly complex, but it is sufficient here to say that modern man has become increasingly rationalistic; and even Christians, while professing to live by faith, have rejected the authorities of the past and enthroned autonomous reason as the norm of truth and right. This was especially true of Protestant theology in the nineteenth century.

The Historic Position of Baptists

With this definition and background in mind, now let us come without delay to the decisive question that concerns us here: what is normative authority for Baptists? The unequivocal answer is that Baptists accept the *sole* authority of the Scriptures

for faith and practice.

Baptists appeared in history near the beginning of the seventeenth century in England and the Netherlands, as a part of the emerging Protestant movement that resulted from various attempts to reform the Western Church. Baptists therefore shared from the beginning the general Protestant principle of *sola Scriptura*. Their distinctive emergence among the various Protestant groups was the result, they believed, of their more thorough application of the test of biblical authority to all their faith and practice.

It has often been pointed out that Baptists do not hold any one view that is not also held by other Christian communions. Perhaps just the opposite should be emphasized—that by far the greater part of what Baptists believe is held in common with nearly all their fellow Christians, including Roman Catholics and Orthodox Christians as well as other Protestants. Thus the only distinguishing feature of Baptists is that they believe in a group of religious teachings, any one of which is held by others but all of which are held by no other communion, and all of which Baptists insist upon precisely because they are believed to be required by the authority of the Scriptures.

This central allegiance to biblical authority may be seen in all Baptist statements of faith since the beginning. A brief review of some of them will illustrate and support the point.

1. *A True Confession* is the title of a statement of belief prepared in 1596 by two groups of English Separatists, one having fled to Amsterdam and the other remaining in London. They had a common background in the Separatist congregationalism of men like Robert Browne of Norwich (1580); Henry Barrowe and John Greenwood of London, who were hanged for their faith on April 6, 1593; and Francis Johnson and Henry Ainsworth, who fled to Holland in 1592. The *Confession* was apparently representative of both the London and Amsterdam congregations, though it is reputed to be largely the work of Ainsworth, who was elected pastor of the Amsterdam church in 1595.¹ It consisted of forty-two articles, and each one is supported by a mass of references to the Bible. The seventh and eighth are of particular relevance to the issue of Scriptural authority.

1. W. L. Lumpkin, *Baptist Confessions of Faith* (Philadelphia, 1959), p. 81.

7. That the rule of this knowledge faith and obedience, concerning the worship and service of God and all other Christian duties, is not the opinions, devises, laws, or constitutions of men, but the written word of the everlasting God, contained in the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments.

8. That in this word Jesus Christ hath revealed whatever his father thought needful for us to know, believe and obey as touching his person and offices, in whom all the promises of God are yea, and in whom they are Amen to the praise of God through us.²

2. *A Declaration of Faith of English People Remaining at Amsterdam in Holland, 1611* has been called "the first English Baptist Confession of Faith."³ It was written by Thomas Helwys, hitherto a layman in the congregation of English Separatists led by John Smyth who were living among the Waterlander Menonites, an Anabaptist group, in the Netherlands. Generally Calvinistic in tone, though not completely so, the *Declaration* is comprised of twenty-seven articles, all of which, again, are strongly reinforced by references to the Scriptures. The twenty-third article specifically refers to the question of authority:

That the scriptures of the Old and New Testament are written for our instruction, 2 Tim. 3:16 and we ought to search them for they testify of Christ, Jo. 5:39. And therefore to be used with all reverence, as containing the Holy Word of God, which only is our direction in all things whatsoever.⁴

3. *The London Confession* of 1644 was promulgated by seven Particular (Calvinistic) Baptist churches in London and probably was the work of John Spilsberg, William Kiffin and Samuel Richardson. It has been called "one of the noblest of all Baptist confessions," anticipating the later Westminster Confession.⁵ The immediate cause for its composition seems to have been to answer the harmful charges of Pelagianism and radical Anabaptist anarchy which were being leveled against the Baptists, and to facilitate the rapid growth of the denomination in a propitious time of short-lived religious freedom. Like earlier Separatist-Baptist statements, this one is supported by

2. Quoted in Lumpkin, p. 84.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

reference and quotation from the Bible, and Article VII echoes the *True Confession* of 1596 in saying:

The Rule of this Knowledge, Faith, and Obedience, concerning the worship and service of God, and all other Christian duties, is not man's inventions, opinions, devices, laws, constitutions, or traditions unwritten whatsoever, but only the word of God contained in the Canonical Scriptures.⁶

4. Following the revolutionary days of the Commonwealth and the persecutions under Charles II and James II, English Baptists experienced new life and freedom as a result of the Act of Toleration promulgated by William and Mary in 1689. In a response to a call to a conference, one hundred and seven Baptist churches sent representatives to a general meeting in London during September, 1689. They approved a new Confession which had been issued in 1677 and republished in 1688, a Baptist adaptation of the famous Westminster Confession of 1646. It is known in history as the *Second London Confession*, and it is of fundamental significance in subsequent Baptist theology. The sole authority of the Scriptures for faith and practice stands in the first of thirty-two chapters as its controlling principle; and the understanding and application of that principle is given precise expression. It follows, in part:

1. The Holy Scripture is the only sufficient, certain, and infallible rule of all saving Knowledge, Faith, and Obedience; although the light of Nature, and the works of Creation and Providence do so far manifest the goodness, wisdom and power of God, as to leave men unexcusable; yet they are not sufficient to give that knowledge of God and His will, which is necessary unto Salvation. Therefore it pleased the Lord at sundry times, and in divers manners, to reveal himself, and to declare that His will unto his church; and afterward for the better preserving, and propagating of the Truth, and for the more sure Establishment and Comfort of the Church against the corruption of the flesh, and the malice of Satan, and of the World, to commit the same wholly unto writing; which maketh the Holy Scriptures to be most necessary, those former ways of Gods revealing his will unto his people being now ceased.

2. Under the Name of Holy Scripture, or the Word of God written; are now contained all the Books of the Old and New Testament, which are these, [there follow 39 books

6. Ibid., p. 158.

of the Old Testament, and 27 books of the New Testament]. All of which are given by the inspiration of God, to be the rule of Faith and Life.

3. The Books commonly called Apochypha [*sic*] not being of divine inspiration, are no part of the Canon (or rule) of the Scripture, and therefore are of no authority to the Church of God, nor to be any otherwise approved or made use of, then other humane writings.

4. The Authority of the Holy Scripture for which it ought to be believed dependeth not upon the testimony of any man, or Church; but wholly upon God (who is truth itself) the Author thereof; therefore it is to be received, because it is the Word of God.

9. The infallible rule of interpretation of Scripture is the Scripture itself: And therefore when there is a question about the true and full meaning of any Scripture (which is not manifold but one) it must be searched by other places that speak more clearly.

10. The supreme judge by which all controversies of Religion are to be determined, and all Decrees of Councils, opinions of ancient Writers, Doctrines of men, and private Spirits, are to be examined, and in whose sentence we are to rest, can be no other but the Holy Scripture delivered by the Spirit, into which Scripture so delivered, our faith is finally resolved.⁷

5. *The Orthodox Creed* was written in January, 1678, by fifty-four "Messengers, Elders, and Brethren" representing many General (non-Calvinistic) Baptist congregations in several counties of central England. Two especially remarkable features of this "Creed" are, first, its strong emphasis of Christology, and, second, its inclusion of the Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds. Regarding the former it goes so far as to say "that the denying of baptism is a less evil than to deny the Divinity or Humanity of Christ."⁸ Its statement concerning Biblical authority is similar to that of the former statements of faith:

The authority of the holy scripture dependeth not upon the authority of any man, but only upon the authority of God, who hath delivered and revealed his mind therein to us, and containeth all things necessary for salvation; so that whatever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 248-52.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 295.

believed as an article of the Christian faith, or to be thought requisite to salvation . . . And no decrees of popes, or councils, or writings of any person whatsoever, are of equal authority with the sacred scriptures. And by the holy scriptures we understand the canonical books of the old and new testament, as they are now translated into our English mother-tongue, of which there hath never been doubt of their verity, and authority, in the protestant churches of Christ to this day.⁹

6. Several other confessions were written and used by various British Baptists, all stating or apparently assuming the same position, relative to the Scriptures, as the earlier statements. Finally, after the formation of the Baptist Union, as early as 1813, and after several adjustments in structure and membership, a brief doctrinal statement was adopted in 1888 which affirmed belief in "The Divine Inspiration and Authority of the Holy Scripture as the supreme and sufficient rule of our faith and practice; and the right and duty of individual judgment in the interpretation of it."¹⁰

7. Baptists in America, beginning almost as early as those in England and Holland, reflected the same variations as their European brethren, especially regarding Calvinism. But they all maintained a strong conviction with regard to the sole and final authority of the Scriptures. This fact is shown, for example, by the adoption of the *Second London Confession* by the Philadelphia Association of Baptist Churches on September 25, 1742, when, incidentally, a new edition was ordered to be printed by Benjamin Franklin. However, the most widely used and influential confession among American Baptists undoubtedly is the *New Hampshire Confession* of 1833. Written by a committee appointed for that purpose by the Baptist Convention of New Hampshire, it has been adopted, sometimes with particular theological additions, by many diverse groups of Baptists, including the Southern Baptist Convention. Its first article declares that

We believe the Holy Bible was written by men divinely inspired, and is a perfect treasure of heavenly instruction; that it has God for its author, salvation for its end, and truth, without any mixture of error, for its matter; that it reveals the principles by which God will judge us; and

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 324ff.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 345.

therefore is, and shall remain to the end of the world, the true centre of Christian union, and the supreme standard by which all human conduct, creeds, and opinions should be tried.¹¹

These same words were incorporated into the "Baptist Faith and Message" which was adopted by the Southern Baptist Convention in 1925 and reaffirmed in 1963.

8. During the nineteenth century Baptists spread over the continent of Europe and to every part of the world, largely through missionary effort from England and America. According to a report of the Baptist World Alliance in 1973, there are now Baptists in more than 105 nations and twenty-three dependencies with thirty-three million baptized members in a church comprising a total community of over sixty-seven million people. A number of national groups, usually called 'conventions' or 'unions,' have developed confessions of faith. Uniformly, they assume or define a view of the Scriptures consonant with that of the older Baptist groups in England and America which have been reviewed above.

This evidence from history is sufficient to support the claim made earlier in this paper that there has always been a consistent belief among Baptists that the Scriptures are the sole and sufficient authority in faith and practice. Now another issue must be raised—one that is generally avoided: *why* have Baptists (and Protestants generally) so believed, especially since this stubbornly held conviction is perhaps the root cause of their separation from their Christian brethren in the Roman and Orthodox Churches?

The ground for the Baptist belief in the sole authority of the Scriptures is not always stated explicitly in the confessions, but it is usually there at least by implication. It may be stated as follows: the books of the Old and New Testaments are the written Word of God, sufficient and authoritative for all men in all ages, because they were written by men inspired by God. It was God's will that a saving knowledge of Himself and His will should be provided in these particular records, and the Holy Spirit, using human agents, caused it to be done. *Hence no other standard of truth is necessary, no supplement is needed, and no contradiction can be accepted.*

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 361ff.

This doctrine of inspiration is the foundation for the Baptist conviction that the Scriptures, and the Scriptures only, are the final authority in questions of faith. Although expressed in various ways, the doctrine may be found, either implicitly or explicitly, in practically all Baptist statements of faith, books on theology, biblical commentaries and church educational materials. It is frequently supported by reference to such texts as II Timothy 3.16: "All scripture is inspired by God and profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, and for training in righteousness"; or II Peter 1.21: "no prophecy ever came by the impulse of man, but men moved by the Holy Spirit spoke from God." This is a position that Baptists hold in common with nearly all other Protestants.

Nevertheless, certain weaknesses may be noted that call into question the adequacy of the argument from inspiration as a basis for Scriptural authority. A few may be mentioned briefly here.

1. Is it not a faulty logic, or at best a weak argument, that attempts to prove the inspiration of Scripture by quoting Scripture? Further, do not the passages quoted in II Timothy and II Peter, for example, refer to the then-existing Hebrew Scriptures (even the Old Testament was not yet fully canonized) and not to the yet-to-be-completed Christian Scriptures, the New Testament? And what is to be made of such passages as I Corinthians 7.6, 12, and 25, where the Apostle specifically states that he is giving his own opinion instead of a "command from the Lord"?

2. Does the doctrine of inspiration cover the process of canonization also? If so, on what ground? The composition of the books of the Bible, even under the guidance of the Spirit, would not provide for an adequate propagation of saving truth unless the books were somehow preserved, transmitted and given special status by God's people in worship and mission. In the light of what is known about the writing, redaction, preservation, and canonization of the Bible, it is difficult to attribute infallibly divine guidance to the process. A theory of inspired preservation and selection is especially suspect when it is remembered that Christians have never yet agreed officially even as to the limits of the canon.

It is a strange and usually overlooked fact, but a fact nonethe-

less, that there is no fixed and official Bible, universally accepted by all who use and revere it, and there never has been. The early Christians accepted the Jewish Scriptures as their own, usually in the Greek translation known as the Septuagint. Gradually certain Christian writings were generally received as equally authoritative and sacred writings—the Apostolic writings referred to above—but it was not until after the Protestant Reformation that the Roman Catholic Church, at the Council of Trent in 1546, fixed its canon of Scriptures officially. That canon includes the Jewish Scriptures, the New Testament, and certain parts of the Jewish Apocrypha.

As far as I have been able to discover, the exact limits of the canon are still somewhat unsettled among the Orthodox. The canon was defined by the Synod of Jerusalem in 1672 so as to include the Jewish Scriptures, the New Testament, and part of the Jewish Apocrypha somewhat at variance with the usage of the Roman Church. However, the Larger Catechism composed by Philaret, Metropolitan of Moscow from 1820 to 1867, leaves the matter in doubt. That Catechism, which was unanimously approved by the other Eastern Patriarchs, limits the Old Testament books to "*twenty-two*, agreeing therein with the Jews," accepts the twenty-seven books of the New Testament, and excludes the books of the Apocrypha "because they do not exist in the Hebrew."¹² Of course, the "twenty-two" books of the Old Testament include the same material as the thirty-nine books in other arrangements except that here, correctly, the Catechism reverts to the Jewish order.

Finally, as is well known, the canon generally agreed upon by Protestants is composed exclusively of the thirty-nine books of the Jewish scriptures plus the twenty-seven books of the New Testament. Although the Apocrypha is frequently bound in the same volume and remains in high esteem, it is nonetheless considered to be non-canonical. This has been true since the Reformation. It probably goes without saying that there is no *official* canon among Protestants, in the nature of the case, because it is scarcely possible for Protestants to agree on anything even unofficially!

3. Is it to be assumed that the doctrine of inspiration refers to the autographs? If so, that leaves the Bible reader with disturbing problems concerning the text. No autographs exist.

12. Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom*, II (New York, 1905), 451.

What we have are copies of copies of copies, many times removed from the originals. There are considerable variations among the ancient manuscripts. The textual critics, back as far at least as Origen with his *Hexapla*—perhaps as early as Ezra with his Torah—have done heroic work and have given to the Church a reasonably dependable text of the whole Bible. But does not the necessity of the process itself indicate a large degree of human frailty as well as human grandeur in the writing and transmission of the Sacred Text?

4. Indeed, does not the doctrine of inspiration, at least as often expressed in terms of a theory of “plenary verbal inspiration,” fall into the danger of doing with the Scriptures what the ancient Gnostics did with Christ, denying the humanity and holding to the heresy of Docetism? If the Word was made flesh in Jesus, perhaps also it is not too much to say that the Word was made flesh in the Scriptures. This is in no sense to deny the initiative of the Spirit in the birth of Jesus—he was “conceived of the Holy Spirit”—but he was also “born of the Virgin Mary,” and “was made man.” In like manner we may say that the men who wrote the Scriptures were filled and led by the Holy Spirit and yet what they brought forth is flesh—using the word “flesh” here in the Pauline sense of *sarx*, that which is frail and creaturely.

These and other criticisms that could be presented are sufficient to indicate that other, perhaps stronger, grounds for believing in the sole authority of the Scriptures need to be found. Such stronger support is available, though too often overlooked. *I am suggesting that a more convincing argument for the primary authority of the Scriptures in Christian faith and practice may be found in an analysis of the nature and purpose of revelation.* This liberating and intriguing idea is clearly expressed in the erudite essay by Oscar Cullmann, entitled “The Tradition.”¹³ But of course the concept has been expounded in various ways by many others, including Søren Kierkegaard and Karl Barth.

In order to sketch briefly this crucial relation between revelation and authority, we may well begin by referring to the familiar teaching of St. Thomas concerning the distinction between natural and revealed theology, or, more specifically, between general and special revelation. General revelation is the knowledge of God, His nature and will, which is available to natural

13. Oscar Cullmann, *The Early Church* (Philadelphia, 1956), pp 55-99.

man because he is created in the image of God. It is the truth which is known to reason, which may be read in nature, which forms and informs of conscience. But it is not enough because it has been refused and distorted by the willfulness of fallen man.

Probably the clearest description of general revelation, and of its tragic insufficiency, is found in these words of St. Paul:

For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and wickedness of men who by their wickedness suppress the truth. For what can be known about God is plain to them, because God has shown it to them. Ever since the creation of the world his invisible nature, namely, his eternal power and deity, has been clearly perceived in the things that have been made. So they are without excuse; for although they knew God they did not honor him as God or give thanks to him, but they became futile in their thinking and their senseless minds were darkened. Claiming to be wise, they became fools, and exchanged the glory of the immortal God for images resembling mortal man or birds or animals or reptiles (Romans 1. 18-23 RSV).

Because of His grace, therefore, and moved by the desire for reconciliation in spite of estrangement, God has given what is called special revelation. He has been slapped on one cheek and has turned the other. He has gone one mile and when that was not sufficient He has compassionately gone another.

Special revelation is the unexpected disclosure of God given in *heilsgeschichte*. It may be seen in the call of Israel, the covenant at Sinai, the warning and chastisement of a wayward people, and in the Word that repeatedly came by the prophets. It may be seen and heard supremely in the Word made flesh, in Jesus the Christ. Special revelation is the Gospel itself—the good news that forgiveness is freely offered and that transformation may be experienced. The eyes blinded by darkness may see again, and deaf ears may hear. The only requirement is acceptance of the grace God offers, in faithfulness and obedience.

We must take special care not to overlook one particular aspect of the distinction between general and special revelation. It is precisely this: *the primary channel of general revelation is nature whereas the primary channel of special revelation is history*. God may be seen in the things He has made (nature); but since that revelation has been perverted by the sinful idolatries of man, God has acted to overcome the effects of sin by reveal-

ing Himself in a particular history and in the unique person of Jesus of Nazareth.

That distinction is crucial for the purpose of our discussion because the Scriptures are the witness to that special revelation. The Hebrew Scriptures compose a part of the Christian Scriptures because they contain the only unchanging and faithful witness we have of God's self-disclosure in the history of Israel, the people of God. The Church thus correctly rejected the misunderstandings of Marcion when he attempted to limit salvation history to the work of Jesus, completely separating the Creator from the Redeemer. The Redeemer *is* the Creator, and it is precisely the creation that is redeemed. But the Church also came to realize that the witness of the Apostles, which was certainly an oral tradition for many years, must also be recorded, preserved and canonized so that all future Christians might have *a fixed norm*, a contemporary and faithful witness to the work and words of Jesus and the testimony of His chosen Apostles.

Historical revelation requires a historical record if it is to be preserved in accurate and useful form for the future. Written witness, though itself imperfect, as are all elements of creation, is certainly more dependable than oral witness. Thus the faithful witness of the Apostles, and their understanding and application of it, was transmitted first in oral and then in written form, as they themselves were filled and led by the Holy Spirit; and that written tradition, concerning what they had seen and heard and touched with their hands, became, and remains, the norm of all future interpretation, faith and practice.

That is why, though so incompletely stated, it seems to me, as it does to others, that the Scriptures should be considered the primary authority for Christians. However, it must be immediately recognized that many Christians do not agree with this conclusion. Strong and effective arguments to the contrary have been raised, both within the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church and in Orthodoxy. Let us examine four of those arguments.

Objections and Rebuttal

In the first place, one might ask whether the Church is not at least equal if not superior as authority because the Church, led by the Apostles and their successors, both wrote and canon-

ized the Scriptures. To this question Oscar Cullmann gives a direct and forceful reply:

By establishing the *principle* of a canon the Church recognized that *from that time* the tradition was no longer a criterion of truth. It drew a line under the apostolic tradition. It declared implicitly that from that time every subsequent tradition must be submitted to the control of the apostolic tradition. That is, it declared: here is the tradition which constituted the Church, which forced itself upon it. Certainly the Church did not intend thereby to put an end to the continued evolution of the tradition. But by what we might call an act of humility it submitted all subsequent tradition to be elaborated by itself to the superior criterion of the apostolic tradition, codified in the Holy Scriptures. To establish a canon is equivalent to saying this: henceforth our ecclesiastical tradition needs to be controlled; with the help of the Holy Spirit it will be controlled by the apostolic tradition fixed in writing; for we are getting to the point where we are too distant from the apostolic age to be able to guarantee the purity of the tradition *without a superior written norm*, and too distant to prevent slight legendary and other deformations creeping in, and thus being transmitted and amplified.¹⁴

Thus Cullmann and others argue that it was precisely in the canonizing of the Scriptures that the early Church itself defined its authority and in effect recognized the primary authority of the Scriptures.

A second and closely related objection to the primary authority of the Scriptures is that made by the Roman Catholic Church on the grounds that the bishops are the successors of the Apostles, the Bishop of Rome being uniquely the successor of Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and that therefore the bishops retain in their teaching office the function of maintaining, interpreting and ever expanding the original *paradosis*. Here, of course, is the foundation for the dogma of papal infallibility.

In reply to this argument we may again listen to the words of Cullmann:

The function of the bishop, which is transmitted, is essentially different from that of the apostle, which cannot be transmitted. The apostles appoint bishops, but they cannot delegate to them their own function, which cannot be renewed. The bishops succeed the apostles but on a completely different level. They succeed them, not as apostles but as bishops, whose office is also important for

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 90ff.

the Church, but quite distinct. The apostles did not appoint other apostles, but bishops. This means that the apostolate does not belong to the period of the Church, but to that of the incarnation.¹⁵

Cullmann proceeds to show the unique office of the apostle by citing the strong defense of his apostleship made by the Apostle Paul against the Judaizers on the specific ground that he was a witness to the risen Lord and that he had received his *paradosis* from the Lord and not from men (Galatians 1). Thus the authority of the post-apostolic church is not that of the Apostles but of the bishops. "There is consequently a difference between apostolic tradition and ecclesiastical tradition, the former being the foundation of the latter. They cannot, therefore, be coordinated."¹⁶

A third objection to the primary authority of the Scriptures is that this leaves the Church with only a dead, written Word, no matter how inspired it may have been, in place of the living, infallible teaching office of the Church in every generation. We are reminded also of the parallel teaching concerning the Sacrament of the Eucharist in which Roman Catholics and Orthodox Christians believe they receive the real Body of Christ while Protestants apparently celebrate only a memory. Such an argument, if it were accurate, would surely be damaging to Protestant life and worship. But fortunately the objection does not deal with the reality of Protestant faith and practice. We do not look upon the Scriptures as merely a record of the past, or even as only an inspired deposit from the salvation history that was. Rather, we revere the Bible as the Word of God in written form, the indispensable vehicle of the message of salvation that was first revealed, then written, and now must continually be made alive by the internal testimony of the Holy Spirit as the Word is proclaimed to us and to all men. In like manner, we believe that the Lord's Supper is not only a memorial to the past; it is also a genuine spiritual communion with the present Christ and with his Body, the Church; and it is proleptically a *koinonia* in the Eternal Banquet of the Kingdom of God. Thus the two, the Bible and Supper, though of and in the creation, are used redemptively by the Creator.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 79ff.

Finally, Roman Catholics and Orthodox Christians alike have difficulty with the view of Baptists in particular regarding the authority of the Scriptures at the point of interpretation. Baptists insist not only on the primary authority of the Bible but also on the right and duty of individual interpretation. That right, Baptists have generally held, springs from the fundamental principle that every person is of infinite worth to God; and the correlate to that principle is that every person is competent and responsible to stand before God without any intermediary except Jesus the Christ. This is why Baptists have always suspected and avoided required creeds, efficacious sacraments, and priestly hierarchies.

The Dynamics of Authority Among Baptists

It may be well to conclude this presentation by describing briefly how this view of authority becomes effective in the personal and corporate life of Baptists. This is the point at which normative authority is merged with causative authority. Here, we believe, the means of grace, the Redeeming Word of God, is enabled to transmit the saving grace of God to us. The guide brings us to the Source and Goal of our lives and of all creation.

For us, the goal of religion is nothing less than mystical oneness with God—Father, Son and Holy Spirit; it is loving and creative encounter between our forgiven and restored persons and the Holy and Righteous Person; and it is acceptance of ourselves, in spite of our unacceptability, by Him who is eternally redemptive love.¹⁷ We believe that the Gospel of Jesus Christ is just this message: that God, the Eternal Trinity, has revealed Himself and His will in the specific events which are recorded in the Scriptures, supremely in the Event of Jesus Christ; that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the effective and inspired testimony to that revelation and Event, thereby being the indispensable and unchanging means of saving knowledge; and that the grace of God, thus given and thus made available, is authenticated and made effective in us and among us by the Holy Spirit.¹⁸

17. Cf. Paul Tillich, *The Courage to Be* (New Haven, 1952), especially chapter 6.

18. Note the implicit Trinitarian structure of this statement. Cf. Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, 1/1, especially his famous teaching concerning the three-fold form of the Word of God.

In the light of this goal and this Gospel, our faith and practice as Baptists are determined, insofar as our sinful natures allow, by the Word of God—revealed, written and proclaimed. Our democratic polity, non-hierarchical ministry, non-liturgical worship, fervent mission, kerygmatic preaching and strict ethics are constantly subject to examination and adjustment by this standard. We intend to put our trust in nothing human or creaturely, whether it be institution, tradition, sacrament or dogma, lest we continue to fall short of the glory of God. Rather, in faithfulness, we seek to hear the Word of God so that, in spite of our acknowledged creatureliness and sin, we may know and love Him whom to know aright is life eternal.

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RELIGION AND NATIONALISM IN THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE AND AFTER: CONFORMITY OR PLURALISM*

Deno J. Geanakoplos

PRECIS

The Byzantine Empire offers an interesting and complex example of the relationship between religion and nationalism. In general, Orthodoxy and the sense of nationhood became more closely intertwined the more serious the crises that threatened the existence of the empire in its existence of over one thousand years. When the state was strong, it aided the church; when the state was weak, it was aided by the church. Thus, in spite of a diversity of races and nations, a remarkable unity was preserved through two universal Christian institutions, the Orthodox Church and the emperor.

Three broad chronological periods are dealt with. (1) 330-717: The emperor and Orthodox Church were closely tied together in an empire with a Christian political ideology; the empire was seen as the political organization sanctioned by God for the world, and unity of religion was considered necessary for the unity of the empire. While there were a few exceptions, conformity of belief, enforced by state authority, was the general rule. (2) 717-1204: The iconoclast controversy led to the church's reassertion of its doctrinal authority against the emperor's intrusions. The conversion of the Slavs and the concession to them of a vernacular liturgy represented a recognition by the church of an acceptable ethnic pluralism. The trauma caused by the fall of Constantinople in 1204 brought together the religious faith and ethnicity of the Greeks as never before. (3) 1261-1453: Cultural and religious nationalism became almost synonymous during this period of bitter hate against and fear of the double threat from Turks and Latins, a period that was also marked by a decline in state authority. Ancient Greek cultural tradition became an important unifying element for the people. This religious and cultural conformity eventually produced the new Greek nationalism.

To examine in all its complexity the problem of the relationship between religion and nationalism, it would be hard to find a more intricate case than the Byzantine Empire. Many medieval historians consider the Byzantine Empire, especially in the sixth century under Justinian with its far flung territories of East and West, and at its height in the early eleventh century, to be the classic case of a multinational state which, despite an extreme diversity of peoples, was able not only to survive but also to prosper. The sense of unity that maintained this empire is believed to have come primarily from the absolute authority of its ruler the Basileus and, perhaps even

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more, from its official religion Orthodoxy—the very name of which means the one true religion.

Closer scrutiny, however, of this apparent unity of church and state or, more precisely, of the conformity of all citizens to the religion of the state, exposes a number of difficulties and irregularities. Though by law it was necessary to adhere to Orthodoxy, there were exceptions. Jews, for instance, in the old Roman imperial tradition were more or less tolerated in the practice of their religion throughout the entire period.¹ And at various times such peoples as Arabs living *within* imperial territory were unofficially granted special permission, or at least left unmolested, to follow the Muslim religion. An extreme example of this kind of toleration is the Armenians.² Though essentially related to the much persecuted Monophysite groups, they were often permitted to retain their religious beliefs even when they fled for sanctuary into the empire, partly because of the strategic importance of Armenia as a buffer state, and perhaps because of their services as soldiers or merchants. Yet even the case of the Armenians is not uniform. For, especially in the ninth to eleventh centuries, when entire Armenian clans emigrated to Constantinople, opportunistically or not, they embraced Orthodoxy. And when a series of Armenians ascended the imperial throne itself, they became more intransigently Orthodox than the Greeks themselves, to the point, it seems, even of persecuting their own former co-religionists. Another nuance making for complexity in our problem is that, though hordes of barbarians or semi-barbarians, especially Slavs, were converted to Orthodoxy and entered the empire, other even more numerous converted peoples remained technically *outside* the empire. Indeed, several of these Slavic nations which were at one time part of the empire were later permitted, when they became politically independent, to set up autocephalic Orthodox churches of their own, which, however, remained closely bound to and recognized the jurisdictional authority of the patriarch of Constantinople.³

With the life of the empire extending over one thousand years, the relation between religion, or its administrative aspect the church, on the one hand, and its political counterpart the state, on the other, with regard to the question of religious unity or pluralism exhibits certain identifiable characteristics during various periods of Byzantine history. And the pat-

¹On Jews in the empire, see J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire* (Athens, 1939), esp. pp. 1-10. Also P. Charanis, "The Jews in the Byzantine Empire under the First Palaeologi," *Speculum* 22 (1947): 75-77, and A. Andreades, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire* (Athens, 1929). Finally, see now A. Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade* (London, 1971), whose thesis is that the Jews, within limits, were tolerated though they were in effect second-class citizens. Byzantine Jews usually lived in their own communities.

²On the Armenians, see P. Charanis, *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire* (Lisbon, 1963).

³On the Slavs inside and outside the empire, see esp. recently D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth, 500-1453* (New York, 1972), *passim*, and esp. chap. 9.

tern of change or evolution permits us to advance the thesis that, in general, Orthodoxy and the sense of nationhood became more closely intertwined the more serious the crises, external and sometimes internal or both, that threatened the existence of the state. It is of course difficult in an article of this length to propose a schema that will accurately reflect all the shifting nuances of these relations. Yet for the sake of analysis, we may, I think, speak of three broad chronological stages.

The first begins with Constantinople's foundation in 330 and extends until after the great crisis precipitated by the Byzantine territorial losses of Egypt, Syria, and Palestine to the Arabs in the late sixth and seventh centuries. It is at the end of this period, ca. 717, when Byzantium had been stripped of these eastern Semitic provinces—areas that had always felt somewhat alien to Asia Minor, the Balkans, and southern Italy—that for the first time we may speak of a truly Byzantine, in a sense of a more or less Greek, empire. Indeed, so deep was the trauma to the state that, to ward off the continuous threat of Arab invasion and to placate the Eastern Monophysites, whose religious views bore some resemblance to the Arab, several emperors even sought to “dilute” certain tenets of Orthodoxy.⁴ These emperors' concept of religion was, one might say, supra-national. They believed that by manipulating the religious formulas of Orthodoxy—of course they always claimed rather to preserve them—they could obtain beneficial political results, that is unitary allegiance to the state, if only they could force the official organs of the church to assent. But their attempts also reveal, from the view of the dissident Monophysites, the even greater significance of the close relationship between religion and “nationalism.” Historians have in fact long asserted that these Monophysite peoples opposed the Chalcedonian dogmatic formulation of 451 less for purely religious than for ethnic and cultural, that is “nationalist,” reasons.⁵

It should be noted that the word “nationalism,” with its modern, strongly secular implications, is inappropriate for use in any medieval context. We shall here, therefore, prefer to use the term “ethnicity,” the self-consciousness of the Byzantine people of whatever origin that they belonged to or owed allegiance to one political organism, the empire.

The second phase for consideration would extend from about 717 to the time of the Crusades, which brought East and West into contact, indeed conflict, on a scale greater than ever before. This crusading movement culminated in the Fourth Crusade of 1204, with the seizure of Constantinople by Western armies and the dismemberment of the Byzantine Empire. In this second, middle phase, in which the empire was at first reduced in size

⁴On the emperor and the Monophysites, see G. Ostrogorsky, *The Byzantine State* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1969), esp. pp. 58ff., 64ff., 107-109.

⁵See Ostrogorsky, *Byzantine State*, esp. p. 60: “Monophysitism was an outlet for political separatist tendencies of Egypt and Syria.” Also A. H. M. Jones, *Were Ancient Heresies Disguised Social Movements?* (Philadelphia, 1966).

but then once more began to grow in strength, the primary religious phenomena were the Iconoclastic struggle, the conversion of the Slavic peoples, and the schism of 1054 with Rome.

With the recapture of the capital by the Greek troops of Michael Palaeologus in 1261, we may consider that a third period begins, which in turn extends to 1453, the fall of Constantinople to the Turks. In this third and final stage, when the empire had become territorially a mere shadow of its former self, the identification of religion and ethnicity became even closer under the impact of the Turkish advance. But, as we shall see, the two were most truly to coincide under the more insidious danger posed simultaneously by the West which, in the eyes of most Byzantines, threatened through ecclesiastical union with Rome to engulf in more ways than territorially what remained of the people of the empire.

A word of caution—most of the phenomena, especially the ideologies described as belonging to the first phase, carry over into the second, and some also into the third. It is sometimes only the emphases that change; at times, in fact, there is a kind of cyclical return to earlier emphases or, to state it perhaps more correctly, the emphasis on religion remains, but its conjunction with other elements is altered. The main differences, however, as we shall see, will occur in the third stage, when the political conditions of the empire have so changed, the differences between theory and reality become so glaring that a new type of feeling emerges with which Orthodoxy can identify and strengthen itself.

1. 330-717

Let us begin with the first phase. What distinguished the Roman Empire of Augustus from that of the Byzantines was not so much the displacement of old Rome by the new capital, Constantinople, as it was the creation of a *Christian Roman Empire*. Indeed, the concept of the empire and of its ruler, the emperor, was now cast into the form of Christian political theory. And an understanding of this basic Christian political ideology formulated early by Constantine's Bishop Eusebius is indispensable in any scrutiny of the relations between Byzantine religion and its sense of nationhood.⁶ According to the developed Eusebian formulation, the emperor is the vicegerent of God, the *mimesis* or "living icon of Christ" (*zosa eikon Christou*). And he rules the *Basileia*, the Christian commonwealth, which is in turn the terrestrial counterpart of God's Reign in Heaven. Since there is one God, it followed inevitably that there could be but one empire and therefore one true religion. Hence all Byzantine theoreticians and panegyrists firmly believed, without exception so far as I am aware (except perhaps at the very end), that unity of the empire entailed, nay demanded,

⁶On Eusebian theory, see D. Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West* (Oxford, 1966), chap. 2 on church and state, and bibliography listed.

unity of religion.⁷ Otherwise the empire would become a sacrilege before God, and Constantinople would lose its claim to being God-guarded, the special preserve of the Virgin and the saints. This view, though obtaining throughout its history, was strongly reflected in the earlier periods, when the empire contained within its borders many diverse peoples: besides Greeks of the Balkans, Asia Minor, south Italy, Sicily, and south Russia, there were also Copts of Egypt, and Armenians, Georgians, Syrians, "Italians," Berbers, and later some of the many Slavs who were converted.

By the time of Justinian (sixth century) the culture, at least that of the upper classes in the cities, had become predominantly Greek, as had the language of the court. Yet among the lower classes of the peoples enumerated, it must be assumed that, for the bulk of those outside the towns, their primary language could not have been Greek. Hence, although Greek culture then had some importance, what basically served to preserve unity in this earlier period of a multiracial or multinational empire would appear to be the two *universal* Christian institutions—the emperor and the Orthodox Church. As already stressed, these two were closely tied together; indeed the Byzantine church and state in many ways formed one organic unity. But of course the problem of the unity of church and state is somewhat different from that under investigation here.

It goes without saying that if the emperor were not looked upon as Orthodox, allegiance to him was considered to be dissolved. This may be seen clearly in the requirement imposed by the patriarch on all emperors beginning with Anastasius at the end of the fifth century that each take an oath to defend the inviolability of the seven ecumenical councils and the official creeds of the church.⁸ But note that this was an oath explicitly to preserve the tenets of Orthodox *religious* belief rather than of any particular *civil* aspect of government. Despite the unwritten constitution of Byzantium, no one ever really questioned the traditional absolutist authority of the emperor in civil affairs.⁹

Beginning with Byzantium's foundation—and this is an ideology that persisted even until 1453—the Byzantines looked upon their empire (Basileia) as *the* political organization sanctioned by God for the world. The chief requirement for admission to this Basileia was conversion to Orthodoxy and, through this means, many barbarian peoples, sometimes even of extreme cultural backwardness, were able to enter into the Byzantine ecumene. Once converted, another process—that of cultural adapta-

⁷See D. Geanakoplos, *Interaction of the "Sibling" Byzantine and Western Cultures in the Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance (330-1600)* (New Haven, 1976), chap. 5, "Church Construction and Caesaropapism in East and West from Constantine to Justinian," pp. 118-122, and in the same book, see Epilogue, pp. 281-295.

⁸P. Charanis, *The Religious Policy of Anastasius the First* (Madison, 1939); also Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East*, p. 58.

⁹Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East*, p. 61.

tion or even in some cases assimilation—began. Yet though, as noted, many of those converted did enter the Empire to become citizens, other peoples such as the Moravians, and especially the Russ—not to omit the Bulgars who entered but who managed forcibly to break away—remained *outside* the borders of empire. For them, religious conversion, while effective, did not result in a feeling of ethnic solidarity with Byzantium. True, the distant Russ, though technically not belonging to the empire, were provided with Greek metropolitans to head their church until virtually the end of the Byzantine period.¹⁰

Paradoxically, the Orthodox religion, rather than serving to integrate these other peoples into the empire, was able, according to certain modern historians, to provide them at critical stages of their development with a political and religious ideology that made for greater unity, an ethnicity, we might say, in their own previously disunited society. Despite these ramifications (some of which would apply to our second period as well as to the first), the rulers of such peoples as the Russ, the Bulgars, the Moravians, the Armenians (and even the Venetians) were granted, and were extremely proud to accept, titles in the imperial hierarchy of ranks and dignities, or, as it has been termed, in the Byzantine “Family of Princes.” Thus, because of these specifically religious, cultural, and loose political ties—they were not ethnic—such peoples were considered part of what has been called the Byzantine “commonwealth,” or as I would put it, the community of Orthodox Christendom.¹¹ In this unusual relationship between Byzantium and these satellites, there is often present, however, a tension which expressed itself alternately in attraction for, and repulsion to, Byzantium. For, as the new nations drew closer to Constantinople and the magnetism of its civilization grew too attractive, they feared a loss of their own ethnic identity which they sometimes expressed in wars on Byzantium.¹²

Within the Empire some exceptions were unofficially allowed to the general principle that all citizens accept the precepts of the Orthodox faith. Mention has been made of the special cases of the Jews and the Armenians. There are also examples of Latins passing through Constantinople as pilgrims or even remaining as residents (the mercenary Western Varangian

¹⁰On Bulgars and Russ, see Obolensky, *Byzantine Commonwealth*, pp. 83-98 and 274-275, esp. 200-201: “Vladimir and his successors were wholly independent of Byzantium in political matters [but] they all recognized that the Emperor as the head of the Orthodox Christian community, possessed by divine right a metapolitical jurisdiction over Russia”, G. Ostrogorsky, “The Byzantine Emperor and the Hierarchical World Order,” in *The Slavonic and East European Review* 35 (1956-57) 1-14

¹¹“Commonwealth” is Obolensky’s term (*Byzantine Commonwealth*, *passim*). Also on the Byzantine “Family of Princes,” see A. Grabar, “God and the Family of Princes Presided over by the Byzantine Emperor,” *Harvard Slavic Studies* 2 (1954): 117-123

¹²Obolensky, pp. 284-285. Cf. the analogy of the West and Byzantine culture in my Epilogue in *Interaction of the “Sibling” Cultures*

guard, for instance),¹³ who were permitted to worship according to the Latin faith. There was, moreover, an Arab mosque in Constantinople and at least several Latin churches in Galata as well as, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, an Amalfitan monastery on Mt. Athos.¹⁴ On the other hand, as regards the Nestorians and, even more, the numerous Monophysites of the fifth to seventh centuries and the Paulicians of the ninth and tenth, they were subjected to the fullest coercion available to the state power. How best can we explain this paradox?

The tolerated groups were considered to be special exceptions, and the overall principle of religious unity, it must be underlined, was therefore not sacrificed. This was absolutely indispensable for survival of the empire as it was then constituted. In the case of small, dissident groups such as Jews and the earlier Arabs who had no particular desire to proselytize, no real danger to the state was posed. But in the extreme intransigence of the very numerous Monophysites (comparable to that of the early Christian martyrs) they already seemed to possess, partly through their religious beliefs, a kind of national or ethnic unity. Since they placed allegiance to their "ethnic" traits above allegiance to the emperor, they threatened, religiously, not only to alter the purity of Orthodox dogma but, politically, to unglue the unity of the entire empire. In the case of the Paulicians who believed that matter was evil and thus human institutions were invalid, there was present the danger of destruction of the very fabric of Byzantine society and of the state organization itself.¹⁵ Thus the Orthodox faith served in a very real sense as the basis not only for the emperor's authority but for the very existence of the empire. And it was therefore considered the palladium of the life of the state.¹⁶ This is to be understood not only theoretically but practically as well. The cumulative effect of every peasant and city dweller every Sunday in every parish of the vast empire hearing the purity of the faith in effect equated with the power of the empire cannot be underestimated. And yet, paradoxically, the doctrinal views of the Nestorians and especially of the Monophysites, as related to the definition of the Council of Chalcedon, were closer to those of Orthodoxy than were

¹³On Varangians, see the Byzantine author, George Acropolites, in Geanakoplos, *Interaction of the "Sibling" Cultures*, p. 346, n. 37. Their commander at the time was the future emperor, Michael VIII Palaeologus.

¹⁴On mosques in Constantinople, see *New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4, pt. 1, pp. 283, 726, and 734 for various periods. On the Amalfi monastery, see A. Pertusi, "Monasteri e monaci italiani all'Athos nell'alto Medioevo," *Le Millénaire du Mont Athos*, 1 (Chevtagne, 1963), pp. 217-253, also P. Lemerle, "Les archives du monastère des Amalfitains au Mont Athos," *Ep. Het. Byz. Spoudon* 23 (1953): 548-566. Cf. also now R. Lopez, on "Foreigners in Byzantium," *Miscellanea C. Verlinden* (1974), pp. 348-349 for Arabs, Armenians, Italians, and others.

¹⁵On the Paulicians, see D. Obolensky, *The Bogomils* (Cambridge, 1948), and his *Byzantine Commonwealth*, pp. 119-122, 215-216, and S. Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee* (Cambridge, 1947).

¹⁶P. Alexander, "The Strength of Empire and Capital as seen through Byzantine Eyes," *Speculum* 37 (1962): 341-357.

those of the Jews or the Paulicians. One may recall the old adage that it is the enemy from within that is the more dangerous, especially if the view is very similar.

But were there other factors besides allegiance to the two universal institutions, the emperor and the church, that contributed to a sense of unity among the Byzantines? In the earliest stages of Christianity pagan Greek culture had been the chief enemy. Then merely to be called a Hellene meant to be a pagan. But with the remarkable process of the fusion, or rather integration, of pagan literature and philosophy into Christianity—one might say the acculturation of classical learning to Christianity—it became standard for the educated classes in all areas of the empire to be educated in both the precepts of the Orthodox religion and, to a considerable extent, those of ancient Greek learning. Nevertheless, especially in this earlier period, though we find some important scholars of the Greek classics, Orthodoxy remained paramount over classical culture.¹⁷ In this first period, from 330 to about 717, we may see that in the ethnically nonhomogeneous state of Byzantium, despite the growing significance of Greek learning, the Orthodox religion in conjunction with the state was the basic factor for the preservation of political unity.

2. 717-1204

During the second period, that between the Arab conquest of the Byzantine Semitic provinces and the period of the Crusades, the empire became still more Greek in culture. And with the elimination of non-Greek elements, consolidation of Byzantium into a more culturally homogeneous state began. It was in this period that, for reasons still unclear, several emperors attempted to alter—common opinion held they were altering—the basic beliefs of Orthodoxy by decreeing the destruction of the holy icons. This brought about a dramatic struggle lasting over a century in which church and state were shaken to their very foundations. The emperors were, however, finally defeated and Iconoclasm was declared heretical.

Among the theories advanced by historians for the initiation of Iconoclasm is one affirming that, aside from theological reasons, Emperor Leo III was attempting to conciliate the Arab rulers.¹⁸ Strange as this may sound, it is not impossible, given the existence in the Arab Empire both of great numbers of Orthodox Christians who might be persecuted and of heretical Monophysite Christians within the Byzantine Empire, whose emphasis on

¹⁷Cf. P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin* (Paris, 1972).

¹⁸On Iconoclasm there is much literature. I cite only two recent ones. M. Anastos, "Iconoclasm and Imperial Rule," in *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4, pt. 1, pp. 61-103, and pp. 66-67 on the Arab ruler; and P. Brown, "A Dark-Age Crisis: Aspects of the Iconoclastic Controversy," *English Historical Review* 346 (1973). 1ff.

the singularity of Christ's nature was not unlike that of Arab monotheism. What connection this point would have had with the thesis of conformity or pluralism of faith at this time can only be speculated upon. In any event, with the triumph of the icons, allegiance to the emperor after this conflict remained more or less the same as before in civil matters, though the authority of the patriarch in purely ecclesiastical affairs seems to have waxed greater. This was largely due to the resistance of Theodore of Studios and John of Damascus, whose virtual identification of Orthodoxy with the integrity of the empire, and emphasis therefore on absolute religious conformity, tended to exalt the role of the faithful head of the church, the patriarch.

It was in this period that the law code, the *Epanagoge*, even if not actually promulgated, was composed, which attempted to define somewhat more clearly the spheres of authority between church and state. In this connection we find in some sources an appellation now applied to the patriarch, which previously seemed to be applied only to the emperor, "the icon of Christ." The increase in patriarchal authority, in Byzantine eyes, may be seen in the iconographic representation of emperor and patriarch standing side by side in the manner of Moses and Aaron, instead of the emperor's appearing, as formerly, in a posture very superior to that of the patriarch.¹⁹

It was in this second stage also that the momentous conversion of the Slavs took place. As is well known, an important if not the main reason for the ultimate success of the Byzantines in this respect was their permitting the liturgy to be translated into the vernacular language of the Slavs (thus making it immediately more meaningful to them), in contrast to the papacy whose policy it was, in the long run, to insist on the use of Latin exclusively.²⁰ This is perhaps as striking an example as can be found for the significance of the relation between "ethnicity" and religion. One may justifiably speculate whether such a success could have been achieved at all without recourse to use of the vernacular. In my view, though this is of course highly hypothetical, such a permissive, tolerant attitude on the part of the Byzantine authorities of church and state in the earlier period of the Persian and Arab turmoil, when the state was in a very weakened condition, would have been less likely. And indeed much later, in our third period, when a much weakened Byzantium, as we shall see, would virtually completely identify its Greek culture with its ethnic identity, such flexibility would have been even more implausible. The fact that the great

¹⁹On "icon of Christ," see Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East*, esp. p. 59. On Moses and Aaron, see C. Ostrogorsky, "Relations Between Church and State," *Sem. Kond.* 4 (1933) 121ff. (in Russian), and Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East*, p. 63.

²⁰On exceptions to this policy of tolerance, see Geanakoplos, *Interaction of the "Sibling" Cultures*, chap. 1, n. 11, on the occasional Byzantine objection to the liturgy in the vernacular, see G. Soulis, "The Legacy of Cyril and Methodius to the Southern Slavs," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 19 (1965) 34.

Slavic conversion took place when Byzantium was entering the apogee of its political power would suggest the necessity for the precondition of political stability and power during any serious activities involving changes in church practices and customs.

While the Slavs were being converted, the problem of the connection between religion and ethnicity in the form of the liturgy came again to the foreground in another form, but this time it involved a dispute between Greeks and Latins. Ill-feeling between East and West had of course been growing from earlier times. Associated closely with the ecclesiastical rivalry between Rome and Constantinople was the Greek disdain for the West because of the "spurious" claims of the Holy Roman emperors to world hegemony and, culturally, the low level of civilization prevailing in the West until at least the First Crusade. (In this connection to clarify one point here: when the Greeks, as often happened, criticized Latin as a barbaric language—as even Photius did—they usually had in mind, and quite correctly, not the classical Latin of Cicero but the corrupt vulgar Latin then prevailing in the West.)

Ecclesiastically speaking, besides the basic question of papal claims to jurisdiction over the entire church, including the Eastern, the significant question that now came to the fore, and with particular emphasis in the schism of 1054, was the question over the use of the azymes in the liturgy, that is, whether the eucharistic bread should be unleavened as in Western usage, or leavened, as in Greek custom.²¹ This question today may seem rather inconsequential, but as time went on, besides its religious meaning it gradually assumed a cultural meaning and, finally, because of the widening differences between East and West, it assumed strong ethnic overtones. Thus we may note that certainly by the eleventh century, and increasingly so later, a common name applied to the Latins by the Byzantines was simply "azymites." Once again we observe the significance of the liturgy as a bearer or expression of cultural identity. For although in the last analysis they were co-religionists, the growing antipathy between Latins and Greeks tended in the spirit of the age to find expression in the public services of the church. In the liturgy were reflected not only such basic cultural differences as language but also the development of theories and practices characteristic of the mentality of each people.

It is interesting that, for the Greeks, the Latins—the *azymites* who had altered the original creed by the *filioque* addition—were considered heretics, whereas, to the Latins, the Greeks were at least technically schismatics. Though in a basic sense this reflects rather questions of dogma and ecclesiastical organization, one is tempted to believe that it also indi-

²¹J. Erickson, "Leavened and Unleavened. Some Theological Implications of the Schism of 1054," *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 14 (1970) 3-23. While the West used "azymes," it sometimes grudgingly tolerated the Greek "enzymes." But the Greeks always condemned the Latin "azymes."

cates that the Greeks, fearful of the motives of the West and increasingly on the defensive politically and culturally, already in this period felt more of an identification between ethnicity and culture than did the Latins.

We skip through the period of the first Crusades with the growing estrangement between East and West to come to the Fourth Crusade with the sack of Constantinople by the Western armies under the banner of the cross, and the resultant division of Christendom into two opposing blocks. It was the Latin victory of 1204 more than anything else that henceforth made the religious schism final and irremediable. From this time on we can, I believe, for the first time validly speak of a "*Roman Catholic*" church, in contrast to a "*Greek Orthodox*" church. In the West the Roman church, or rather papacy, as a supranational institution somewhat like the Byzantine Empire before its final period, remained above the "nationalism" of the developing Western nations. But in Constantinople, because of the Latin occupation of 1204, with its enforced conversion of the Greek populace to Roman Catholicism and the bitterness this engendered, the religious faith of the Greeks and their sense of ethnicity now reached the point of becoming virtually congruent. Indeed with the Greek recovery of Constantinople in 1261 and the reestablishment of the Byzantine state, and increasingly up to 1453, the two may be said to have coincided. This may be seen in the fact that, after 1261, the Greek population as a whole refused under any circumstances to accept papal aid, and this even in the face of the attempts of such powerful princes as King Charles of Sicily to recapture Constantinople and restore the Latin Empire.²²

The papal price for aid was religious union with the Roman church, which of course entailed recognition of Roman claims to jurisdiction over the Eastern church. But the vast bulk of the Greeks firmly believed, or at least intuitively realized, that this would lead not only to political domination, but ultimately even to the gradual Latinization of the Greek people. What other interpretation can be given to the taunt cast in 1274 by the Greek rabble at the envoys of Emperor Michael Palaeologus returning from the West where they had just signed ecclesiastical union with Rome in order to secure papal aid against Charles of Anjou? The envoys were hooted at with the abusive words: "*Frangos kathestekas*" ("You have become a Frank!")—that is, "Through union you have changed your religion and become Latinized").²³

3. 1261-1453 and After

So now at the very end we see the *complete* identification of Greek

²²On Charles, see D. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus* (Cambridge, MA, 1959, rpt. Hamden, CT, 1972), pp. 189ff.

²³See M. Laurent, *Le bienheureux Innocent V* (Vatican, 1947), p. 424, n. 23. On Latinization, see Geanakoplos, *Interaction of the "Sibling" Cultures*, Prologue and Epilogue, nn 20ff.

culture or *ethnic identity*, as we may call it, with Orthodoxy. Earlier when Byzantium was politically ascendant, it could afford to translate the liturgy into the native languages of projected converts; now that it had become almost impotent politically, indeed when it was completely on the defensive, it not only did not have the strength to reach outward to convert other peoples, but it had to remain extremely wary of any foreign and especially Latin advances—and this even when it seemed that without foreign aid the empire would surely fall. How else can we explain the popular intransigence in the face of Michael Palaeologus' blandishments or his brutal coercion to achieve religious union with Rome? The Byzantine people had come more firmly than ever before to believe that the purity of their Orthodox faith was their city's only protection and that the slightest deviation would bring divine punishment and the utter destruction of their empire. Such, in fact, was common Greek opinion after the Turkish capture of Constantinople in 1453—that the Greek acceptance of union, finally, at the Council of Florence in 1439, had brought down upon their heads the wrath of God for their pollution of the faith.²⁴

In the protracted negotiations with Rome for religious union from 1261 to 1453, the most famous example of this Greek insistence on preservation of the faith intact was to be seen in the question of the *filioque*. In the Greek view any addition to the creed as established by the seven ecumenical councils was sheer heresy, and they therefore branded the Latins heretics. Not even recourse to the old theory of *economia* could satisfy the bulk of the populace and especially the archconservative monks who had great influence over the people. To the mass of the people *economia* had no application where the safety of the city guarded by God was concerned and evidently, also, where the cultural identity of the people was concerned. As Michael himself put it, "*economia* had honorably been made use of by Greeks in the past. Only one thing now impels me to seek union [with Rome], the absolute necessity of averting the peril that threatens us."²⁵ But the deep-rooted suspicions of his people, the result largely of the Crusades and the years of Latin occupation, were too strong.

The most extreme statement reflecting such sentiment came from an educated Greek, the Grand Admiral of Byzantium, Lucas Notaras, only a few months before the capital's fall to the Turks. He is quoted as saying, "Better the turban of the Turk in Constantinople than the tiara of the pope." A number of historians believe that he may actually have headed a party in the city who were so fearful of the loss of their national identity and

²⁴On Michael, see esp. D. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus*, pp. 269-271; for 1453 see, on the Greek "sins," Geanakoplos, "Byzantium and the Crusades, 1261-1453" in K. Setton, ed., *History of the Crusades*, vol. 3, chaps. 2-3, esp. pp. 100ff; I. Sevchenko, "Decline of Byzantium," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 15 (1961) 179. Cf. the similar Russian Orthodox reaction in G. Vernadsky, *A Source Book for Russian History* (New Haven, 1972), I, p. 126.

²⁵Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael*, p. 270.

culture through Latin religious union that they preferred an Ottoman takeover to a Latin conquest. Many examples may be cited to demonstrate that this Greek fear of the West, a national trauma almost pathological in its intensity, was not groundless. On the Latin side we know that the cultivated humanist Petrarch, celebrated for his love of *ancient* Greek culture, was so aroused by the Byzantine refusal to accept Latin religious rites that he could write of "the enemy Turks and the schismatic Greeks who are worse than enemies and hate and fear us with all their souls."²⁶

In the same period the anti-Greek Crusader propagandist William of Adam, recognizing clearly the role of the Orthodox religion for the preservation of Greek ethnicity, proposed to "brainwash" the Greeks by forcing every Greek family to send its oldest son to the West to be brought up in the Catholic faith. And as late as the first decades of the fifteenth century when Alfonso of Aragon proposed to launch a crusade in aid of Constantinople, his plans included, as documents only recently have revealed, the capture of the Greek capital, not for the benefit of the Greeks but to aggrandize his own ambitions.²⁷

As for the Greeks, suffice it only to demonstrate the potency of the relationship between religion and ethnicity by quoting the typical remark of the educated Joseph Bryennios of Crete who wrote in 1400: "Let no one be deceived by delusive hopes that the Italian allied troops will come to save us. If they pretend to rise to defend us, they will take arms only to destroy our city, *our race, and our name.*"²⁸ Still later, at the Council of Florence, one Greek prelate, when urged by the Byzantine emperor to sign the union in order to bring aid to their beleaguered capital, said: "I will not accept the *filioque* and become Latinized."²⁹ All of these examples point to the inescapable conclusion that, more than ever before, the Greeks, now in a defensive position, fearing not only Turkish attack but subversion from the Latin West as well, had come to equate their Orthodoxy with what was unique to them alone—the ancient Greek cultural heritage. And it was the conjunction of these two factors, cultural "nationalism" and religious "nationalism," according to some scholars, that now produced the beginnings of the modern Greek nation.³⁰

And yet, it has to be noted that in spite of this commonly-held antagonism and distrust of the Latins, a number of Greek intellectuals, including some of the highest ranking Greek prelates—greater in number than is usually realized—were able, in a veritable *tour de force*, somehow

²⁶Quoted in Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East*, pp 3-4, and cf p 104, n 77

²⁷Ibid , p 2 and n 3

²⁸N Kalogeras, *Mark Eugenikos and Cardinal Bessarion* (Athens, 1893), p 70

²⁹Cited in Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East*, p 106 and n 84

³⁰On this, see Geanakoplos, *Interaction of the "Sibling" Cultures*, chap 9, "The Greeks of the Diaspora. The Italian Renaissance and the Origins of Modern Greek Nationalism," *passim*

to disengage in their minds this identification of religion and ethnic identity. It was a remarkable achievement that Demetrios Cydones, the Grand Logothete (prime minister), Maximos Planudes, and especially the great statesman and scholar of the Renaissance, Bessarion, were able to accept the idea of religious union with Rome while at the same time believing they could retain their cultural identity. True, some Greeks accused Bessarion of having sold out to the pope. And the Greek rabble which could not understand their thinking termed all of these men *Latinophrones* (Latin-thinking or Latin-“lovers”), a term then particularly pejorative in its ring.

The good faith of many of these persons cannot, I believe, be successfully impugned. But the answer is too simple that most of them were convinced of the superiority of the Latin faith. Actually there is good evidence that some had, rather, begun to appreciate the advances which had been made by Latin culture and that they saw, especially in the developing Italian Renaissance, a future role for their own Greek culture. Cydones, to take a leading example, when accused of following Thomas Aquinas to the detriment of Greek patristic writings, is supposed to have replied that Aquinas was based on Aristotle who was one of “*our own* Greeks.”³¹ In a few cases also, notably that of Bessarion, several may have been persuaded of the need for a return to the early patristic unity of the church, what we would today call the “ecumenical” spirit. Moreover, for Bessarion and his teacher Gemistos Pletho, it seemed that the advances made by the Latin West in technology and engineering might even be utilized to revitalize the moribund Byzantine state, now in the last stage of its life.³² That the complete identification of Orthodoxy and “national” identity was not valid or, at least, less valid for these scholars mentioned renders them a remarkable exception—the first of a cultured group who, extending from the late fourteenth all the way to the nineteenth century, became an important part of the diaspora, or scattered remnants of the Greek people, in Western Europe. Of course it cannot be denied that many Greeks emigrating to the West in this same period, and especially after 1453, chose Catholicism simply for the sake of expediency, that is in order to avoid persecution or for business and political gain.

It is also worth noting that some Greek politicians of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in their aversion for the West and in equating religion and ethnic identity, looked rather to their fellow Orthodox Slavs of the Balkans and especially of Russia for salvation from the Turkish danger.³³ Some little Russian help was in fact forthcoming in the form of alms. The

³¹On Cydones, see Geanakoplos, *Interaction of the “Sibling” Cultures*, chap. 4, also Prologue and Epilogue

³²A. Vacalopoulos, *Origins of the Greek Nation*, vol. 1 (New Brunswick, NJ, 1970), esp. pp. 126-135 and 172-178

³³Cf. Obolensky, *Byzantine Commonwealth*, pp. 257ff

emperors appealed several times to the Russian princes for assistance, but the latter were themselves at this time caught up in the storm following upon the Mongol conquest. Moreover, Kiev had long fallen and Moscow was too distant to be deeply concerned. Besides, in the Slavic areas, especially Moscow, the feeling for a long time prevailed that the Greeks, by their espousal of union with Rome at Florence, had betrayed Orthodoxy and, as the Russ believed, they alone were now the true Orthodox.³⁴ (This belief, by the way, would seem to have contributed something indirectly at least to the growing ethnic feeling of the Russians.)

When the Turkish Sultan Mohammed II entered Constantinople, one of his first official acts was to name the rabid anti-unionist George Scholarios patriarch of Constantinople, and to grant him the full privileges of his predecessors over not only his Greek fellow citizens but over all other subject Orthodox peoples as well. Indeed, partly owing to the sultan's acts, the coincidence of religion and nationalism in its political and cultural aspects now reached its climax, becoming more complete than ever before. For George Scholarios, placed by the Sultan at the head of the millet or *nation* of the Greeks became, as such, not only the political but the religious head of *all* Balkan Christians as well, subject only to the high suzerainty of the sultan himself.

In the succeeding centuries, especially the sixteenth and early seventeenth, the occupied Greek areas in the Balkans sank to their cultural nadir. But as is widely recognized, it was, above all, the Orthodox Church that preserved the national identity of the Greeks. (This is not to overlook the splendid work of preservation of the spirit of a free Greek nation by the scholars of the diaspora in Western Europe.)³⁵ With few exceptions the Greeks of the mainland had become almost illiterate, and it was fear of this very eventuality that moved Bessarion, as early as 1468, to bequeath his remarkable collection of Greek manuscripts to Venice, that haven for Greek emigres, not so much as he put it, prophetically, in his letter of grant to the Venetian Signoria, "to disseminate Greek learning to Western scholars but so that my own countrymen will recall the actions of their ancestors and not degenerate into becoming no better than barbarians or slaves."³⁶ This generally overlooked statement is doubly meaningful because it comes from the pen of the man termed derisively by many of his own Greek compatriots a *Latinophron*, a traitor to the Byzantine people, but one who actually realized, probably better than many others, the significance of the Greek cultural heritage. On the other hand, to be sure,

³⁴Ibid , p 363, on the Russian view that Greek sins brought on the catastrophe of 1453 S Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity* (Cambridge, 1968), pp 159-161

³⁵Passim, esp nn 15ff

³⁶See D Geanakoplos, *Byzantium and the Renaissance Greek Scholars in Venice* (Hamden, CT, 1972), p 81 Cf my *Interaction of the "Sibling" Cultures*, chap 9, "The Greeks of the Diaspora," n 1

the statement also does tend by implication to diminish the close identification between the church and national identity. But Bessarion, a church leader himself as noted, was an ecumenically-minded patristic scholar who nostalgically looked back to the early centuries of the church when East and West had been one.

In contrast, the Greeks of the patriarchal court in Turkish Constantinople and those who served as administrative aides and envoys of the Turks to Vienna, Moscow, and elsewhere—Greeks such as the Grand Dragoman (Interpreter) Panagrotos Nicousios³⁷—were more conscious of their *Orthodox* inheritance as such. What they stressed was primarily their *Byzantine* heritage, and their aim, if not always explicit, was to achieve a restoration of the old Byzantine Empire through the agency of the patriarchate. Some, after 1453, placed their hopes in the Russian Tsar, the sole surviving independent Orthodox ruler. Maxim the Greek of the early sixteenth century is often cited as one of such a group. But, contrary to Russian and other historians, I do not feel that Maxim, even when admonishing Prince Vassili III in the same words used centuries earlier by Photius to the Bulgar Tsar Boris, envisioned a restoration of the old Byzantine Empire under the Tsar. What he wanted basically was Russian aid for the reestablishment of a *Greek* or possibly Greco-Russian Empire to supplement the Greek patriarchate of Constantinople.³⁸ What finally brought on the Greek Revolution, besides the actual events of 1821, was the rise of a Greek middle class; the decline of Turkish power; the permeation of Enlightenment ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity; and also, it should be stressed, the conjunction of the ancient Greek ideals with the Byzantine religious ideology.³⁹

It is interesting that, in the last two centuries of Byzantium's life, when the nation was threatened from without as never before, it witnessed an astonishing renaissance of culture. This would accord with the theory of von Grunebaum that a nation, when it is most threatened, is often able to gather its energies and to produce a revival of its culture.⁴⁰ This happened to Byzantium in the late thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries not only in the literary and artistic spheres but also in the religious area, in the form of a new but more intensive kind of personal piety: the mystical beliefs of Hesychasm. This, some scholars claim (and in some cases rightly, though there are exceptions), reflected a deepening sense of "nationality," a feeling that one was expressing traditional Byzantine beliefs and prac-

³⁷ On Nicousios, see bibliography in Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East*, esp. p. 179 and n. 28.

³⁸ On Maxim and Greek, see esp. V. Ikonnikov, *Maksim Grek i ego vremia*, 2 vols. (Kiev, 1915). Cf. R. Billington, *The Icon and the Axe* (New York, 1970), pp. 87-95.

³⁹ Cf. recently, G. Arnakis, *The Ottoman Empire and the Balkan States to 1900* (Austin-New York, 1969), chaps. 5-6. On education cf. Geanakoplos, *Interaction of the "Sibling" Cultures*, chap. 9.

⁴⁰ On this term, see the Prologue, n. 2 in my *Interaction of the "Sibling" Cultures*, and my Epilogue to the same work, nn. 21ff.

tices as opposed to Latin. Moreover it was in this later period, when to the Greeks Orthodoxy and Greek culture became coterminous, that some of them once again began to revert to calling themselves *Hellenes*, a name which had hitherto been reserved for the pagan Greeks, instead of the Byzantine term *Romans*. This meant that they were now beginning to see a continuity between their ancient forebears and themselves. This did *not* mean, however, that any of them, except perhaps the famous Gemistos Pletho, wished to invalidate, or apostatize from, their Orthodox faith, that is, to separate their religion from their recently found "ethnicity."⁴¹

4. Conclusion

What may we conclude from this survey of the relationship between religion and ethnicity, conformity and pluralism, in the history of the Byzantine Empire and beyond? In all this long period, with the shifting, and later contraction, of political boundaries of the empire, the element which seemed most steadfast in the vicissitudes of the Greek people was the Orthodox religion. True, existing even before that chronologically was the ancient Greek culture which unquestionably has always constituted the quintessence, the nucleus, of Hellenism. But in times of peace as well as in times of danger and crisis, it was the church, which early had assimilated Greek culture unto itself, that primarily served to preserve this continuity. And even in the final period of the Palaeologi, from 1261 to 1453, when a new emphasis on "nationalism" emerged very strongly, it expressed itself in a Hellenic culture for the most part anchored in the church.

In our first and second stages, during the times when the state was strong, it did not seem to matter that the ethnic composition of the empire was very heterogeneous, because religion was successfully identified with the ideology and strength of the empire, which was itself a genuine reality. Here the state, in the person of the emperor, served as the protector of the church and the guardian of Orthodoxy, although, as we have seen, at certain points—during the Iconoclastic conflict for example—the church had to assert itself over the claims of the emperor in the matter of establishing dogma, a proof incidentally that in strictly religious matters the church was stronger than the emperor.

At the same time, in our second period, the element of Greek culture was becoming more pervasive and as such could provide a still further bond of unity in the empire. It was then that the question of ethnicity began to

⁴¹On nationalism, see my *Interaction of the "Sibling" Cultures*, chap. 9. Also on "Hellenism," Vacalopoulos, *Origins of the Greek Nation*, passim. On Pletho's paganism, see F. Masai, *Pléthon et la Platonisme de Mistra* (Paris, 1956). An early reference to "Hellenes" is in A. Lepathenos' letter to Gregoras, ca. 1355. S. Runciman, "Byzantine and Hellenism in the Fourteenth Century," *Tomos Harmenopoulos* (1952), pp. 27-33, and his *Last Byzantine Renaissance*, pp. 18-23. Also C. Patrinelis, "An Unknown Letter of D. Cydones," *Greek Roman Byzantine Studies* (1973).

take on some significance, not only among the Slavs—who made use of Orthodoxy and especially the Slavonic liturgy to strengthen their own emerging ethnic feelings—but among the Greeks themselves. To the latter, however, ethnicity of “national” consciousness was as yet of secondary importance, because the power of the state was still overriding and Greek culture was dominant.

Progressively, however, by the time of our third period, and especially after the Latin occupation of Constantinople when the Byzantine state itself was destroyed—though the successor states of Nicaea and Epirus tried to foster the illusion of an uninterrupted continuity of empire—relations between church and state, and especially the question of religious conformity, began to take on a different form. Henceforth, even with the reestablishment of Byzantine power at Constantinople in 1261, because of the weakness of the state, the Byzantine people had to find something besides Orthodoxy to provide them with a feeling of identity as a people. This became necessary not only because they shared Orthodoxy with a different ethnic group, the Slavs, but, even more, in order to differentiate themselves from the hated Latins. This was all the more imperative since the very heads of their own state, the Palaeologian emperors, were seeking to effect ecclesiastical union with the Roman church, and a few of their own leading intellectuals, the pro-unionists or *Latinophrones*, were, in the minds of the common people, blurring the differences between Greek and Latin to the extent that the East might even become Latinized.⁴²

This new element, which emerged to undergird the people's dependence on the church, was found in the *ancient* Greek cultural tradition or heritage which was now finally made to coincide *exactly* with the Byzantine attachment to Orthodoxy, though it had begun earlier to grow in significance. This is not to gainsay that the state, or rather the *idea* of the Byzantine state, had lost all importance or potency. The imperial authority had grown much weaker in large part because of the shrinkage of imperial territory, but the authority of the patriarch, despite this territorial contraction, had been increasing, especially among the Slavs. Striking evidence for the culmination of this transposed relationship between power of church and state, patriarch and emperor, where now the church instead became the protector of the state, is to be seen in the extreme statement made in 1395 by the Greek patriarch Anthony. In response to Russian disparagement of the weak authority of the Byzantine emperor, he replied categorically to the grand prince of Moscow: “There can be no Christian church without the Emperor.”⁴³

⁴²On Latinization see esp. Geanakoplos, *Interaction of the “Sibling” Cultures*, Prologue and Epilogue. Also D. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West*, passim, also D. Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East*, p. 104, n. 79, p. 106, n. 84; and T. Congar, *After Five Hundred Years* (New York, 1959), pp. 29-48.

⁴³See quotation in Obolensky, *Byzantine Commonwealth*, p. 264

In times when state power was supreme, the church could, theoretically, demand and secure conformity to the one religion on the grounds that otherwise the state would be divided and therefore weakened. But pragmatically it could and did sometimes shut its eyes in exceptional cases such as those of the Jews and Armenians. With regard to heretics such as the Nestorians, Monophysites, Paulicians, and Bogomils, however, whose numbers and proselytizing activities posed a grave danger to the very life of the state, the thesis of conformity was theoretically as well as in practice insisted upon by the Byzantine authorities to the point of intolerance and often severe persecution. In the third or last period, as we have seen, the positions were reversed. With the drastic decline of the state power, the church, in order to preserve the political structure and the social order, had to become the protector of the state. But in order to bolster both church and state, and, above all, to find a genuine ethnic identity of their own in the face of the collapse of both empire and society, the Greek people had recourse to what they believed was unique to them, the cultural tradition of the ancient Greeks.

In all three periods, then, it may be said that religious pluralism was, with certain non-dangerous exceptions, not tolerated in the Byzantine state. In the first period, the state authority maintained religious conformity as it did in the second, though with certain qualifications, but in the third phase, conformity of religion increasingly coincided with the need for conformity of culture, since the state authority was weakened and the external and internal threats to the empire had become overpowering. And it was the coincidence of this religious and cultural conformity which finally produced among most Byzantines what we may call the new Greek "nationalism."

Study and Discussion Questions

- 1 What exceptions, if any, were there to the legal requirement of adherence to Orthodoxy? Discuss why exceptions were permitted
- 2 In what particular way, according to the author, was the Byzantine Empire distinguished from the Roman Empire of Augustus? Could the same characteristic be used to distinguish the Byzantine Empire from the Holy Roman Empire? Discuss
- 3 Discuss the Eusebian political ideology regarding the Christian Emperor
- 4 Discuss what the author means by the Byzantine "commonwealth" or "community of Orthodox Christendom"
- 5 According to the author, in what way could ancient Greek learning be called a factor in the preservation of Byzantine unity?
- 6 The concession of a vernacular liturgy to the Slavs would seem to violate the desirable principle of unity of liturgy. How does the author see this matter?
- 7 The author sees as one significance of liturgy its being a bearer of cultural identity. What aspects of Western liturgy were considered unacceptable to Easterners and why? Discuss
- 8 Discuss the relationship which was seen by many Greeks between the Council of Florence in 1439 and the Turkish capture of Constantinople in 1453
- 9 According to the author, what was the significance of George Scholarios' being named patriarch of Constantinople? Discuss

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St. Nikephoros of Chios. Modern Orthodox Saints 4. By Constantine Cavarnos. Belmont, Massachusetts: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1976. Pp. ix, 124. Cloth \$6.50. Paper \$3.95.

Three previous volumes on Modern Orthodox saints have already been published by Dr. Cavarnos, President of the Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies. These have included St. Cosmas Aitolos (1714-1779); St. Macarios of Corinth (1731-1805); and St. Nicodemus the Hagiorite (1749-1809). The present volume follows pretty much the format of the previous ones. Dr. Cavarnos contributes an introduction (11-46) that provides basic information on the life, character, and teachings of St. Nikephoros of Chios and an assessment of him as writer of sacred poetry and lives of saints, educator, spiritual striver, and trainer of martyrs. "The Life of St. Nikephoros by Emily Sarou" (47-64), which is here translated into English and has long been available in Greek, constitutes the second chapter. Emily Sarou was the daughter of the prominent Chian historiographer and educator George I. Zolotas, and her biography of the saint was first published in Chios in 1907. The "Works of the Saint" (65-75) is the first comprehensive list to be published and comprises the third chapter, while the fourth and fifth chapters respectively are "Selected Passages from the Prose Works of the Saint" (76-80) and "Anthology from the Poetry of the Saint" (81-90) that have been compiled by Dr. Cavarnos "with a view to giving some of the most representative, instructive, and uplifting selections from his writings." There are notes (91-98) for the reader who would like to probe more deeply and an appendix of "Brief Biographies" (99-110) of eleven modern martyrs, including eight who are mentioned in St. Nikephoros' works and in this volume. A preface, select bibliography, and index complete this work which for the first time makes available in English a book dealing with St. Nikephoros of Chios.

St. Nikephoros of Chios will be of interest to students of the cultural and religious history of Greece during the Tourkokratia, as well as to those interested in Orthodox Christian spirituality. Consistently Orthodox, St. Nikephoros presents as a main thrust the development of the virtues whereby man achieves a likeness to God, through which, *theosis* (deification), union with God, participation in God's perfection and glory; blessedness through grace is viewed as man's highest goal and one that characterized the lives of the saints. Though St. Nikephoros never left Chios, his influence and reputation were widespread throughout the Greek Orthodox world and continue to provide spiritual inspiration and illumination to countless Christians of the Orthodox faith.

John E. Rexine

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sents the viewpoint of the Eastern Roman Empire, rarely encountered by the general reader. Today the best classroom materials for exploring Byzantine history and society are, one by one, going out of print. It is more and more difficult to find appropriate texts that will excite the imagination of students and turn them to a sympathetic and intelligent study of Byzantium. Hopefully, this little book will initiate a series that reverses this trend.

Emily Albu Hanawalt
Boston University

The Great Revival: The Russian Church under German Occupation. By Wassilij Alexeev and Theofanis G. Stavrou. Minneapolis, Minn.: Burgess Publishing Co., 1976. Pp. xvi, 229. \$21.00.

This new book is one of a few that bring together the scholarship of men from two branches of the Orthodox tradition. It brings into bold relief the image of the Russian Church as it successfully struggled to survive in an historical period when its critics, Soviet and Western, had consigned it to oblivion.

The careful research into the lives and motives of a number of figures active in the Russian Church during the 1940's indicates vitality and renewal despite the scorching persecution visited upon it during the preceding decade and a half, a persecution that saw millions of the faithful murdered together with the overwhelming majority of their clergy. All of the properties of the Church had been seized and many of the great churches and monasteries obliterated. Nevertheless, the Church revived and flourished in what had appeared to be a desert.

Alexeev and Stavrou demonstrate how both the Soviet and Nazi regimes were forced to take cognizance of the persistence of religious devotion among the Russian and Ukrainian masses and how both regimes were forced to try to manipulate the Church for their own political ends. Each regime was afraid the other would win the loyalty of the people by granting the Church the right to reorganize. Though the Church was severely restricted by both, the revival was extensive and pointed to a much brighter future if it could disentangle itself from their stranglehold.

The Great Revival helps to counter a long-established anti-Orthodox prejudice among scholars in the West. The image of the Church depicted in such works as Richard Pipes' *Russia under the Old Regime* as a decadent and dying institution since the nineteenth century loses its credibility in the face of this work. It is a step in the right direction of a badly needed reassessment of the Church over the whole of the period since the Petrine Reform of the eighteenth century. The inaccurate or unsympathetic picture of the Orthodox Church, painted by both pre- and post-revolutionary authors in Russia and by most Western scholars of both eras, is one of the heavy burdens that must be lifted before the real role of the Church can

be assessed, together with the leavening influence it has been in the public life of Russia. Alexeev and Stavrou join such authors as William C. Fletcher (*The Russian Church Underground, 1917-1970*) and Harvey Fireside (*Icon and Swastika*) in the task of shedding new light on the subject.

The Great Revival has its chief value in the great number of personal interviews conducted over a period of twenty years in the United States and Europe with refugees and other personalities involved in the fate of the Church during World War II and since. Their testimonies are skillfully supplemented and verified by captured German and Soviet sources which describe the same personalities and events from an official perspective. The result is a two-dimensional portrait, personal and official, of the drama of reopening churches, reinstituting liturgical horaria, and bringing the mysteries of the Church back to a spiritually starved people.

The volume ends with a description of the post-war prolongation of the revival to the present day. Despite a reimposition of restrictions by Nikita Krushchev in 1959, the spiritual yearning exists even today, as can be discovered in the writings of such men as Solzhenitsyn, the protests of the faithful against the closure of their churches, or the confidential communication to visitors from the outside by persons in government or such prestigious institutions as the Academy of Sciences that they themselves are secret believers and that they find themselves oppressed by the spiritual vacuum that pervades all facets of the earthly paradise created by the heirs of Lenin.

James W. Cunningham

A History of Orthodox Theology Since 1453. By George A. Maloney, S.J. Belmont, Mass.: Nordland Publishing Co., 1976. Pp. 388. \$22.50.

This volume is a welcome initiative in drawing together the various threads of theological thought in the Orthodox world since the shattering loss of an independent patriarchate in Constantinople in 1453. Without such an outline it is all too easy to believe that there was no consistent theological development of an Orthodox theological tradition since that time, or to view each development in the national churches as separate denominational phenomena along the lines of the various separate Christian churches that appeared in the West during and after the sixteenth century. Maloney's book demonstrates that, despite the persecution and divergence experienced by Orthodoxy after 1453, the essential *oikumene* of inspiration and dogma has remained intact. This is true despite such notable exceptions as Patriarch Cyril Lukaris.

Maloney takes the reader rather systematically through the development of the various national churches since the loss of Constantinople, beginning appropriately with the Russian church, the one Orthodox church which did not fall under hostile political control at the time. Then he takes the reader through developments in the Greek-speaking churches, the Bulgarian church, the Serbian church, and ends with the rather innovative

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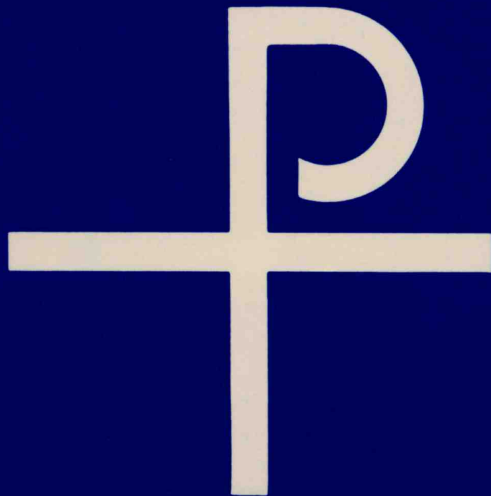
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**The
Greek
Orthodox
Theological
Review**

Greek Orthodox
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Volume XXII
Number 1
Spring 1977

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The Greek Orthodox Theological Review

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INTRODUCTION TO GREEK ORTHODOX-JEWISH PUBLICATION

In January, 1972, a distinguished group of leading Greek Orthodox and Jewish scholars met in New York City to participate in what has become a landmark event in the history of Jewish-Christian relations—the first National Colloquium on Greek Orthodox-Jewish Relations.

Meeting alternately in the national headquarters of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America and of the American Jewish Committee, the scholars devoted three intensive days to a systematic examination of critical issues in theology, history, liturgy, and social concerns as viewed from their respective faith perspectives. This publication contains a selection of the major papers and commentaries that emerged from this historic dialogue. In a real sense, these proceedings constitute a milestone.

While these papers probe in fresh, new ways the depth of the interaction between the Greek Orthodox and Jewish traditions and communities, one of the most significant features of the dialogue has not been captured in these pages. That is the spirit of mutual respect and friendship that characterized the atmosphere of the entire conference. Given the unsettled human condition today, and especially the unique concerns that confront both the Greek and the Jewish communities, that experience of empathy could well serve as a model for relationships between other religious, racial, and ethnic groups who seek to understand one another and to be present to each other in their hurts and in their hopes. To a very large extent, that achievement was significantly advanced by the personal involvement and encouragement of His Eminence, Archbishop Iakovos who served as a most gracious host to the Colloquium participants.

Through the publication of these proceedings both in the *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* and in the *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, the Colloquium sponsors hope to share both the insights in knowledge and the spirit of love and esteem with the wider world of ecumenical and interreligious relations.

In this small way, we trust that this document will be received by the reader as a modest but significant contribution to enlarging the mosaic of understanding between all members of God's human family.

The Rev. Dr. Nomikos Michael Vaporis
Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
Editors

STATEMENT BY ARCHBISHOP IAKOVOS

Dear friends, it is your wish, I am sure, that this "unique interreligious colloquium," to use the opening words of the press release, prove itself really unique in the sense that it may ignite within our hearts the desire to know one another and our respective theological positions with a deeper and mutually beneficial feeling of understanding.

Greeks and Jews, or rather "Hellenic and Hebraic cultures," are being thought of in Europe by many scholars as the substrata and pillars of Western civilization. Here in America, on the other hand, in this ecumenical age of ours, we speak not only of a common Judaeo-Christian tradition, but also of the affinities and similarities in the basics of theology as well as of morality.

Yet, we have managed for centuries either to monopolize, each one of us, God and Truth, as our own property and sole possession, or to see each other even in our human relationships with a suspicious and at times hostile eye. Christians as well as Jews were reared in a tradition of distrust which would go as far as antisemitism or antichristianism. It is in the last part of this century, and especially after the mass atrocities and massacres of the German Jews by the Hitlerite regime, that we felt that we Christians of the West were burdened with an equal amount of guilt, since up to that time we were attributing the crucifixion of Jesus to the Jews.

This colloquium, however, is not inspired or initiated by such considerations. It is thrust upon us by God's mercy and providence, both as a challenge and as a possible response to God's commandment that we love one another, even those we have chosen either not to trust or to condemn. Greek Orthodoxy, and for that matter, Eastern Orthodoxy, has always been the religion of the heart and humanity. Never did it teach, inculcate, or perpetuate the initial antisemitism, which was or could be the original reaction of Christianity to Judaism. We may not be totally free from antisemitism, but we are free of any direct or indirect actions that would incriminate us in the eyes of God and history.

By the very virtue of being Christians we abide by beliefs and traditions which are not acceptable to you; on the other hand, you, by being loyal and faithful to your traditions, seem to accept the differences that keep us apart. What I would expect as a result of this first session of the colloquium initiated today is its continuation so that we may be able to take a closer view of one another and thus learn from one another, not only in matters of history, doctrine, and customs, but also to learn how to bear, by the mercies of the Almighty, a dynamic, contemporary testimony to the teachings of the *One God*.

Ecumenism can be admired, exalted, interpreted in high terms, or ridiculed. Ecumenism, however, which finds its origins not only etymologically, but also theologically, in the Old Testament is and can be a promise

and a most positive factor in interreligious and interfaith encounters. Both Testaments and traditions teach us that repentance leads to renewal; renewal to the true faith; true faith to freedom; and freedom to salvation, which comes from God only. May we begin in this, and in the colloquiums to follow, with this fundamental principle, and may we pray for the power to recapture the full dimensions of God's Truth, for it is only through Truth that we can be freed from falsehoods and prejudices and from self-righteousness and self-deception that have alienated, and do alienate, us from one another and from God's saving grace.

STATEMENT BY RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM

This first national colloquium involving scholars and representatives of the Greek Orthodox Church and various branches of American Judaism is of historic importance for several reasons.

First, it marks the resumption of perhaps one of the oldest dialogues in civilization between bearers of two of the most ancient and productive religious and cultural civilizations. In the fourth century before the present era, Alexander of Macedon and Jedua, the High Priest of Israel, began one of the first Greek-Jewish dialogues which resulted in the growth of great mutual respect between Greeks and Jews and the assurance of religious freedom for Judaism in the Hellenistic Empire for more than a century. Such was the reverence that the Greeks and Jews developed for one another under Alexander that Jewish parents named their first-born sons "Alexander" and, from 312 BCE to the eleventh century, Jews in Palestine called their period "The Era of Alexander." The restoration of that quality of mutual respect and reciprocal solidarity between the Greek Orthodox Church's adherents and those of Judaism is one of the goals of this renewed dialogue.

Second, both Hellenism and Judaism had profound and frequently positive intellectual and spiritual influences on each other, a fact which has been obscured by the classic statement, but not an altogether accurate one, that Hellenism and Hebraism are fundamentally opposed to each other. Scholars attest to the fact that Greek Christianity is unthinkable without its profound indebtedness and rootedness in Judaism. At the same time, Pharisaism—Rabbinic Judaism—is in many ways unthinkable without its absorption of certain basic Hellenistic institutions, legal categories, modes of thought, and styles of language. The outcome of that creative synthesis was a distinctive form of Judaism, not a Jewish form of Hellenism. Thus the overcoming of the false mythologies and stereotypes and the uncovering of the deep values which have nourished both communities is one of the goals of this colloquium. Such a rediscovery will hopefully lead to a greater appreciation of the legitimacy of both religious communities, and the permanent values of each faith as an ultimate source of value and truth to their adherents.

Third, in a world still haunted by hatred, prejudice, and suspicion, the uncovering of the sources of mutual antagonism in religious and cultural traditions will hopefully lead to a process of establishing correctives against such alienating forces. The Greek Orthodox Church has a notable record of helping to save Jewish lives under the Nazis, for which we give thanks to God. At the same time certain traditions of anti-Jewish teaching and prayers continue to obtain in certain aspects of Greek Orthodox life and liturgy, even as certain anti-Christian tendencies continue to disfigure the features of some quarters in Jewry. It is the sponsors' hope that

together we will confront these sources of anti-Semitism and negative attitudes toward Christians and will work together to overcome their lingering, baneful influences.

And, finally, the turmoil in the world today has undermined the meaning of the individual and his or her identity and freedom, and has made much of social living precarious and empty of purpose. As custodians of great cultures and ideals, the Greek Orthodox Church and the Jewish community can help bring about some amelioration of this crisis of the individual and society in light of the spiritual heritages that they carry in both the West and the East. But the first step in that healing process must begin within and between the Greek Orthodox Christians and the Jews, and we trust that this colloquium will be a significant contribution in starting that journey to building authentic human community.

RECOMMENDATIONS ADOPTED BY THE GREEK ORTHODOX-JEWISH SCHOLARS COLLOQUIUM, JANUARY 25-26, 1972

The Rev. Dr. Robert Stephanopoulos, Director of the Interchurch Office of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, and Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, National Interreligious Affairs Director of the American Jewish Committee, submitted the following recommendations to the Greek Orthodox and Jewish scholars at the closing session on January 26, 1972, meeting at the headquarters of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese. These recommendations were adopted unanimously by the scholars after extensive discussion:

I. Joint Steering Committee

It was agreed that the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese and the American Jewish Committee should set up a liaison steering committee for the purpose of arranging another national colloquium of Greek Orthodox and Jewish scholars in the near future. Father Stephanopoulos and Rabbi Tanenbaum were asked to co-chair the steering committee.

II. Joint Studies Committees

It was agreed that a joint studies committee be established by the chairpersons for the purpose of exploring the possibility of joint studies and research by competent scholars in the following areas:

- A. Byzantine history with special reference to the interrelationship of Jews and Christians in Byzantium. It was felt that most Western historiography either ignores, minimizes, or caricatures Byzantine history and that in many cases the same is true with regard to the importance of Greek-speaking Byzantine Jewry in Jewish historiography. These studies would constitute an attempt to restore these important chapters of Christian and Jewish cultural religious and Jewish history in their proper place in history textbooks and in contemporary cultural consciousness.
- B. The role of minorities with distinctive heritages in a pluralistic society. Specific reference would be made to the dilemma of the advocacy by Greeks and Jews of church-state separation in the United States and simultaneous commitments to their respective Greek and Jewish commonwealths in Greece and in Israel. The question of living with multi-level strategies in relation to the several differing situations in which Greeks and Jews find themselves in both their "spiritual homelands" and their respective "diasporas" would be considered.
- C. Jewish and Greek views of the Bible (the Old Testament or Hebrew Scriptures).

- D. A study of Greek Orthodox liturgy to be undertaken by Greek Orthodox scholars with a view toward reviewing or revising negative or hostile references to the Jewish people and Judaism in certain readings in the liturgy. (One Greek Orthodox scholar has indicated a desire to take a leave of absence to undertake such an intensive study in cooperation with the American Jewish Committee.)

III. *Joint Publication*

It was agreed that the proceedings of this conference would be published at the earliest possible date, quite possibly as a special issue of the *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* and in some comparable Jewish journals.

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**The
Greek
Orthodox
Theological
Review**



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Summer 1977

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Ἀγῶνες καί Ἀγωνίαι τῆς ἐν Ἀμερικῇ Ἑλληνικῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας. Ἐγκύκλιοι καί Ἐγγραφα τῶν ἐτῶν 1922-1971. *Encyclicals and Documents of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, Relating to its Thought and Activity. The First Fifty Years (1922-1972)*. Ed. Demetrios J. Constantelos. Thessaloniki: Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, 1976. Pp. 1266. 10 illustrations. \$25.00.

Father Constantelos is to be highly commended for his inspiration and for the labor involved to cull through fifty volumes of archival material in order to present us with this enormous volume of source material related to the history of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America on the occasion of our country's bicentennial.

Professor Constantelos notes in his introduction:

"One discerns the struggles and efforts, the aspirations and inspirations, the vision and limitations, the concerns and anxieties of Greek Orthodox Prelates who were charged not only with the spiritual welfare of their people, but with their education and success in their adopted lands as well."

This reviewer agrees with this statement and would add that the archbishops of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese saw their responsibilities as extending far beyond the boundaries of the Americas from the very beginning of the founding of the Archdiocese.

Its first incumbent, Archbishop Alexander (1918-1930), called for support not only of orphans, students, and indigent women, but for veterans seeking jobs, for the amelioration of the lot of miners, for those persecuted in Russia by the Bolsheviks (1922), for Armenians in Turkey, as well as the Greek Orthodox in Asia Minor (1922). In fact, the earliest document in the volume, dated 10 April 1919, calls for the dedication of the Sunday of St. Thomas as the Sunday of prayer for the persecuted Russians. (There are 74 pages, with 71 documents of which 18 are in English and 1 in English translation devoted to the tenure of Alexander.)

It is also interesting to note how quickly an immigrant church 'adopted' this country: Archbishop Alexander called upon all Greek Orthodox to support the Red Cross (1928) and to assist financially in the building of the Episcopalian cathedral of St. John the Divine (1925).

The documents in the remainder of the volume are divided under the headings of Administration, Pastoral, Philanthropy, Education, National and Social, Youth, and Inter-Church Relations.

To the tenure of Archbishop Athenagoras (1931-1948) are devoted 370 pages, with 257 documents of which 3 are in English. To the tenure of Archbishop Michael (1949-1958) are devoted 219 pages, with 152 documents of which 7 are in English. One document appears in English translation.

To the first thirteen years of the present incumbent Archbishop Iakovos (1959-1972) are devoted 536 pages, with 240 documents of which 38 are in English. In addition, 85 documents appear in English translation.

The entire volume, including the brief interimships of Bishops Athenagoras Kavadas and Germanos of Nyssa, includes 730 documents, with 59 in English, in addition to 90 documents in English translation.

True to his character, Archbishop Athenagoras, later Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, preached for unity, harmony, love and reconciliation among the Greek Orthodox in America who had permitted Old World politics to divide them. The documents clearly indicate his profound pastoral concerns and his great organizational gifts. He was, in truth, the real organizer of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese and the founder of the Church's institutions of learning, Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology and St. Basil's Teachers Academy.

It is interesting to note that the sound financial foundation of the Archdiocese was laid by Archbishop Michael, a man remembered for his deep spirituality and his concern for the Youth of America (GOYA) with its important and life-saving contributions to the Archdiocese. To Archbishop Michael also can be attributed the projection not only of the Greek Orthodox Church but of the entire Orthodox Church in America as a major faith.

Half of the volume is devoted to the first thirteen years of the tenure of Archbishop Iakovos. In my opinion this is as it should be, for Archbishop Iakovos has continued the work of his illustrious predecessors and has gone beyond them in every phase of church and priestly activity.

True and steadfast to the faith and tradition of the Greek Orthodox Church, Archbishop Iakovos has succeeded in opening vast and new horizons for the Church and its faithful. Others established the foundations, but the edifice can truly be said to be his.

The Greek Orthodox Archdiocese can be considered fortunate in its Archbishops, for truly, in the words of Professor Constantelos: "the religious leaders have been concerned with the preservation of the faith, with the consolidation and perpetuation of the Christian and Greek ideals. Each Archbishop emerges from these pages as a spiritual father struggling to present the alteration of his flock, to avert the loss of unity, to keep perpetually burning the torch of Christian faith and Greek culture."

Father Constantelos has permitted us to 'sample' the historical sources of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese which are indeed a rich mine of information. What is needed now is for a group of scholars to undertake the examination and preparation for publication—with suitable apparatus and indices—all the archival material. Only then will the entire story be made known, one of which the Greek Archdiocese can truly be proud.

The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy. By Thomas F. Mathews. University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971. Pp. 194; 99 plates.

Books which concern the history and development of the Liturgy are always welcome, for not only is the Liturgy the most interesting and inspiring aspect of Christian life, but it also offers the vibrant reality of Christian worship. The author of this handsome book knows this very well and from the beginning, without any reservation, he states that the chief function for which early Byzantine architecture was created was the Liturgy of the Eucharist. One might say that Dr. Mathews' book is an original attempt to associate the liturgical life of the Church with Christian architecture. In other words, Byzantine architecture was not a fancy attempt to construct impressive and beautiful buildings for the mere purpose of secular glorification, but sought to offer ecclesiastical buildings as spiritual contributions to the glory of God and for the sanctification of man. The ceremonial use of the Byzantine churches is well demonstrated by the author, and he uses all of the historical, liturgical, and archaeological material he can gather with seriousness and effectiveness.

Dr. Mathews' method has two important advantages. He examines all of the remains of the early Byzantine churches in Constantinople and thus establishes their archaeological value and their historical importance. Secondly, through the scrutiny of the liturgical sources, he reconstructs the ceremonial form and shape upon which the architecture of the churches depended.

Mathews correctly emphasizes the importance of the chronological and geographical coincidence and agreement between liturgical texts and the church buildings. For instance, only Constantinopolitan buildings would be explained by the study of liturgical texts from the churches of Constantinople and vice versa, and not church buildings of Syria.

Dr. Mathews studies here twelve church monuments as a reasonable sampling of the building that was going on in Constantinople during early Byzantine times. His analysis is painstaking and thorough. The presentation of ninety-nine plates at the end of the book makes the contribution of Dr. Mathews even more important. One has only to look at the plate of the interior of the Church of SS. Sergios and Bacchos (plate no. 25), built during the Justinian era, in order to fully comprehend the absolute association between liturgy and architecture. The sanctuary, narthex, atrium, etc. are clearly depicted, and one cannot fail to ascertain their liturgical use and their great importance in the daily liturgical life of the Church. Figure 32 (p. 65) is a splendid reconstruction of the sanctuary of St. Euphemia, a secular triclinium of the fifth century converted into a church. Synthronon, altar site, chancel barrier, solea, ambo (which by now has disappeared)—all give a fine description of the liturgical typikon of the Byzantine Church.

Dr. Mathews finds extraordinary church planning in the churches of Constantinople. There is an abundance of entrances on all sides, even at the east end. Then the narthex, the synthrona, and the small cruciform crypts under the crypt all have a valuable liturgical significance. The division of the sanctuary from the rest of the church building, the special places for the catechumens, penitents, women and for the imperial court show how architectural features were planned in advance for their specific liturgical expedience. Then the Small Entrance, with which the early Liturgy used to begin, was a real entrance from the outside. Both the clergy and the laity entered the church building together. The clergy vested before coming to the church, and the destination of the Small Entrance was the synthronon in the apse of the church. Thus, the disposition of the atrium and narthex in the front of the church and the numerous entrances are evidence that they were built to accommodate the Small Entrance. At that time, the skeuophylakion, the special building in the north part of the church, was used as a starting point for the Entrance of the Mysteries (Great Entrance), and the procession was probably led toward a side door of the main church building. Mathews disagrees with Soteriou, Stricevic, and Orlandos, who find in the triple sanctuary of Byzantine architecture the introduction of the ceremony of the Mysteries and therefore an entrance procession from a prothesis chamber. If, as Mathews writes, archaeology does not indicate the existence of a special prothesis chamber in early Byzantine architecture, one must take Mathews' opinion as more valid. Mathews successfully proves that in the early Byzantine churches there were not any curtains to conceal the sanctuary from the nave.

Thus, the Liturgy played a great role—indeed, the most important one—in the planning of church buildings in early Byzantine times. Mathews notes that the early Christian was not a mere spectator and that he was less interested in abstract, symbolic possibilities than in accommodating his architecture to the liturgical practices of the Church. That sheer symbolism had a subordinate place for the early Christians of Byzantium is only partly true. Although the early Byzantine Liturgy was less “dramatic,” as Mathews claims, it would be a mistake to disassociate architecture from mystical symbolism. Mathews does not fall victim to the pitfall of this separation between liturgical symbolism and architecture, although he stresses too much the architectural usefulness of the church buildings. Apart from this, Dr. Mathews' research has offered us a serious, provocative, and most enlightening study of the early Byzantine Liturgy in association with early Byzantine architecture.

George S. Bebis

Εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὴν Ἀρχαίαν Χριστιανικὴν Γραμματείαν: 96-325 A.D.
By Constantine G. Bonis. Athens, 1974. Pp. 394.

Professor Bonis has taught patrology and patristic literature for twenty-nine years at the School of Theology of the University of Athens. The present volume is the splendid result and fruit of his labors.

Professor Bonis is an excellent scholar, but he is also a sincere faithful. He believes that the Fathers of the Church constantly give life to the divinely founded theandric Body of the Church, offer the means to confront all difficulties, and defend all misinterpretations of the apostolic teaching and the ecclesiastical Tradition. The Fathers are for him the luminaries of the Spirit. So, with respect but also with scholarly exactness and 'scientific,' painstaking fairness, he gives us a thorough examination of the great spiritual and intellectual currents of the early Christian period, the meeting of Christian thought with Jewish tradition and Greek philosophy. The fourth chapter, which covers bibliographical and literary problems, is proof of Professor Bonis' mastery of all the ancient and contemporary sources, collections, anthologies, libraries, and codices. It is a source of unending information, and we are grateful to Professor Bonis for this excellent presentation of all the 'instruments' which make a true patrologist an effective scholar.

Professor Bonis makes the distinction between 'ecclesiastical literature' and 'Christian literature' and rightly so, because the latter is more inclusive and embraces not only Orthodox patristic material but at the same time heretical and apocryphal literature. He divides ancient Christian literature into two main parts: the 'old-Christian' (Palaiochristianike) literature and the patristic literature of the Fathers. During the second period, the persecutions ceased and the Church was free to confront her intellectual enemies, both within and without the Church.

Professor Bonis examines carefully all the periods of the evolution and advancement of early Christian literature. He includes a special chapter on the apostolic Fathers, a chapter on apocryphal literature, and one on Egyptian writers like Alexander of Alexandria, Herakleitos, and Ammonios; there is another chapter on writers of Asia Minor (e.g., Gregory the Wonderworker and Methodios of Olympos). He has special chapters on the African writers (e.g., Amobios and Lactantios) and yet another on the study of Origenistic and anti-Origenistic writers. Moreover, his chapter on western literature is interesting and most informative. The book concludes with chronological lists of the Roman Emperors, the Bishops of Rome, Constantinople, and the rest of the patriarchates of the East.

The main characteristic of this volume is that its purpose is introductory. The learned and respected author brings us into the study of the Fathers

and all the fields associated with patristic literature with breathtaking and panoramic vision and efficiency. Nothing is missing. Details which appear at first glance to be of secondary value are included so that the student of patristic literature, in pursuing his patristic interests, will have at his disposal all available material. Chronology, bibliography, poetry, canon law, and literary style all receive Professor Bonis' meticulous attention. But the book is not a 'dry' description of names, dates, and events. With a deep sense of responsibility and profound knowledge of his subject-matter, the author discusses all the problems which a patristic scholar faces when he studies the early patristic era. The tendencies of the western theologians in dealing with practical problems of their time, the emphasis of the theologians from Asia Minor on the importance of the sacred apostolic Tradition, the importance of the martyrdoms of the early Christians, and the lengthy introduction into the problematics of the Origenistic theology and controversies all show the extensive scope of Professor Bonis' work.

George S. Bebis
Holy Cross Greek Orthodox
School of Theology

The Thirteenth-Century Wall Paintings in the "Koumbelidiki" in Kastoria (Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τοῦ 13ου αἰώνα στὴν Κουμπελίδικι τῆς Καστοριάς). By Chrysanthi Mavropoulou-Tsioumi. Byzantine Texts and Studies, No.8. Thessaloniki: Center of Byzantine Studies, 1973. 136 pp. 1 plan, 9 diagrams, 75 black-and-white plates.

Among the seventy-six churches in the picturesque Greek lakeside town of Kastoria, in western Macedonia, are perhaps a dozen or more of Byzantine construction. Although historians of Byzantine art have known of their existence for about a century, these churches have not been the subject of many full-length studies. Anastasios Orlandos devoted the fourth volume (1938) of his *Ἀρχεῖον τῶν βυζαντινῶν μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος* (*Archive of the Byzantine Monuments of Greece*) to a description of the buildings, but at that time their walls were badly in need of cleaning—a task undertaken after the war by Stylianos Pelekanidis, now a professor at the University of Thessaloniki—and some of the paintings were still undiscovered beneath layers of plaster. In 1949, P. Tsamisis published a book entitled, *Καστορία καὶ τὰ μνημεῖά της* (*Kastoria and Its Monuments*). In 1953, photographs of most of the paintings were published by Pelekanidis in a massive tome bearing the title, *Καστορία, I' Βυζαντινὰ τοιχογραφία* (*Kastoria, I: Byzantine Wall Paintings*), but the projected text volume has not yet appeared.

To this reviewer's knowledge, Mrs. Tsioumi's study is the second monograph that has been written on a Kastorian church. The architecture and paintings of the Panaghia Mavriotissa, a monastery church situated three miles outside the town, were discussed in a small book published by N.K. Moutsopoulos in 1967.

The Panaghia Koumbelidiki (the epithet means "domed") is a triconch, unlike the other churches in Kastoria, all of which are domeless basilicas. As in the case of so many Byzantine churches, the original structure has been enlarged by the addition of an outer narthex, and parts of the interior have been repainted. The author is concerned not with the architecture of the church, which has been touched on by others, but with the oldest of the paintings that are still visible. These paintings, located in the naos and inner narthex, have been given dates ranging from the third decade of the thirteenth century to the first half of the fourteenth century. This span coincides with a period of intense creativity and rapid stylistic change in Byzantine art, but regional variations in the pace of this development often make it difficult to determine dates with much precision. On the basis of careful stylistic comparisons with other works, Mrs. Tsioumi assigns the paintings in question to the two decades between 1260 and 1280, and to a workshop led by an artist who was aware, though not slavishly imitative, of contemporary trends elsewhere in Macedonia and in Serbia. A section on the iconography of the paintings precedes the chapters on style.

This book was written as a doctoral dissertation and is an academic (I do not mean this in the pejorative sense) exercise in the scholarly genre that has become virtually the normative way of writing on specialized topics in Byzantine art. The primary objective of this approach is to assign the work of art its place in a spatio-temporal scheme defined and occupied by other historical events, including other more or less reliably dated works of art. The comparisons on points of style and iconography are designed to yield the geographical and chronological coordinates for this placement, as well as to plot the various directions in which artistic influence was exerted. It goes without saying that investigations of this kind are indispensable if art is to be made a subject of history, but a steady diet of them can leave the dispiriting impression that nothing is more important about a work of art than its position in the scheme. Sometimes because of insufficient data, but no less unfortunately for that, the values and concepts of which the work is a uniquely phrased expression—its "intrinsic meaning," to borrow Erwin Panofsky's phrase—are left unelucidated.

These remarks are offered not as a criticism of the book under review, but as observations on the limits of its genre. Within those limits, the book is a solid contribution, well researched and well written. The photographs, some of which are of paintings not reproduced in Pelekanidis' album, are

good, and there are diagrams that enable the reader to visualize the locations of the paintings, a feature sometimes lacking in books of this type. One inaccuracy should be noted: contrary to the author's assertion on page 29, n. 15, that Millet dated the structure of the Panaghia Koubelidiki to the eleventh century or earlier, Millet's statement as I read it (on page 94 of his *L'école grecque dans l'architecture byzantine*) is that the church could not have been built *much later than* the eleventh century. But this error does not vitiate any of the author's arguments.

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THE PLACE OF AUTHORITY AMONG BAPTISTS

The purpose of this paper is to present, as clearly and frankly as possible, the Baptist understanding and use of authority in faith and practice. The context of the presentation is this historic and happy dialogue between Orthodox Christians and Baptist Christians. Therefore the Baptist position will be presented in such a way as to relate to and make contact with Orthodox thought and practice, insofar as I understand them.

That in itself is no small problem, of course, since we all recognize from the beginning that we have lived hitherto in almost totally different worlds, so separated as to be almost without contact. Yet we know that we really do live in one world as increasingly close neighbors, and we are discovering that we are not only the children of the same Creator Father, and servants of the same Lord, but that we also share the same needs and tasks and face the same enemies.

Why are we separated? Why are we such total strangers to each other, if it is true that we are children of the same Father and servants of the same Lord? Of course there is a multitude of explanations, easy to enumerate: the Easter controversy in the second century; the division of the Roman Empire by Diocletian at the beginning of the fourth century; the distinctions between Greek and Latin words and meanings; the suffocating inundation of the East by Islam in the seventh and eighth centuries; the dispute over ikons; the *filioque*; the shameful sack of Constantinople in 1204 by the Western Crusaders; the great schism of 1054—and the list could go on at great length. But all of these causes of our separation are not adequate to explain our present estrangement in view of the fact that today an Orthodox Christian can be fully accepted and at home in a church of his own faith in New York or Atlanta, in Athens or Jerusalem; and I can be just as fully accepted and at home in a Baptist church in Athens or Jerusalem, in New York or Atlanta. The ultimate and continuing cause of our separation is neither historical nor geographical.



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ΤΟ ΦΙΛΟΛΟΓΙΚΟ ΕΡΓΟ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΗ ΛΑΟΥΡΔΑ (1912-1971) (*The Philological Work of Basil Laourdas*). By K. Mitsakis. Prologue by D. Delivanis. Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1976. Pp. 45. Frontispiece. Paper.

The name of Basil Laourdas is well known in scholarly circles on both sides of the Atlantic. Since his untimely death in 1971 a number of commemorations have taken notice of his very substantial contributions to ancient, mediaeval, and modern Greek studies. *Balkan Studies* 12.2 (1971) was dedicated to him. A fellowship for graduate students at the University of Minnesota was established to promote Greek-Slavic Studies. A huge commemorative international volume was published in 1975 entitled *Essays in Memory of Basil Laourdas* (645 pages). The current slim volume was the result of the commemoration of the fifth anniversary since the death of that Institute's first Director by the Institute for Balkan Studies. It is a fitting encomium by the present director, Professor Kariofilis Mitsakis, who examines in general outline his contributions as a classicist, a Byzantinist, a modern Greek scholar, an educator, and an historian.

Basil Laourdas was a remarkable man who believed deeply in the uninterrupted continuity of Hellenism from antiquity, through the Middle Ages, to modern times. He embodied in himself the scholarly ideal of his own professor, the eminent John Sykoutres. In the United States he studied under Harvard's Werner Jaeger (1949) and his three-year stay at Dumbarton Oaks (1950-1953) influenced him to direct his attention to Byzantine studies. Upon his appointment as Director of the Institute for Balkan Studies in 1954, a new era was to begin for regular international scholarly exchange in which the Institute for Balkan Studies would provide an international impetus centered in Greece. At Thessaloniki Laourdas established a Balkan library, archives, a school of Balkan languages, and regular contact with scholars from all over the world interested in all phases of Balkan studies. In addition, Laourdas organized a lecture series for northern Greece, helped sponsor symposia and conferences on both sides of the Atlantic, published books, monographs, and pamphlets, promoted the cause of Macedonia, and built up a staff that would guarantee continuation of the Institute's work.

Wherever Basil Laourdas was located, he became a citizen of that locale. In Crete as an educator he was a Cretan; in Thessaloniki he became a Macedonian. Professor Mitsakis traces Laourdas's career from his classical publications and interest in Solon, Herodotos, Plato (editions of *Protagoras*, *Euthydemos*, and *Ion*), Isocrates, and Lucian, through his Byzantine interests that began in earnest in Crete with hagiological and hymnographic studies of Andrew of Jerusalem, Archbishop Andrew of Crete, the Ten Saints, Makarios Makris, Joseph the Hymnographer, and proceeded to Eus-

tathios Archbishop of Thessaloniki, Patriarch Photios and his pupil Arethas (with a remarkable contribution on the homilies of Photios), Demetrios Triclinios, and Thomas Magister. While in Thessaloniki (especially during 1950-1960) Basil Laourdas developed an interest in speeches and encomia about its patron saint Demetrios and particularly investigated Theodore Metochites and Nicholas Cabasilas in this regard as well as Archbishops Gregory Palamas, Isidore Glabas, and Gabriel.

Basil Laourdas studied Michael Apostoles, Maximos Margounios, and Paisios Ligarides of the Tourkokratia, the Greek folk song, *Erotokritos*, Adamantios Koraes, Nikolaos Piccolos, and modern Greek authors Papadimantes, Vlachogiannes, Xenopoulos, Sikelianos, Kazantzakis, Venezis, Theotokas, Prevelakis, and D. Kapetanakis. Beyond purely philological and literary interests, Laourdas also wrote about educational issues and promoted the publication of the memorabilia of Macedonian patriots.

The Philological Work of Basil Laourdas is a lovingly written encomiastic survey of the work of a dedicated scholar who combined within his person the best of Hellenic scholarship and the best of humanity. Professor Mitsakis has succeeded in recalling for us Basil Laourdas the scholar and the man.

John E. Rexine

The Liturgical and Mystical Theology of Nicholas Cabasilas. By Constantine N. Tsirpanlis. Athens: Theologia, 1976. Pp. 103. Paper.

Nicholas Cabasilas (died 1380), layman, lawyer, and statesman, was undoubtedly one of the primary representatives of Byzantine theological renewal along with Symeon the New Theologian and Gregory Palamas, all of whom can be described as belonging to the period of the theology of pneumatology or spirituality. It was Cabasilas "who, by his incomparable eloquence, clarity and personal experience, showed that theology, spirituality, and Sacramental life are essentially identical; that every Christian independently from his social position or profession can and must participate in the Liturgical and Sacramental Life of the Church, can live 'theologically' and be a temple of the Holy Spirit, 'Christos,' and can actually be the Temple and House of Christ Himself" (p. 94).

In this illuminating study, which was originally presented by the author as a dissertation under the direction of Father Georges Florovsky for the degree of Master of Sacred Theology to the Harvard Divinity School in 1962, Dr. Constantine Tsirpanlis has examined all other editions, including fragments, letters and orations not in the Migne *Patrologia Graeca* as well as the *Divinae Liturgiae Interpretatio* and the *De Vita in Christo*, though Dr. Tsirpanlis's book is admittedly not a definitive study of the

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THEOLOGY—MISSION AND PASTORAL CARE

Theological thought gives expression and direction to the practice of the Church, whereas direct contact with life and specific problems that are of immediate concern to the Church militant constantly brings to light new matters for, and inspires new forms of, theological investigation. But although this would seem to be self-evident, it is not always clearly felt to be so in day to day reality. In many local Orthodox Churches there is a veiled separation between these two aspects of Church life and theological thought. Many theologians pursue their work without reference to the Church, while even more clergy hasten to exert their influence in a variety of directions without adequate theological thought or taking due account of the fact that the problems with which they are dealing are not as simple as they might seem. It is now time that we cease stopping short at the simple diagnosis of a lack of co-ordination between theological research and pastoral and missionary activity and move on rapidly to achieving their not only harmonious but also fruitful co-operation. Furthermore, with regard to academic theology, its traditional division into four distinct fields (those of biblical, historical, systematic, and pastoral theology), and its presentation through various specialized courses, tend to create the impression that missionary and pastoral work fall only into the exclusive domains of certain university departments, whereas, in the Orthodox tradition, the whole of theology is, and must be, orientated towards the expression of the self-awareness of the Church as a whole as she seeks to achieve a more perfect fulfillment of her mission in the world.

The subject of this introduction is not Orthodox missionary and pastoral work in general, but an attempt to explore the main theme of our conference (and more especially its second section: "Theology as a manifestation of the presence of the

A paper read at the Second International Conference of Orthodox Theological Schools, Pendeli, Greece, August 19-29, 1976.

Church in the world”), as it is related to missionary and pastoral work. I shall, therefore, endeavor to examine some crucial aspects of the problem, and to stress their practical implications, with a view to a) clarifying the significance and the unity of missionary and pastoral tasks of the Church as they confront us today, b) the pin-pointing of certain sensitive and painful areas in the reality of the life of the Church today, and c) the stressing of the basic characteristics of Orthodox presence and witness.

I. SIGNIFICANCE AND UNITY OF MISSIONARY AND PASTORAL WORK IN TODAY'S CIRCUMSTANCES

1. In the past, the boundaries between ‘Christian’ and ‘non-Christian’ worlds were relatively well defined. Hence, we had the classical distinction between missionary work and pastoral care. The former referred to the ‘non-Christian world’ and involved preaching and conversion, whereas the latter was concerned with the spiritual edification and sanctification of the members of the Church. In our times, these simple patterns have been profoundly altered by new factors. The frontiers between ‘Christian’ and ‘non-Christian’ can no longer be represented by lines drawn across geographical maps. Moreover the boundaries between the presence and absence of the Faith are no longer permanent. Indeed, they even bisect so-called ‘Christian’ communities, in which one may find indifferent and faithless souls. There are even boundaries dividing the heart of the individual Christian and his personal history and evolution. Many a ‘believer’ of yesterday today wavers between faith and faithlessness, while others, considered ‘unbelievers,’ struggle on in hope between faithlessness and faith. The cry of the possessed child’s father in the Gospel, “Lord, I believe, help my unbelief!” (Mk 9:24), is the typical cry of many Christians today.

The religious forms of the modern world are complex. For the sake of clarity in this presentation and to facilitate discussion, I have chosen to stress the broader forms, sometimes at the expense of finer distinction. From the Christian viewpoint we can distinguish diagrammatically a number of layers:

(a) The multitudes who have long belonged to other religious systems and whose cultures and consciences have been influenced by them. These are the hundreds of millions of people who live by the standards dictated by great religions, such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Shintoism, etc. This composite body displays a number of important phenomenological differences, particularly between monotheistic, prophetic religions, and the great Hindu systems. (b) The vast number of people who reject all religious experience as something useless or harmful. Here again we can easily distinguish fanatical and aggressive groups who hate and fight every form of religious expression, as distinct from the larger masses who simply despise religion as occult and even anachronistic. (c) A particularly numerous group is made up of those who have broken away from their old religious beliefs and adopted the pace of the modern technological era with ever lessening reference to, or relationship with, religious ideas. This group also includes a variety of those holding attitudes dependent on the origin, form, and intensity of their religious subconscious. A major group among the religiously indifferent includes those with a Christian heritage. They are not seriously interested in any other faith. They still enjoy some Christian customs from a folklore point of view. (d) Further, and not to be overlooked, is a group of people who have accepted the Gospel and are struggling (with frequent failures) to abide by it. The general crisis and confusion of the modern world extends into the Christian camp, giving rise to a peculiar 'faithlessness of the faithful.'

The Church is 'under an obligation to all these categories of people' (Rom. 1:14), to "testify to the gospel of the grace of God" (Acts 20:24). The significant problems connected with the dialectic relationship between faith and lack of faith in each of the above cases call of course for different frames of reference, methods and approaches in regard to missionary activity. The correct understanding of man's universal religious experience, as well as the interpretation of the great religious systems which still influence nearly half of mankind, are of basic importance. The attitude adopted by Christians towards non-Christian religious systems has varied greatly. It ranges from the entirely positive to the totally negative. To most

Orthodox, religions represent mankind's persistent search for the highest reality and the profound mystery of his existence.¹ They bear some traces of God's manifestations (*Theophania*), along with traces of many modifications, changes and demonic influences. They are, to my mind, akin to accumulators of vital experience, intuitions, sublime inspirations, and charged with the rays of the Sun of Righteousness. They have helped to have light, or at least brought a reflection of the light, to shine upon the pathway of many nations.

But the most crucial subject for modern Orthodox theology is the phenomenon of secularization. Geocentric anthropocentrism, by ignoring all transcendental values, draws down as into a whirlpool all thought and consciousness, all criteria for evaluating life, and all social, political, economic and cultural structures.² This is a new type of 'heresy' which radically alters the whole meaning of the world and the whole meaning of man, and which requires most thorough analysis and evaluation.

1 For a historical outline of various Christian approaches to other religions and a detailed bibliography see A Yannoulatos, *Various Christian Approaches to Other Religions A Historical Outline* (Athens, 1971). There is a more general theological consideration of the matter by the same author and in the light of present day discussions in "Towards World Community" (paper presented at the Multilateral Dialogue between Men of Living Faiths, held in Colombo, Sri Lanka, 17-24 April, 1974, see *Ecumenical Review* 26(1974), 619-36, see also the enlarged edition of "Towards a 'Koinonia Agapes'" S.J. Samartha, *Towards World Community, the Colombo Papers* (Geneva, 1975), 45-64 For other characteristic Orthodox views see N Arseniev, *Revelation of Life Eternal* (New York, 1965), esp pp 27-29 L Philippidis, *Religionsgeschichte als Heilsgeschichte in der Weltgeschichte* (Athens, 1953), Idem, *Contemporary Religious Movements Towards the Unity of All Men* (Athens, 1966) in Greek, G. Khodre, "Christianity in a Pluralistic World—The Economy of the Holy Spirit," *Ecumenical Review* 23(1971), 118-28 E. Vasilescu, "La théologie orthodoxe roumaine dans ses rapports avec les religions non-chrétiennes," *De la théologie orthodoxe roumaine des origines à nos jours*, ed par l'Eglise Orthodoxe Roumaine (Bucarest, 1974), 376-91

2 For an analysis of the meaning and character of secularization from a Western viewpoint see H Cox, *The Secular City Secularization and Urbanization in Theological Perspective* (New York, 1965) and symposia J.F. Children—D.B. Harned (eds), *Secularization and the Protestant Prospect* (Philadelphia, 1970), J. Morel (ed), *Glaube und Sakularisierung* (Innsbruck—Vienna—Munich, Wien, 1972) For Orthodox essays on various aspects of the issue see S. Agourides, *The Gospel and the Modern World* (Thessalonike, 1970) in Greek K. Papapetrou, "Die Sakularisation und die Orthodoxe Kirche Griechenlands," *Kyrios* 3(1963), 193-205 O Clement, *Theology after the 'death of God'* (Athens, 1973) in Greek

2. Orthodox theological thought of recent years³ has pointed out and underlined some basic truths regarding the duty of Christians to bear witness "to all nations,"⁴ i.e.: (a) Mission is an essential part of the nature of the Church, and is the exten-

3. In our generation, to revive Orthodox Overseas Mission efforts and relevant theological research commenced within the Orthodox Youth movement and more specifically within the international organization "Syndesmos" (1959), and with the establishment of the Inter-Orthodox Centre "Porefthendes" (1961) as well as the publication of a periodical under the same name in Greek and English. This was followed by missionary work undertaken by a few members of the clergy in Africa, and by a general increase in activity on the part of the Patriarchate of Alexandria (the establishment of new metropolitan dioceses, etc.). Later on, some new basic institutions were also introduced into the formal administrative structure of the Church of Greece (This was largely the result of the work of the leading members of "Porefthendes"). These include the Department for Mission of the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece and an "Overseas Mission Week" (since 1968), the Institute of Missionary Studies at the Theological School of Athens University (1969)). In other Greek cities associations were formed to provide support for overseas mission (e.g., "The Friends of Uganda" (later: society of Orthodox Foreign Missions in Thessalonike, the Association of Orthodox External Mission "Protokletos" (1975) in Patras; both of which publish their own periodicals).

4. See articles published in "Porefthendes—Go Ye" 1959-1969. See also A. Schmemmann, "The Missionary Imperative in the Orthodox Tradition," *The Theology of the Christian Mission*, ed. G.H. Anderson (New York, 1961), 250-57; N. Nissiotis, "The Ecclesiological Foundation of Mission," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 8 (1962), 22-52. A. Yannoulatos, "Orthodoxy and Mission," *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly* 8(1964), 139-48. Idem, "The Purpose and Motive of Mission—From an Orthodox Point of View," *International Review of Missions* 54(1965), 298-307. Idem, "Missions orthodoxes," *Parole et Mission* 8(1965), 5-18. Idem, "Reflexions d'un Orthodoxe sur la coopération interconfessionnelle dans la Mission," *Oecumenisme en Mission*, 40e Semaine de Missiologie de Louvain (1970), 101-10. Idem, "Les Missions des Eglises d'orient," *Encyclopaedia Universalis* 11 (1972), 99-102. Idem, *Considerations on Orthodox Foreign Mission* (Athens, 1969). Idem, *Indifference to Mission is a Denial of Orthodoxy* (Athens, 1972, 1973) in Greek. H. Voulgarakes, *Mission According to the Greek Texts From 1821 to 1917* (Athens, 1971) in Greek. See also presentations to "The Second International Conference of Orthodoxy Theology: 'The Catholicity of the Church,' St. Vladimir's Seminary, September, 1972," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 17(1973), Nos. 1-2. Basic views on mission are summarized in the conclusions of various Orthodox theological conferences organized by the W.C.C.; Athens-Pendeli, May 1972, "Salvation in Orthodox Theology," Bucharest—Cernica, June, 1974, "Confessing Jesus Christ Today" in Orthodox Theology, cf. *International Review of Missions* 64 (1975), 67-94. Etchmiadzine—Armenia, September 1975, "Confessing Christ through Liturgical Life of the Church Today." For the former two cf. also *Orthodox Contributions to Nairobi* (Papers Compiled and Presented by The Orthodox Task Force of the WCC—Geneva 1975). The three texts have been recently published in French in *Contacts* 27(1975), No. 92. For a concise presentation of views regarding mission and Christian witness generally in ecumenical circles see *Reports of the Bangkok Conference on Salvation Today: Bangkok Assembly 1973* (Geneva, 1973). "Symposium on Evangelism," *International Review of Mission* 63(1974), No. 249. D.M. Paton (ed.), *Breaking Barriers* (Nairobi, 1975): The Official Report of the Fifth Assembly of the World Council of Churches, Nairobi, 23 November—10 December, 1975 (London, Grand Rapids, 1976), esp. pp. 41-57, 70-85. "The Nairobi Assembly; Implication for Mission," *International Review of Mission* 65(1976), No. 257.

sion in time and space of the work of Christ. It is the offering of Salvation to mankind, the continuous transfusion of a new quality of life into human society, "that they may have life, and have it abundantly" (Jn 10:10). (b) The Gospel is addressed to all peoples, and therefore the work of the Church remains incomplete as long as it is restricted to certain geographical areas or social classes. Its field of action is universal and is active in both the sectors that welcome the good tidings and those which at first may reject them. (c) Mission was not the duty of only the first generations of Christians. It is the duty of Christians of all ages. The Church continues its mission despite the injuries inflicted upon her by heresies and the hardships imposed by persecutions. Witness is the expression of the vitality of the Church as well as a source of renewal and renewed vigor. (d) Even though missionary work in its most absolute form is undertaken by only some especially charismatic people and those so authorized by the Church, it remains the duty of all members of the body of Christ. Everyone should contribute to and participate in it, whether it be directly or indirectly. It is an essential expression of the Orthodox ethos, whose main poles are the Resurrection and Pentecost. (e) The purpose of mission is not to conquer the world or to impose the existence of a Christian state which exercises control over all men and all things, but the transmission to this world of the Word and grace of God by the power of the Spirit, and the revealing to the world of His glory which, in Christ, 'is and is to come.' Its aim is not to increase the power of an established Church, but to constitute a ministry offered to the world in all humility and aiming at 'its salvation.' Its aim is the realization of the presence of God (Who is love). (f) Since the end of history is the coming of the kingdom of God, and a prerequisite of His Parousia is the preaching of the Gospel "throughout the whole world as a testimony to all nations" (Mt 24:14), mission constitutes a basic function of history and one that has eschatological dimensions.

3. The continuous offering of the Gospel, however, refers not only to external dimensions of the earth but also to the inner depths of each human existence and to the transformation of each human soul. The Church grows both by acquiring

new members and by enabling those already baptized to acquire a deeper experience of the mysteries of life and love. If in the first case there is a type of growth that is quantitative, in the second the growth could be called 'qualitative.' It is also with this 'qualitative' type of growth that the pastoral responsibility⁵ of the Church is concerned, "for the equipment of the saints, for the work of ministry, for building up the body of Christ" (Eph 4:12).⁶ Without pastoral care, the early life of the believer in Christianity, although born through the acceptance of the Gospel and baptism, remains anemic and languishes away. Like every form of life, life in Christ must conquer death daily. Grace and sin, progress upwards alternating with tragic backslidings are conditions familiar to us all. The character of Christian life is dynamic, with a continuous overcoming of the profane elements within us by means of the adhering of the soul to the Holy of Holies and by the sacramental participation in the Death and the Resurrection of Christ, and by our constant commendation of ourselves to Him. In the words of St. Basil: "The definition of Christianity is the imitation of Christ to the depths of His incarnation and in accordance with each man's vocation."⁷ With the specific aim of the continuous transformation in Christ of the faithful, "from one degree of glory to the other" (2 Cor 3:18), of their acquisition of the Holy Spirit, and finally of their 'theosis,'⁸ pastoral care con-

5. Among general works on pastoral care see K. Mouratides, *Christocentric Pastoral Care in the Ascetic Treatises of St. Basil the Great* (Athens, 1969) in Greek. In the area of pastoral psychology see J. Kornarakis, *The Problem of the Relationship between Pastoral Care and Psychotherapy from the Orthodox Viewpoint* (Athens, 1957) in Greek. Idem, *Elements of the Psychology of mystical Spirituality* (Thessalonike, 1963) in Greek. For specific subjects see G. Kapsanes, *The Church's Pastoral Care of the Imprisoned* (Athens, 1969) in Greek. Idem, *Pastoral Care According to the Holy Canons* (Piraeus, 1976) in Greek. A. Stavropoulos, *Pastoral Care for Fiancées* (Athens, 1973) in Greek. For tendencies in Roumanian Theology see Al. Moisiu, "Problèmes de théologie pastorale dans la littérature théologique de ces dernières décennies," *De la théologie orthodoxe roumaine des origines à nos jours* (Bucharest, 1974), 440-52.

6. The text of Eph 4:11-15 expresses in a clear and deeply moving manner the orientation of the 'apostolic,' 'evangelistic,' 'pastoral' task.

7. St. Basil, *Regulas fusiis tractatae* (*Detailed Rules*), PG 31:1028 BC. For a relevant analysis see: K. Mouratides, op. cit., p. 96 ff.

8. Among other works on the subject see: L. Lossky, *Théologie mystique de l'Eglise d'Orient* (Paris, 1944). J. Gross, *La divination du chrétien d'après les Pères grecs* (Paris, 1938). A. Theodorou, *Theosis in the Teachings of the Greek Fathers of the Church up to John Damascene* (Athens, 1956) in Greek. P. Bratsiotos, *Die Lehre der orthodoxen Kirche über die Theosis des Menschen* (Brussels, 1961). M. Lot-

stitutes the vertical dimension, in both height and depth, of the Christian struggle.

The 'qualitative' growth of the local Church has immediate missionary implications. Not only because it is conducive to the creation of that healthy and dynamic body which transmits the Gospel spontaneously to its environment, but also because the genuine faith and love of one man has beneficial effects on the whole of mankind. This is the case because all men partake of a common human nature. In the characteristic expression of Seraphim of Sarov, "achieve peace within yourself, and thousands around you will find salvation."⁹

The increase and strengthening of the Orthodox community are two parallel and concurrent activities.¹⁰ St. Paul epigrammatically told the elders of Ephesus that he "testified to both Jews and Greeks of repentance to God, and of faith in our Lord Jesus Christ," and at the same time "for three years" he "did not cease night or day to admonish every one with tears" (Acts 20:21, 31).

It is noteworthy that 'pastoral' terminology and imagery are also used in the New Testament with missionary overtones: "And I have other sheep, that are not of this fold; I must bring them also, and they will heed my voice. So there shall be one flock, one shepherd" (Jn 10:16; cf. 1 Pet 2:25). These other sheep, men imprisoned in other systems and other 'folds' of thought, already belong to the Lord of all; and they must 'return' to His fold, which is the Church. Words like 'return' or 'turn to' are often used to designate conversion (Acts 15:3, 15:19). The categories 'lost' and 'gone astray' (Mt 18:12-13) include not only those who once came to the Church and then rejected it, but also those wandering in the dark woods of instinctive religion. The basic duty of the Church, therefore, remains firstly to 'seek' souls in each and every direction, and secondly to "save that which was lost."

der orthodoxen Kirche über die Theosis des Menschen (Brussels, 1961), M. Lot-Borodine, *La déification de l'homme selon la doctrine des Pères grecs* (Paris, 1970). G. Mantzarides, *The Doctrine of the Theosis of Man according to Gregory Palamas* (Thessalonike, 1963) in Greek.

9. Irene Gorainoff, *St. Seraphim of Sarov*, transl. P.K. Skouteris (Athens, 1975) in Greek, 255.

10. Mission and pastoral care go hand in hand for the new Orthodox so-called 'missionary' communities. The patient but heartening work being accomplished today by Orthodox Christians in Korea or Africa unites both these ministries harmoniously.

The interdependence and mutually complementary character of mission and pastoral care is now evident. They both constitute one and the same task. Polarizations such as 'inside,' 'outside,' 'we first, and others afterwards,' between mission and pastoral care are especially today totally unjustifiable. It is not possible to overlook the need for serious internal pastoral care, but neither is it possible to allow immediate pastoral tasks to paralyse Christian witness all over the world, nor thereby to justify missionary inactivity. The correct formulation of the problem is not 'either this or that,' but 'both this and that.' "And you shall be my witnesses in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria and to the end of the earth" (Acts 1:8).

II. TRAUMATIC SITUATIONS INHIBITING ORTHODOX WITNESS TODAY

When, however, after taking account of all theological considerations and analyses, we come to present-day reality, we find that our Church life displays many extremely painful and traumatic situations which dangerously inhibit both her mission and her pastoral activity. At ecumenical meetings many Orthodox theologians often tend to gloss over these situations, in silence, and to idealize conditions within the Orthodox Church. In a Pan-Orthodox theological conference like this, however, self-criticism and a solar view of realities should prevail. What follows does not necessarily apply to every one. There are, fortunately, some blessed exceptions. Naturally I do not propose to go into any of the root causes of our troubles in the few brief paragraphs of this presentation. This would require a long historical and sociological analysis. I shall, therefore, limit myself to a few broad issues.

1. A certain weakness of sickliness can be detected in the body of the clergy, principal bearers of the Message. There is usually an enormous gap between descriptions of the greatness of the sacerdotal mission and the reality we live with. Many of the clergy seem able to preach about one way of life and to live another. They appear as if they maintained a superficial, ceremonial-type of religiousness, without any real

climate of love, spiritual sensitivity, or freedom. Critical questions are anxiously awaiting responsible theological investigation. What is it that prevents many workers in the Church from blossoming as personalities? What leads others to discouragement and despair? Why do serious people shrink from the priesthood? It is a common secret that many priests live under conditions where they suffer oppression and lack of freedom. Despite the sacramental character of the Church, some purely secular elements and a number of power factors are active within its organizational structures, and these sometimes transform the relationships between bishops and priests into something more like the relationships between feudal lords and serfs. My point is not to level charges against group A or group B (for, indeed, we bishops are ourselves the products of an established mentality), but to review the situation in the light of the true Orthodox tradition. The most painful aspect of the matter is that although many causes of the malady in question have long since been identified, the situation with regard to the clergy instead of improving is deteriorating. It is essential that we should investigate the possibility of adopting daring solutions, so that we may no longer be left with no alternative but the ordination of persons of low educational¹¹ and, unfortunately, not only of education standing.

As a springboard for discussion, a few ideas suggest themselves: (a) The making possible of continuous and systematic education for the clergy to help them keep abreast of both new developments in the world and the unlimited experience of the Church, in an effort to prevent their becoming mere celebrants. (b) Careful preparation of clergy and laity for missionary work in difficult areas within and outside their own countries. (c) The introduction of new structures that would permit priests to exercise other activities (such as those of doctor) alongside their priestly activities, and with freedom from obligations regarding their external appearance. (d) The ordination of deacons at a younger age with the possibility of marriage later on. The 20-35 year old age group might then be used freely for missionary work under the more difficult con-

¹¹ Some very interesting statistical data are given in A. Gousides, *Ordinations in the Church of Greece during the Years 1950-1969: A Statistical and Sociological Investigation* (Thessalonike, 1975) in Greek. Cf. an analysis by D. Savrames, *Die soziale Stellung des Priesters in Griechenland* (Leiden, 1968).

ditions.¹² (e) The re-activation of some of the lower ranks of the clergy such as were active during the early centuries in order to help meet the contemporary pastoral requirements of mission areas.

Finally, it is wrong to overlook the human nature of the priest and the natural frailty of his character. We know what society expects of the priesthood and we know its severe judgements. In addition to giving descriptions of ideal models, theology should treat each member of the clergy with love, see him as a human being who has his personal struggles and is subject to weakness and disappointment, and concern itself seriously with the problem of how he may be supported and assisted. Pastoral care for pastors is the most neglected area of pastoral activity.

2. Further, our modern theology is often characterized by a certain spiritual slackness. It is often embodied in sterile academic forms and over-technical language. It fails to go very deep into the problems posed by science, by various currents of thought, by politics, or by the philosophies of Asiatic peoples and cultures which in our time exercise a peculiar charm and enchantment. At other times we are unconsciously held back by a fear of waking sleeping dogs, lest we incur the displeasure of the high and mighty, lest we jeopardize established privileges. Obsessions and personal conflicts sometimes lead to polarizations. These become stumbling blocks to fruitful dialogue in which subjective opinions are set on one side in the interests of a higher synthesis. We often express views on subjects not sufficiently studied, views that have not been allowed to mature through protracted meditation and under the influence of silent worship in the Holy Spirit.¹³ Too often "we talk in a technical language instead of in that of a living theology."¹⁴ We forget that the verbosity

12 Cf *Hindrances to Marriage Suggestions of the Church of Greece to the Pan-Orthodox Synod* (Athens, 1971) in Greek, 88.

13 "In the Holy Spirit (are found) the riches of the knowledge of God, the contemplation (of the divine) and wisdom. For in Him (the Holy Spirit) the Word reveals all dogmas concerning the Father" (Theodore Studites, *Gradual Antiphons, Paracletike*, Sunday Matins, 3rd Gradual Antiphon, 4th tone

14 St Basil, Epistle 90, PG 32 473B. With regard to the patristic view in general, see K. Souteres, *The Meaning of the Terms 'Theology,' 'theologize' and 'theologian' in the Doctrine of the Greek Fathers and Ecclesiastical Writers up to the Cappado-*

of rationalistic theology does not touch the people of God.

Finally, an important question arises. From where stems the right and the possibility of theologians to theologize? Does it come from our theological degree or from our studies? The implacable words of the psalmist "But to the wicked, God says: What right have you to recite my statutes," (Ps 49/50:16). These words, which induced Origen to descend in contrition from the pulpit, are of particular significance for many of us, who so easily pronounce theological judgments, without awe and with a most naive self-confidence. In the patristic tradition, purification (*katharsis*) is defined as a necessary prerequisite of serious theology, of the "speaking of divine things."¹⁵ Our theological thinking would undoubtedly be of a quite different depth, quality, and warmth, if it developed in a climate of continuous *metanoia*, which is a transformation of the mind, a liberation from prejudice, a purification of the heart, sobriety (*nepsis*), and a sharing in (*methexis*) the universal experience of the Church.

3. Local and international living conditions plus the pace of life in large cities, coupled with world-wide communications and mass media networks, and the close interdependence among cities and nations have long since transformed the presuppositions upon which various organizational ecclesiastical patterns were based. Thus many administrative structures prove insufficient and are unable to meet present-day requirements. I will refer to only two examples. Firstly, to the structure and the equipment of the parishes in the 'diaspora' and in the big cities. In the former case, a parish extends over dozens of square kilometers. In the latter case, a parish in a big city, for example in Athens, may include 30,000-50,000 inhabitants and make possible, in effect, no

cians (Athens, 1972) in Greek, esp. pp. 89-99, 155-74. Cf. critical essays: I. Kotsones, "Die griechische Theologie," *Die Orthodoxe Kirche in griechischer Sicht*, Bd II (Stuttgart, 1960). N. Nissiotis, "La théologie en tant que science et en tant que doxologie," *Irenikon* 33(1960), 291-310. *Theology, Truth and Life of A Spiritual Symposium*, ed. The Brotherhood of Theologians 'ZOE' (Athens, 1962) in Greek.

15. St. Gregory Nazianzus, *Orations*, 43, PG 36; 581A. Cf. "A great thing it is to speak of God; but a greater to cleanse one's self for God. For into a soul that is ill-cultured wisdom cannot enter." St. Gregory Nazianzus, *Orations*, 32,12, PG 36: 188C. Cf. "It is by purification that purity is to be achieved," op. cit. Or. 20, 12, PG 35, 1080 B.

pastoral care. It is not only a problem of excessive numbers. The main difficulty arises from the pace of life, from our great mobility, from the possibility of forming relationships irrespective of one's place of residence. The 'parishioners' remain strangers to one another, and unknown to the priests. The character of the eucharistic community has been radically altered and only a few symbolic rituals recall the idea of family life and communion in Christ.

Secondly, the problem of different jurisdictional areas sometimes has an inhibiting effect on missionary initiatives. The Churches with the largest numbers of Orthodox believers and, undoubtedly too, those most wealthy financially and in personnel, often regard the duty of mission as something not quite their business. They prefer to remain discreetly silent, rather than interfere with 'alien' affairs. This, however, gives rise to a theological problem: Is world-wide mission the exclusive obligation of certain local Orthodox Churches alone? Is it not necessary for all in the Orthodox Church to seek essential and effective co-operation? And what is the meaning of 'jurisdiction'? Do the Buddhists or the Moslems 'belong' to the jurisdiction of Church A or Church B? Or will they belong to these only as and when they are converted to Orthodoxy? Is indifference as to whether or not they become Christians to be construed as respect for another 'jurisdiction'? I hasten to state that I am at present unable to suggest a satisfactory solution to these questions. Every 'solution' in fact creates a new series of problems. It is just as unthinkable that national Orthodox Churches should intervene arbitrarily in any part of the world as it is to consider the creation of autonomous missionary societies in accordance with Western models. What is now imperative is that we should realize that solutions do not turn up of their own accord and that many possible opportunities are missed or bypassed. Solutions must be sought by means of systematic theological work and clear ecclesiastical planning. Under the leadership e.g. of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and other competent Patriarchates such as those of Alexandria and Antioch, an all-Orthodox Committee for Mission might be set up. Its duty would be to study, plan and promote efforts in favor of Orthodox witness on a world-wide scale, through realistic pro-

posals, and that would make full use of Orthodox potentialities. It is an established fact that each local Church contributes more willingly and more generously to any missionary work when it sees itself as a responsible participant, rather than as the financial sponsor of some distant, unknown and isolated parish.¹⁶

4. There is a tendency for members of the Church as a whole to display a kind of somnolence, and this leads to inertia and passivity. It is very doubtful whether the faithful are in the main aware that the Church saves and transforms lives in the Holy Spirit. Their religious feelings often include elements of primitive awe when confronted with that which is mysterious, with the numenous. Their religious psychology in relationship with the Divine is reminiscent of 'do ut des.' The widespread conception that the clergy alone (and indeed only the clergy of a certain rank) are supposed to be the Church, creates one of the most dangerous of misconceptions. This leads to indifference in ecclesiastical matters and to irresponsibility. Thus, laymen who represent the overwhelming majority within the Church, instead of becoming co-workers in Christ in the common task of mission and edification, assume the role of spectators, judges and critics. Theology is called upon 'again and again' to proclaim and clarify the fact that all believers are responsible for the life of the Church. They participate in its work, are limbs of the body that continues the work of Christ—the salvation of the whole world. The presence of faithful laymen within the social structures of the life of the world offers inexhaustible opportunities for witness, ministry, and the glorification of God.

A matter of resurgent interest today is the participation of

16. There are many related activities which might be usefully developed at a pan-orthodox level. These include: (a) The introduction of a "Week of Panorthodox Witness" during Lent. The specific contents of this week would be adapted to local conditions. (b) The introduction of a "Week for the discussion of missionary and pastoral problems" in Orthodox Theological Schools. (c) The organization of a system under which certain priests, theologians, and specially trained laymen, would be transferred for limited periods of time from the wealthier to the poorer Orthodox communities, the cost of the work being carried by the wealthier communities. Modern communication facilities should be used in creative ways to promote Orthodox witness. In other confessions may already have been found workable solutions to these proposals. In Orthodox circles, however, such possibilities are still merely subjects for debate.

women in the life of society (and women represent more than half the members of the Church and more than three quarters of those who attend church regularly). In certain aspects of Church life possibilities open to us in this field include the revival of the institution of deaconesses and a more extensive utilization of social workers, nuns, etc. The enormous contribution of women is particularly noticeable in areas under regimes hostile to the Church. The position of the Virgin Mary in the work of divine Economy, and the multi-faceted role of women saints in the life of the Church may open up vital new horizons for both reflection and action.¹⁷

5. The limited time allotted to this presentation precludes any lengthy analysis. I must confess that I have not had the courage to touch on serious, hidden or very sensitive, wounds that exist in the life of the Church, and that in what I have said I have tried to use mild expressions. (Perhaps this kind of mildness is in itself a sign of a post-traumatic theological attitude.) At any rate, the fact remains that there are still many aspects of Church reality which might be considered 'traumatic.' Such traumas include: (a) The various small or large compromises in matters of conscience with those in power, with the economic, political, or other 'establishment' of this world. (b) The use or abuse of the material resources and possibilities that are at the disposal of the Church. (c) The mistrust and difficulty of co-operation between those working for the Gospel. (d) Our inability to predict and to plan, our failures to understand the new conditions of human life. Our sluggishness and carelessness in implementing decisions. (e) The negative attitude of young people who regard the Church as slow in thought and slow to act, as being a religious 'establishment' lacking inspiration, sensitivity or hope. (f) Excessive inconsistency in the behavior of 'devout Christians,' which causes 'outsiders' seriously to doubt the effectiveness of the Gospel. (g) The divisions which have become a permanent characteristic of the Christian world and include not only the broad confessional clashes, but also antipathy and obstinacy between smaller groups within one confession. (h) The arbitrary and high-handed administrative practices, on various

17. For more on the subject see P. Evdokimov, *La Femme et le Salut du Monde* (Tournai-Paris, 1958).

pretexts, of some Church authorities. We are frequently heard to speak of the conciliarity of Orthodoxy, but in effect there is usually no such conciliarity either on the level of the 'people of God,' or among the clergy, or even on the level of the Episcopate. With our words we praise personal freedom and the 'democratic' nature of the institutions and traditions of our Church, while in fact we choke in an atmosphere of a peculiar lack of freedom.

It is far healthier to make a courageous and sincere confession of the wounds and errors that in reality afflict our ecclesiastical history than to adopt the attitude that currently prevails among us, namely that of embellishing and idealizing that reality in order to justify ourselves in our own eyes as well as in the eyes of others.

Naturally there is also a risk that the recognition of these regrettable facts may well lead to intense open or latent gloom and all kinds of inhibitions. Over and above the diagnosis of the illnesses and the inhibitions, our theological thinking is called upon further to interpret their significance, to make suggestions as to how to heal the wounds we suffer from, and to lay powerful and hopeful emphasis on the fact that the body of the Church is given inexhaustible inner powers that can cure all her wounds. The struggle of the Church is of a nature that goes beyond the social and physical spheres and involves metaphysical dimensions: "For we are not contending against flesh and blood . . ." (Eph 6:12). As history proceeds towards its eschatological fulfillment, the confrontation between the powers of 'darkness' and the disciples of Christ grows more dramatic. In our apocalyptic age, the powers of evil appear to be in the ascendant and it is no wonder that their actions strike at especially sensitive, neuralgic areas of the body of the Church. This tragedy element is a constant dimension of history, and the Cross pin-points and manifests its poignancy. It is the Cross that will remain till the end of time as the symbol and source of power of the Church. There is, of course, the ever present possibility of a failure of faith: "Nevertheless, when the Son of man comes, will He find faith on earth?" (Lk 18:8). Yet this thought must not lead us to "discouragement" but rather to vigilance—"Watch therefore" (Mk 13:35,37). The final word is God's, not His opponents' nor His betrayers':

“And the Lamb shall overcome them: for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings, and those with him are called and chosen, and faithful” (Rev 17:14).

III. DYNAMIC PRESENCE AND WITNESS IN THE WORLD

The eschatological insight and certainty that are underlined again and again in Orthodox worship lend tranquility, power to resist, and spiritual equilibrium to the faithful, and in particular to those who take an active part in the missionary and pastoral work of the Church, sustaining them in their course and ministry to the world. In this final section I will attempt to outline some basic characteristics of what would be a dynamic Orthodox presence and witness. Naturally, it is evident that the considerations here put forward will not cover the whole spectrum of relevant problems. They will simply throw a few rays of light on the most crucial aspects of the subject, that may eventually facilitate further investigation.

1. In the terrible confusion of ideas which marks our age, Christian preaching should be conceived of as the offering of a message of good tidings to each individual *in the specific circumstances of his life*, a message that meets his personal and immediate existential needs and experiences. If the message itself is one, universal and eternal, each man or woman who receives it lives in a specific situation and has different associations of ideas. In the past, in order that the mystery of salvation in Christ should be made available to the men and women of the early Christian era, it was necessary, for the presentation of the Gospel, to assimilate and make use of the categories of thought that were at that time familiar to all. This was accomplished mainly through theology. Today's city dweller, with his experience of the broad horizons opened up by the rapid advances of science and the possibilities provided by technology and by recent social and political structures, is faced with incomparably wider and more intricate problems than the citizen of the Graeco-Roman or the Byzantine worlds. His sensitivities have changed. The old symbols have lost their immediate significance, e.g., to men familiar with religious sacrifices, such as were the ancient Jews, Greeks and Romans,

the concept of expiation was existentially relevant. It is no longer so today.

Theology today, then, is faced with the old problem of how to express the eternal in terms of the temporal, but with the new problem of how to do so in terms comprehensible to modern man. But in order to tune into the wavelength of modern thinking, it is essential to comprehend the depths of the changes brought about by science, and to gain an understanding of many newly created dimensions. Of most immediate importance are the sciences which deal with man and his history, and which reveal significant aspects of his psychosomatic structure, i.e. sociology, anthropology, medicine with its various branches, and most important of all, psychology and psychotherapy. A serious evaluation and utilization of the findings of modern science (God's gift to man as seeker) is an obligation of missionary and pastoral workers and theology. But a sober evaluation and use of modern knowledge cannot be achieved by fragmentary or individual work. This will necessitate collective seeking and critical examination (thinking 'in ecclesia'), and not only this, but also the spreading of the work involved (e.g., the creation of specialized research centres in the various theological schools). Our schools will need to furnish a major effort so that we may study the most basic outstanding issues in common with scientists and specialists in other fields. We will also need to organize inter-school co-operation, in order that our studies may acquire a worldwide perspective and may benefit from the experiences of mankind throughout the world.

There are certain 'bridges' that can be used to help us approach people of different religious customs and ideas, referred to in a preceding paragraph. These include: (a) Sensitivity to the existence of a transcendental reality, the vibration of our response to the tremors of man's religious experience in worship, of man's spiritual introspection, of his desire for salvation, of his encounters with the supra-rational and the Holy. (b) We can 'get on to the same wave-length' as modern man by concerning ourselves with those problems of secularized man that deal with issues such as social justice, equality and freedom, the transcending of individualism through a sense of social responsibility, the problem of world peace, the control

of pollution of the physical—and spiritual—environment. (c) Finally, the search for fullness of life, sensitivity to man's trembling before the eternal riddle of death, and to the infinitely broad theme of love which fills the foreground of man's interest, in spite of all the deviations, misconceptions and perversions to which it is subject.

Yet, any effort to understand 'other' men remains nebulous and doomed to failure unless it be implanted in a specific, *localized*, and particular life situation. There is a revealing passage regarding the missionary and pastoral approach used by St. Paul: "For though I am free from all men, I have made myself a slave to all, that I might win the more" (1 Cor 9: 19-23; cf. 10:33). The rendering *specific* of the Gospel message and its 'incarnation' in a *local* situation are basic elements of Christian witness. Worldwide mission cannot be successful unless it become highly specific, i.e. adapted to topical circumstances.

Furthermore, the Christian message can retain both its eternal significance and its full, current relevance only when it is set forth "in the power of God" (1 Cor 2:5), when it is presented as a call to repentance and as judgement in a specific situation, as a bold protest against any illegitimate situation of injustice that conflicts with the will of God and "His righteousness" (Mt 6:33). A message of good tidings which ignores suffering and sin in personal and social life and refers to the salvation of the world in general terms only is of questionable sincerity and credibility. "For the word of God is living and active" and penetrates the deepest roots of evil, "piercing to the division of soul and spirit, of joints and marrow, and discerning the thoughts and intentions of the heart" (Heb 4:12).

2. The term Gospel (good tidings) also means word of comfort. At the beginning of His activity the Lord stated, in the words of the messianic prophecy: "The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to preach good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed" (Lk 4:18; cf. Is 61:1). Later, as He went about preaching "the Gospel of the kingdom," Christ also relieved human suffering, both physical and mental,

"healing every disease and every infirmity" (Mt 4:23). He thus revealed by His acts that the quintessence of His teaching and life is LOVE. The giving of comfort, consolation, and the support of souls became unto all time the task of the Holy Spirit, of the "Comforter."¹⁸

The giving of comfort to people, both in times of great upheaval and in everyday circumstances and difficulties, has always been one of the main tasks of pastoral care (a task that reveals in concrete fact the charity and love of God which is thus manifest in the Church). All the great personalities of our Church, the *christomimetoï* (the imitators of Christ), the *pneumatemphoroi* (the bearers of the Holy Spirit), in addition to their prophetic preaching aiming at an overall change in society, have taken pains to comfort specific individuals, to relieve the distressed, the humble, and victims of injustice.

The oppression of and contempt for man continue in our days on various pretexts by unjust social structures. There are situations inherent in the nature of man, i.e. sickness, death, failure, passions of the soul. Wherever we look, we find hunger and thirst for a word of mercy, an act of comfort: "Comfort, comfort my people, says your God. Speak tenderly to Jerusalem, and cry to her" (Is 40:1-2). No amount of government initiatives and expenditure in the area of social welfare will ever eliminate human problems and suffering. Every kind of sadness and grief, inner conflicts, feelings of guilt following on the intricate circuits of sin, will always afflict the human condition in various forms and due to various causes. If the poor are deprived and bitter, there are also many rich men starved of truth, and crying out for love and meaning in their life; and there is always the need of all men for balance and for liberation from the tyranny of the 'ego.'

So, whoever truly wants to follow Him, who "went about doing good and healing all that were oppressed by the devil" (Acts 10:38), must keep continuous vigil, so that he may always be ready to offer comfort and help to any person permanently or accidentally set on his path, and to plan for broad-

18. "And he is called 'Paraclete' (Comforter) because he comforts and consoles and supports our weakness," Cyril of Jerusalem, Catecheses 16, 20, PG 33:948 A. Elsewhere the 'Paraclete' is referred to as "the guardian and sanctifier of the Church, the ruler of souls, the pilot of the tempest-tossed, the enlightener of the lost, the donor of the prizes and He who crowns the victors," op. cit. 17, PG 33:985B.

er action against any open or concealed sickness that afflicts society. Such an active attitude towards contemporary life will give new impulses towards the radical revision of our theological concerns.

3. The work of Christ, which is continued by the Church, has always been the dissolution and destruction of the work of the devil (1 Jn 3:8). *Kenosis* and the Cross have always been prerequisites for this elimination of evil. The willing and patient acceptance of pain and the cross (Mk 8:34), in complete obedience to the will of God, in love and the hope of Resurrection, is consistently emphasized in the Orthodox tradition and is the secret of any profound knowledge of Christ: "That I may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and may share his sufferings, becoming like him in his death" (Phil 3:10). This kind of 'knowledge,' 'power,' 'sharing,' and 'likeness' has always been at the base of a life of sobriety, temperance, spiritual *hesychia*, humility, love, and freedom. It is true that the ascetic ideal and experience culminated in monasticism, but it had a wider effect, in that it impregnated the conscience of the members of the Orthodox Church, ensuring their power of resistance in time of adversity, and their spiritual balance. It was not the product of any dualistic concept which holds the body in contempt, nor of any reservations concerning the value of present day life such as we find in Hinduism or Buddhism; nor was it moralistic in nature. It has remained deeply theological, radically based on continuous reference to the facts of Kenosis, Crucifixion, Resurrection, expectation of the End, contemplation of the One. The diminishing of the ascetic spirit in the everyday life of the Church, the very superficial guidance of the faithful by the use of the by-products of moralistically edifying writings, the ignoring of the experience of the saints which often remains unmentioned and unreferred to by theologians, are undoubtedly some of the more serious weaknesses of our times. The full wisdom of the Orthodox Church needs to be more closely incorporated in every way in the everyday thought and life of the Church. This wisdom contains treasures of the highest psychological significance for modern man.

The ascetic ideal of Orthodoxy is of extreme relevance also

in this age. Alongside the current strong tendencies towards hedonism, there is a marked awareness of the value of *askesis* in many other areas of life. Spectacular achievements in the sciences, sports, the arts, etc. have been the result of systematic, persistent, and well-planned ascetic self-discipline. The multi-fold importance of monasteries is very evident in this connection. Monasteries have always been beacons of missionary enlightenment, invaluable power-houses of pastoral care. If people in general, and pastors and theologians in particular, made a regular practice of retiring every now and then into silent retreat, meditation, ascetic practice and prayer, to refresh their thinking and renew their mental and spiritual health, the results would certainly be of great benefit. All those who ever made a significant contribution to mission and the pastoral ministry of the Church lived in ascetic vigilance, compunction and penitence, in unceasing struggle against the dark abysses of the human ego. Some pursued their ascetic struggle in the desert, others in the cities. Continuous, relentless, persistent personal struggle 'in the Holy Spirit' has always been the source of the spiritual impact of men of God.

4. The culmination of the dynamic, transfiguring presence of the Church in the world lies in the fact that it mysteriously and sacramentally raises human life to the point where it becomes an offering and sacrifice to God. The liturgical experience of Orthodoxy has immediate and direct pastoral and missionary implications. It liberates the believer from his narrow patterns of thought, from his passions, and most of all from his suffocating egoism. It unites him with Christ, and with the whole Ecclesia of the faithful, with all those who have lived and conquered, who live now and who will live in the future; in other words, with all those whom He, "who is, who was and who is to come" holds and enfolds in His love. It transfigures him until he becomes a living member of the body of Christ, ready and able to envisage the world and to act in the way in which He did.

Orthodox theology, if we can once achieve the co-operation of all clergy in positions of responsibility, can contribute to increasing the expressiveness of the Church's forms of worship and this with a view to achieving a direct existential rela-

tionship between worship and the Word, to safeguarding worship as *logike latreia* (Rom 1 2:1), that is preserving its existential relationship with the Logos. For our aim must be to prevent worship from degenerating into mere religious emotionality or nostalgic escapism into the past, so as to enable it instead to foster our doxological uplifting of today and to sustain us in our waiting upon the morrow—that is already nearer to the *eschaton*.

Above all, theology is called upon to complement Orthodox worship by highlighting the ultimate bond that exists between the liturgical experience of the Christian and his dynamic presence in the world. Any separation between the experience of worship and everyday life leads, in effect, to a falsification of Christianity and to schizophrenic tendencies in the faithful. Since conscious participation in the life of worship of the Church constitutes a participation in that specific act which liberates man through the Crucifixion and Resurrection of Christ from the powers of the Evil One, a prolongation of the efficacy of the divine liturgy into the everyday life of the Christian implies a continuing struggle against those negative powers that are always active within us as well as within society. That which is experienced during worship should find its expression in everyday personal and social life. Thus, the liturgy is transfigured into life, and life becomes worship, hymn, doxology, and the glorification of God.

In the periods of especial difficulty for Orthodoxy (such as that of the Turkish occupation, or that of the pressures of atheistic regimes), the liturgical life of the faithful has strengthened their powers of resistance and ensured the survival and increasing vigor of local Churches. Through the Eucharist the faithful experience the 'Passover of the Lord' and enter into a continuing passing over and *exodus* from their state of weakness into an experience of the power given in Christ. It is a Passover from disillusionment to joy and 'the expectation of hope,' from inactivity and irresponsibility to responsible witness and a dynamic presence in the world.

The classical definition of Vincent of Lerins states that that which is 'catholic'—that which we may call orthodox—is that "quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum

est.”¹⁹ Basing ourselves on this definition, we may say that, ideally, missionary activity is the task of “all, always and everywhere.” The local Church is of course mainly responsible for bearing living witness to the faith in its own area. But it must not overlook the injustice perpetrated when so many other parts of the world remain starving for the word of God. It is an elementary principle of justice that all men have equal rights to all good things, and this includes the spiritual. Mission and pastoral care are closely interrelated functions of the ministry of the Church which has as its essential aim the “seeking and saving the lost.” Since the Church is carrying on the work of Christ, it cannot confine its ‘saving’ to circumscribed areas and structures. It must seek all those who have ‘gone astray.’ And ‘seeking’ involves an *exodus*, a ‘passing over’ (based on the experience of the ‘Passover’ of the Lord), from the static patterns and inhibitions of conventional situations and attitudes, into a patient advance towards a meeting with the infinitely varied situations and activities of the world. The perennial task of the Church remains its duty to be present and to bear witness in every ‘here’ and in every ‘now,’ and always in the power of God, thus constituting in herself, as it were, an incarnate ‘paraclesis,’ an incarnate eucharistic hymn, constantly chanted among men, with sobriety and ascetic vigilance, and on behalf of the whole universe.

19. “Id teneamus quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est, hoc est etenim vere proprieque catholicum,” Vincent of Lerins, *Commonitorium* prim. 2, PL 50: 640.

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MAXIMOS AGHIORGOUSSIS

THE THEOLOGY AND EXPERIENCE OF SALVATION

Preliminary Remarks

The title of this presentation can be somewhat misleading: it can be understood as separating theology from experience, or even opposing the two. Actually, according to the best tradition of the Eastern Orthodox Church, there is no way that we can separate theology from experience or experience from theology. *Lex orandi* is always *lex credendi*, and *lex credendi* is always *lex supplicandi*; the law of prayer is the law of faith and vice versa. The great tradition of the East is well known for its harmony between doctrine and piety, which is evident in the hymnology and the Liturgy of the Church.

Theology for Eastern Orthodoxy is always an experiential theology. In the words of an Eastern Orthodox theologian of the last century, Philaret of Moscow, theology is "the word on God, from God, in the presence of God, for the glory of God." It is the reflection of our minds on the divinely revealed truth and the proclamation of this doctrine of faith for the glory of God. Yet, this proclamation is but meaningless empty words if it does not reflect our Christian life and experience, if it does not reflect the personal experience in our lives of the truths we are proclaiming. A theologian whose theology is purely theoretical and not at all experiential is not a true theologian.

Accordingly, we cannot separate our experience of salvation from our theology of salvation and vice versa. Therefore, we must present the mystery of our salvation in Christ not only as it developed in theological reflection, but also as it is experienced in the history and life of the Eastern Orthodox Church.

Introduction

When we speak of salvation in our Christian tradition, we speak of the central event of our holy history (*Heilsgeschichte*) which is hidden in God in eternity, made known to us in Christ, and made constantly present to us in the life of the Christian

Church through the Holy Spirit of God. Our salvation can be approached either from a positive or from a negative point of view. The negative dimension of salvation is that of liberation from danger; in the Eastern Orthodox tradition we understand this to be liberation from the state of inauthentic life, that state of decay into which created nature has fallen. When approached in this negative fashion, salvation has also been called redemption and justification. However, we can also approach salvation from a positive point of view. The positive dimension is that of sanctification or deification. This deification is life in communion with God, life in the grace of God. As understood by the Eastern tradition, the grace of God is the life of God which is communicated to us, i.e., His uncreated energies.¹

The statement pertaining to man's salvation which we find in many of the Greek Fathers is that "The Son of God became what we are so that we might become what He is: He became flesh so that we might become gods by grace."² The truth of this statement becomes evident when we consider the two divine economies—the economy of the Son and the economy of the Holy Spirit—the involvement of these two persons of the Holy Trinity in the work of our salvation. Christ's saving mastery and event is central to our salvation; yet, it must be completed by the Spirit event. The mystery of the descent of the Holy Spirit and His personal involvement with our salvation history on Pentecost day is also an important event which seals the work of Christ and applies the event of salvation in Christ to each of us personally. I will divide this presentation into three parts: (1) the presuppositions of our salvation, (2) salvation in Christ and in the Spirit, and (3) salvation as experienced in the sacramental life and practice of the Eastern Orthodox Church.

I. Presuppositions of our Salvation

In the Epistle to the Hebrews we read the following statement:

1. The great tradition of the Eastern Orthodox Church distinguishes between essence and energies in the one reality of God. A proof-text of this distinction in the New Testament is 2 Peter 1.4, where Christians are said to "share in the divine nature." This sharing in the divine nature cannot be sharing in the essence of God, yet it is a real sharing in the divine reality. The divine reality which can be shared by man is called the energies of God in the theological language of the East.

2. See Vladimir Lossky, "Redemption and Deification" in *In the Image and Likeness of God* (New York, 1974), p. 97.

For it was fitting that he, for whom and by whom all things exist, in bringing many sons to glory, should make the pioneer of their salvation perfect through suffering. For he who sanctifies and those who are sanctified have all one origin. That is why he is not ashamed to call them brethren, saying, "I will proclaim thy name to my brethren, in the midst of the congregation I will praise thee." And again, "I will put my trust in him." And again, "Here am I, and the children God has given me." Since therefore the children share in flesh and blood, he himself likewise partook of the same nature, that through death he might destroy him who has the power of death, that is, the devil, and deliver all those who through fear of death were subject to lifelong bondage (Heb. 2.10-15).

In this text we see that God calls us to His glory and that He bestows upon us His salvation through its pioneer, our Lord Jesus Christ, Who is of one origin with us in His humanity. He partakes of our flesh and blood: He does this so that through His own death He might destroy death and him who had power over death, the devil. In this way Christ delivers all those who, through fear of death, were subject to a lifelong bondage to sin, corruption, and death.

To understand the saving work of Christ, let's look more closely at the theology evident in the above pericope from the Epistle to the Hebrews. Man is created by God through His Son (the Creative Logos) for the glory of God—that is, in order for man to participate in the glory of God. The Greek Fathers use the term 'theosis' to express this reality of "sharing in the divine nature" (2 Peter 1.4). Man is created in the image of God, of becoming like God. Man can obtain one of the most characteristic properties of God, that of immortality. Man is created for immortality, for eternal life with God. Man as a whole, body and soul, is called to this life of immortality in communion with the Immortal One, the only one immortal by nature. Man too can become immortal by grace, by participating in the divine energies of God.³

Yet, man's venture is well known, as described in the first chapters of the book of Genesis. Man could become a god by grace, as much and as far as he was in communion with God. Instead, he tried to become a god without God. This was his

3. See George Florovsky, "Immortality of the Soul" in *Creation and Redemption* (Belmont, Mass., 1967), pp. 216-219.

failing: he tried to find life outside of the source of life, God. What he found instead when he abandoned life was death.

Man's real nature is created to be dependent upon the grace of God. However, when man rejected God, this ceased to be true. As a result, man's own nature became deteriorated. This state of decay is called by the Greek Fathers the darkening of the image of God in man. What this darkening entails is that man's 'natural' powers, his reason and freedom, are weakened: man cannot think right anymore; his freedom becomes a freedom of choice between good and evil, with a propensity towards evil (*γνωμικόν θέλημα*).⁴ The law of the flesh takes over in man. Through man's sin, division is introduced within nature in general and within human nature as well. As described by Saint Maximos the Confessor, the distinctions within nature became real oppositions instead of being overcome by Adam: men are opposed to women and thus they become a threat to each other; earthly paradise is opposed to oecumene; heaven is opposed to earth; visible creature is opposed to invisible; and created nature is opposed to uncreated nature.⁵ The harmony that God created in nature as it came out of His hands was lost.

The state of separation from God in which Adam puts himself has as a result the decay of Adam's own nature: death—spiritual first, then physical, and finally eternal, and eschatological—is the wage of Adam's sin. The cause of Adam's rejection of God is pride. It is the same kind of pride which led Satan to his revolt against God. Man identified with Satan in identifying his will with the devil's. The devil also tried to become a god without God. This led Adam under the devil's dominion. Man's freedom was changed to slavery to death and to the master of death. Death is this lie, invented by the devil, this parasite which enters God's creation, invented by the created will. Man cannot liberate himself from this state of slavery. Only the God-Man can liberate him. This is the work of Christ: to eliminate all obstacles⁶ separating man from God in order for man to go back to his Creator, to reach the purpose of his creation—theosis, life in God, participation in the glory of God.

4. See Vladimir Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (Cambridge, 1968), p. 125.

5. See Lossky, *Mystical Theology*, pp. 109-110.

6. See Nicholas Cabasilas, *On Life in Christ*, II; PG 150, quoted in Lossky, *Mystical Theology*, p. 136.

II. Salvation in Christ and the Holy Spirit

Through His incarnation and His life in the flesh, the God-Man destroys one by one all obstacles that separate man from God. He not only allows man to return to his original state of innocence, but above and beyond this, He achieves the purpose of man's creation: theosis, sharing in the divine nature (2 Peter 1.4) and life in communion with God, even life in abundance (Jn. 10.10).

Christ, the Incarnate Word of God, destroys the obstacle of nature through His Incarnation: He restores man to being, to his true state of being in communion with God. In the Incarnate Logos the human nature which the Creative Logos creates and assumes is united with the divinity from the very beginning of its existence. This humanity does not have an independent existence since it does not have a human person; it is the humanity of God, of the Word of God who became flesh.

Christ destroys the obstacle of sin through His cross, thereby restoring man to well-being. Christ does not only wash up our sin by the cross; He does not only give up His life "as a ransom for many" (Mk. 10.45, Mt. 20.28). He does not only become the sacrificial lamb which "carries away the sin of the world" (Jn. 1.29). But above all, Christ offers His own blood to replace the poisoned blood of the old man, the man of the fallen nature. He offers His blood in order to effect a kind of 'blood transfusion,' to "wash away the poison of the serpent" (Troparion of Great Vespers, Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross). By doing this Christ revivifies the dry bones of Adam, whose skull, according to a pious tradition, was found under the cross of the Lord on Calvary (the "Place of the Skull").

The way in which the Christian East understands the sacrifice on the cross is very different from the legalistic understanding of Saint Anselm, which states that God's offended justice had to be satisfied. God's "immense justice" does not need to be "satisfied" by an "immense sacrifice of an immense person," as Anselm would have it. God sends His Son to die for us so that we might live; He does this out of love, not in order to satisfy His offended justice. This legalistic view of the sacrifice on the cross was rejected quite early by Saint Gregory of Nazianzos:

But if the price is paid to the Father, why should that be

done? It is not the Father who has held us as His captives. Moreover, why should the blood of His only Son be acceptable to the Father, who did not wish to accept Isaac, when Abraham offered Him his son as a burnt-offering, but replace the human sacrifice with the sacrifice of a ram?⁷

God only tolerates the death of His Son in His flesh, a death which the Son willingly accepts, although He is immortal even in His human nature since He is the Only One to be without sin, the cause of death.

Through His descent into Hades, Christ ties up the strong man and takes away his vessels (Mk. 3.27). He destroys the devil and his power; He offers freedom to captives, liberating those serving the lifelong bondage of sin and death under the devil, the master of death and corruption. Christ destroys death by death. With His Resurrection Christ restores humanity to eternal being. A new life beyond death and corruption is bestowed upon humanity by the Lord. Out of the grave comes life—the life of a spiritualized human existence which is that of the Risen Lord's humanity. The cross continues to be a scandal for the Jews and a foolishness for the Greeks, especially since the cross is the door to the Resurrection. Resurrection for the Greeks would mean a prolongation of the soul's captivity in the prison of the body; for this reason they make fun of Saint Paul who preaches the Lord's Resurrection to them (Acts 17.23). Yet, for us Christians, the Resurrection faith is essential to our belief and Christian hope (1 Cor 15.17). The process of the fallen nature's restoration in Christ does not stop with the cross. The Resurrection and Ascension into Heaven are the apex of this restoration: our human nature achieves theosis and the glory to which it is destined; Christ, one of us, is sitting at the right hand in the glory of God the Father.

The Spirit of God comes to apply the work of our salvation and deification in Christ—a work already realized in our human nature—to each human person individually.⁸ The Spirit comes to seal the work of Christ and also to lead it to perfection. Pentecost applies and seals Easter. The Spirit event is the complement of the Christ event and is also necessary for our salvation.

7. Gregory Nazianzos, *Oratio* 45, 22; PG 36:653, quoted in Lossky, *In the Image and Likeness*, p. 102.

8. Lossky, *ibid.*, pp. 106-08.

The two "economies"—the economy of the Son of God and the economy of the Holy Spirit—are interdependent. They presuppose each other. Thus, the Spirit comes not only in the name of Christ, but also as a free agent: "He is sent to apply our salvation in Christ, but He also acts on His own authority" (*ἀποστέλλεται μὲν οἰκονομικῶς, ἐνεργεῖ δὲ ᾧτεξουσίῳς*).⁹

When the work of the Holy Spirit is thus seen in relation to the work of Christ, the possibility of sacramental determinism is excluded.¹⁰ If, however, Saint Augustine's view of the Spirit as an "agent of the Son" were true, then this sacramental determinism could not be avoided. If this were so, once a person were baptized the grace of Christ would work automatically in him even without his consent. If grace were "sacramentally determined" and automatic, salvation would be accomplished without or even against the will of the human agent, without real 'synergy,' the cooperation that man offers to God in subordination to the divine will.

III. Experience of Salvation in Christ and the Holy Spirit in the Sacramental Life and Practice of the Church

It is through this 'cooperation' that takes place between human freedom and God's grace in the Holy Spirit that salvation and theosis take place.

Faith is necessary in order for man to accept the workings of the grace of the Holy Spirit in him so that the deifying energies, the very life of God Himself, 'energize' and make man alive. This faith is operating through love: there is no way we can oppose faith and works as two separate means through which we can obtain salvation. Works are the fruits of saving faith as much and as far as this faith "operates through love."¹¹

This saving faith, a gift of the Spirit, both leads to the sacraments and is nourished and strengthened by them. Sacraments are signs or 'symbols'¹² of the saving grace, the uncreated energy and life of God. The main sacraments are baptism and eucharist,

9. Saint Basil, *Sermon on Faith* (Sermon 15), 3; PG 31:172A; Cf. *On the Holy Spirit*, 16:37; PG 32:133C.

10. See Lossky, *In the Image and Likeness*, pp. 104-106.

11. See Rom. 3:28; Gal. 2:16; 3:11; 5:6; and Jas. 2:24.

12. See Alexander Schmemmann, "Sacrament and Symbol" in *For the Life of the World* (New York, 1973), pp. 135-51. A 'symbol,' according to the original meaning of the word, is not a 'sign' empty of reality as it finally came to mean in the West; a 'symbol' (from *συνβάλλω*, to put together) joins together two different realities, one visible (a created reality) and the other invisible (uncreated grace). It finally is a double reality: one visible reality and one invisible reality which is hidden behind the visible one.

both of which "come out of the open side of the Lord."¹³ Blood and water thus symbolize baptism and eucharist.

Baptism is the sacrament of rebirth and regeneration. It is the restoration of the image of God in us, the restoration of the new humanity and newness of life in Christ. Baptism is each Christian's personal Easter; in our baptism through a triple immersion and ascension from the water we become partakers of the Lord's death and Resurrection (Rom. 6.3-11). This sacrament of our Christian initiation is not completed unless sealed by the "seal of the gifts of the Holy Spirit," the sacrament of confirmation (βεβαίωσις) or 'chrismation' (*chrisma*, anointment). In this sacrament, which is combined with the sacrament of baptism, the newly baptized not only becomes a partaker of Christ's new, risen humanity, but he also becomes anointed with the same Spirit of God which anoints Christ's humanity. Christ is anointed with the Holy Spirit of God (Lk. 4.18-19; Is. 61.1-2). We are also anointed by this same Spirit at our confirmation.¹⁴

Eucharist is the sacrament of our Christian growth. It is the supper of the Lord, as celebrated at the Last Supper and as completed by the last events in Christ's earthly life: His sacrificial death and Resurrection. The Risen Lord comes to us in the Eucharist in a mysterious way which is known only by Him. Following His order, "we do this in remembrance of Him" (Lk. 22.

13. St. John Chrysostom, *On the Gospel of Saint John*, Homily 85; PG 59:463: "Out of it [the open side of the Lord] came water and blood: these two fountains did not spring haphazardly; but [they sprang up] because the Church is constituted out of these two [fountains]. As a matter of fact, those initiated are born again through water (δι' ὕδατος μὲν ἀναγεννώμενοι) and are nourished through blood and flesh (δι' αἵματος δι' καὶ σαρκὸς τρεφόμενοι). This is where sacraments take their origin (ἐντεῖθεν ἀρχὴν λαμβάνει τὰ μυστήρια)."

14. See Saint Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses*, 3:9:2, quoted in Henry Bettenson, *The Early Christian Fathers* (Oxford, 1969), p. 86: "He [the Word of God] took flesh; he was anointed by the Father with the Spirit and became Jesus Christ [i.e. the Anointed] as also Isaiah says, there shall spring forth a rod from the root of Jesus, and a flower shall come up from this root, and the Spirit of God shall rest upon him, the Spirit of wisdom and understanding. . . ' [Is. 11.1-4]; and again Isaiah, foretelling his anointing, and the end for which he was anointed, says, 'The Spirit of God is upon me, wherefore he has anointed me, and sent me to preach good tidings to the lowly. . . ' [Is. 61.1-2]. Therefore the Spirit of God descended on him; the Spirit of him who through the prophets had promised that he would anoint him, in order that we might receive of the abundance of his unction and be saved." Also, *ibid.*, 3:18:3 (sub fin.) quoted *ibid.*, p. 88: "In the name of Christ ['the Anointed'] is implied the anointer, the anointed and the unction. The Father is the anointer; the Son, the anointed; the Holy Spirit the unction. As the Word declares through Isaiah: 'The Spirit of God is upon me, because he has anointed me' [Is. 61.1]."

19). Yet, this 'remembrance' or 'memory' is not a mere 'memorial' in the modern sense of the word: it is a 'memorial' according to the Jewish usage during the Lord's time which understood memorial to be the present actualization and participation in a past event. In this way the Lord's Supper is the present continuation and actualization of Christ's mystery.

The eucharistic elements participate in a sacramental double reality; through the action of the Holy Spirit the bread and wine double as the Lord's Body and Blood, 'becoming' the sacramental Body and Blood of the Lord in a mysterious way. The mystery is experienced only through faith. If we ask for a theological explanation, the doctrine of the energies of God can offer us an approximation in understanding the mysterious presence of the Lord in the consecrated species of bread and wine: the same energies which are present in the Lord's glorious Body are present in these elements, making them an extension of the Lord's physical body which sits at the right hand in the glory of God the Father. In receiving this sacramental Body, our lives become extensions of the newness of life which is in the Lord.

Worship is not attributed to the consecrated elements since the purpose of their consecration is the sanctification of the faithful through communion of the Lord's Body and Blood.

Orthodoxy speaks of other sacraments which involve the same type of 'double reality,' thus becoming 'means of grace' for us. The number seven is a symbolic number which indicates the perfection of grace. Actually there are many more sacraments, such as the 'word of God' which calls us to the newness of life in Christ. Among the traditional sacraments is the sacrament of forgiveness of sins (penance) which is based on the Lord's explicit order that the disciples forgive sins (Jn. 20.22-23). The sacrament of the priesthood, or the laying on of hands for the installation of the Apostles' successors, guarantees the continuity of apostolic leadership in the Church without repeating personal infallibility, which is unrepeatable in the apostolic office. The sacrament of unction for the sick is based on the order given by St. James to pray over the sick, anointing them with oil (Jas. 5.14). Marriage is the sacrament which reflects the union that exists between Christ and the Church (Eph. 5.32) and is given for the sake of the theosis of men and women and

the expansion of God's Kingdom. Besides these sacraments, the Eastern tradition also counts as sacraments the taking of monastic vows, the funeral service, and the blessing of water. In all of these sacraments the one grace of God—the one life of God communicated to human beings—takes up various shapes and manifestations as it gives life to us, a “life in abundance” (Jn. 10.10).

As Christians, this sacramental grace nourishes our activities and permeates our whole lives as we strive to overcome sin and aspire to achieve theosis and “share in the life of God” (2 Peter 1.4). The abundance of the gifts of the Holy Spirit are bestowed upon us Christians, who prove ourselves to be ‘charismatics’ when we become aware of the presence of these gifts in us. The highest gift is love (1 Cor. 13.13). Love, poured into our hearts through the Spirit of God (Rom. 5.5), is the characteristic of Christians (Jn. 13.35), the proper attitude of members of the Kingdom of God. It is only through the practice of this unselfish love, an energy of God which comes to us from God, that we are in communion with God Himself and in communion with our brothers and sisters. It is through the practice of love that we achieve the purpose of our creation, salvation and theosis.

Conclusion

Orthodoxy believes that salvation is not so much a negative reality, as it is a positive one: salvation is not so much to be freed from the bondage of the devil and his dominion of sin, death, and corruption, as it is life in communion with God. Human beings who are not in communion with God are ‘less than human.’ God created man for His life. Man's failure to stay in this life of communion with God is reversed by God's initiative to save him through Christ and in the Holy Spirit. Through its sacramental life and fullness of messianic gifts imparted by the Holy Spirit, the Church becomes the ‘ark of salvation’ and the ‘inaugurated’ Kingdom of God. The Kingdom is in progression; it is expanding to contain the whole world. We are involved with this process, with this struggle against “principalities, powers, masters of darkness of this world” (Eph. 6.12). With the grace of God we are working not only towards our personal salvation, but towards the salvation of the whole world. This

is our responsibility too, since it is for the life of the whole world that the Lord gave up His life. Let us accept this challenge, "for the creation awaits with eager longing for the revealing of the sons of God: for the creation was subjected to futility, not of its own will but by the will of him who subjected it in hope; because the creation itself will be set free from its bondage to decay and obtain the glorious liberty of the children of God" (Rom. 9.19-21).

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JOHN P. NEWPORT

THE THEOLOGY AND EXPERIENCE OF SALVATION

Introduction

It was revival time in a county seat town in Missouri. The children from nine years of age up had been taught the plan of salvation and had been placed on prayer lists. The evangelist took one week to preach the horrors of being lost now and in eternity. Then he told of God sending Christ to die for us and be raised to God's right hand to give *power*. He told us the Holy Spirit was convicting us. The altar call was given. As a ten-year-old lad I went forward to accept Christ as my personal Savior.

Thirty-seven years later a revival was held in a rather sophisticated Gothic church building—the meeting place of the Broadway Baptist Church, Ft. Worth, Texas. My ten-year-old son attended. I was elsewhere. When I returned home he was waiting—under conviction of sin. The next night he went forward to make a public profession of his personal faith in Jesus Christ.

I fell away from active church life in college days—it is called “backsliding” in Southern Baptist circles. But at a youth revival I rededicated my life to Jesus.

The above descriptions indicate the way salvation begins and continues for the majority of Southern Baptists. One survey made in 1972 indicates that over 40% of Southern Baptist church members made a public profession of faith in a revival.

For Southern Baptists, a doctrine is affirmed as authentic and true only if it is based on the teaching of the Bible, properly interpreted. Obviously, however, the Baptist view of salvation is colored by or influenced by certain historical experiences.

Based on their understanding of the Bible and experience, there is a generally agreed doctrine of salvation believed by Baptists and taught in the six Southern Baptist seminaries.

Doctrinal teachings in Southern Baptist circles, however, are not encased in final definitive creeds. In fact, the most recent Southern Baptist Confession of Faith, the 1963 statement, contains wording which is carefully qualified. The statement affirms that it seeks to represent a consensus of Baptist thought

The Confession is not to be seen as complete, final or infallible. For Southern Baptists the sole authority for faith and doctrine is the Bible. A Confession is only a guide for Southern Baptists concerning the doctrines held among them. The Confession is not intended to add anything to the Bible. Baptists feel free to revise any given confession. In fact, the 1963 Confession is a revision of the 1925 Confession, which is a revision of the New Hampshire Confession of 1830. Baptists are a people who profess a living faith which must be reinterpreted. But there are certain doctrines generally believed.

Historical Development

Although the Bible is seen as the ultimate guide to the theology of salvation, certain historical influences are admitted.

For a specific origin, Baptists look to seventeenth-century England. Baptists, however, affirm certain cherished principles held in common with various pre-Reformation groups. This pre-Reformation era is often called the "Trail of Blood." Baptists also share with one prominent strand of sixteenth-century Anabaptists the tenets of believer's baptism and the regenerate church.

In relation to salvation, Southern Baptists have been influenced by the Particular Baptists of England, especially by that group of Particulars which modified hyper-Calvinism. Although the atonement was seen as limited, the idea developed that all men were to be invited to accept Christ's salvation. This development was accomplished under the leadership of Andrew Fuller and the missionary William Carey in eighteenth-century England. This open invitation doctrine afforded a theological backdrop for missions.

In the United States, the Southern phase (1754-90) of the Great Awakening has left a lasting imprint on Southern Baptists. Under the leadership of Shubal Stearns and Daniel Marshall a spiritual awakening came to North Carolina in 1755. These men became Baptists. Because of the Awakening, Baptists grew rapidly. New converts became itinerant farmer-preachers throughout the South. I was pastor of a former traveling church that came to Kentucky from North Carolina. The revivals coincided with a sweeping emphasis on religious freedom and democratic political philosophy in America. The Baptists were active in the Revolutionary Army. They struggled for religious liberty. They supported Thomas Jef-

person. Baptist chaplains were respected. The Baptists' non-creedal and non-sacramental approach appealed to the frontiersmen. The Baptist farmer-preacher could speak the layman's language and had strong emotional ties with the average man. In contrast, the established churches had roots in England and Europe and held views which were seen as incompatible with the American Revolution.

At the time of the spiritual awakenings in the 1700s public invitations for immediate personal response to Christ were given. At this time 'protracted revival meetings' of two weeks or more were instituted. Many see these developments as important factors in reaching unsaved masses in the United States for salvation and renewal.

On the other hand, extreme emotional response was repudiated by Southern Baptists. The preachers preached fervently but extremes were avoided.

To this day, personal salvation for the many is found in mass evangelism and church-centered revivals. Evangelism conferences, held in each state, are the largest and the most enthusiastic of all the clergy meetings among Southern Baptists. The preachers go away from the Evangelism conferences "whipped up" to go out of the buildings to reach people for salvation. Advice is given about how to find "prospects" and present the "plan of salvation."

Southern Baptists have produced few prominent theologians. Perhaps the two most influential in the last half century have been E. Y. Mullins of Louisville, Kentucky, and W. T. Connor of Ft. Worth, Texas. Both of these men have placed a great deal of emphasis on the importance of Christian conversion as the touchstone of Christian faith.

Two conflicts or debates have helped to crystallize Southern Baptists' emphasis on spiritual regeneration and symbolic baptism.

Alexander Campbell, a brilliant Scotsman, joined the Baptists in 1813. By 1830 Campbell substituted a more intellectual approach of "obeying the Gospel" for the Baptist emphasis on the will and emotions as well as the mind. Campbell also emphasized a quasi-sacramental approach to baptism. Twenty percent of the Baptists in the mid-South left to follow Campbell and his new movement, "The Disciples" or "The Christian Church."

As a result of this controversy, Baptists put an even greater emphasis on the necessity of spiritual regeneration and the symbolic character of baptism.

Their strong evangelistic and missionary emphases, combined with other factors, led Southern Baptists to stay out of the National and World Council of Churches. This rejection was voted as the result of a report which recommended that no entanglements should be made which would impair mission outreach.

From 1942 to 1972 Southern Baptist membership more than doubled. Thirty new states were entered with organized work. A sense of cohesiveness and destiny enabled Southern Baptists to meet the needs of large numbers. Professor Loetscher of Princeton Seminary has observed that "the northward movement of Southern Baptists is one of the most significant religious phenomena of the century."

This spectacular development was made without direct government support or coerced response. Since the time of Roger Williams, it has been a Baptist conviction that religious faith must be a conscious commitment to Christ, freely given.

Salvation

As already indicated, a fundamental principle of Southern Baptist teaching is that salvation comes by divine grace through personal faith in Jesus Christ. This emphasis eliminated salvation by works. Personal faith is a prerequisite for baptism, church membership, and for the Lord's Supper observance. In one city, the author's twelve-year-old daughter was required to tell the details of her personal conversion before the Deacon Body as a prerequisite for a transfer of church membership. Most churches accept a letter of certification from a church of "like" faith and order where a person made his or her profession of faith.

"Born again" or "conversion" are terms used to describe that unique experience in which an individual is united with God in Christ and is made into a "new creature." From the human side, conversion involves repentance, faith and confession. From the divine side, it involves forgiveness grounded in the death of Christ, regeneration through the agency of the Holy Spirit, justification and adoption. This conversion experience happens only once and is needed only once.

The necessity for conversion is obviously related to the doctrine of the universality of sin. For a Southern Baptist, a person is not born lost. According to the 1963 Confession of Faith, Southern Baptists maintain that "By his free choice man sinned against God and brought sin into the human race. Through the temptation of Satan man transgressed the command of God, and fell from his original innocence; whereby his posterity inherit a *nature and an environment inclined toward sin*."

Another basic tenet of the biblical view of man is that man has *freedom* to say yes or no to God. Ever *since* the fall, despite the inherited tendency to reject God and his gospel, man has had the power of choice. This emphasis on freedom is brought out in the 1963 Baptist statement of faith under the section on God's Purpose of Grace. "Election is . . . consistent with the *free agency* of man."

Until a person crystallizes his Adam way of life in personal decision, he is within the provision of the redemptive work of the Second Adam—Jesus Christ. There is *race redemption* as well as *race sin*. No man therefore will be lost because of original or race sin. Up to the point of positive transgression or rejection of moral light, the individual is "provided for" in the grace of God without personal repentance and faith.

When the child does reach the age of responsibility or accountability, his only hope, however, is for him to be led immediately to turn from the Adam way of life to the Christ way of life. One does not come into the Christian life by chance or automatically as the result of teaching or nurture. Man's basic problem is not just ignorance but rebellion against God. One comes into the Christian life in response to the call of God through a conscious choice and surrender of his life to Jesus Christ. Although it need not be a cataclysmic or highly emotional experience, this venture must be a *conscious* and *definite* response of the individual to God's provision in Jesus Christ. Therefore, as indicated, Baptists have revivals, personal witness, decision services, and other evangelistic services.

Baptists admit that the *age* at which a person crystallizes his Adam way of life and is lost cannot be exactly determined in the light of biblical, theological, historical and psychological evidence. However, certain general observations should be noted.

An increasingly acceptable approach suggests early adolescence.

between the ages of *ten* and *fourteen* as the age of accountability. This is the age of discretion and the dawn of moral consciousness. This age period as the normal age of accountability commends itself to many Southern Baptists. In this period children are able to be aware of God and express a personal lack of acceptance with God.

Other people, however, believe that the age of accountability is that period soon after the dawn of self-consciousness. Roughly this would be between the ages of five and nine. Others suggest middle adolescence.

Southern Baptists keep reminding themselves that the doctrines of believer's baptism and the regenerate church call for great care in the area of child evangelism. These doctrines place upon each church and pastor the obligation to utilize every means possible to insure that those who are admitted to membership are truly regenerate.

Thus it can be seen that regeneration is a highly individualistic and personal matter. The family and the church are not to act in behalf of the child without the conscious, free, personal choice of the child.

The nurture given by the church is not minimized. Many churches encourage public parental dedication services. In fact, one Southern Baptist theologian, Dale Moody, affirms that I Corinthians 7:14 teaches that children born into a Christian household do have some relation to the body of Christ which infants born of pagans do not possess. Even if the child has only one Christian parent there is still a special holiness or influence brought into his life. Like the holiness of an unbelieving husband, the holiness of the child is derived from the holy woman, the Christian saint, to whom both are physically related. Of course, neither the husband nor the child is saved by virtue of this holiness of the wife and mother (I Corinthians 7:16). Belief in Jesus Christ is that which one does for himself (Romans 10:9ff).

Southern Baptists find little evidence that infant baptism appeared before the third century A.D. Birth into a Christian home, however, does relate the child in an unusual way to Christ until he rejects that into which he was born. If a parental dedication is held, at least one parent must be a Christian. Involved also would be the entire congregation which would vow to help

the parents to educate and evangelize the child.

But after the church, the family, and all other influences have done all they can for the individual, the individual's relationship with God in Christ is sealed by his own free, conscious, voluntary choice.

Sanctification is included under the general rubric of salvation. Traditional Southern Baptist theology has thought of justification, regeneration, and adoption as the beginning of the Christian life and sanctification as the progressive unfolding of that life.

Sanctification, however, can be described from several perspectives.

1. In one sense, every Christian has the Holy Spirit and is a saint. From this perspective, sanctification is a work of God. In this sense, sanctification embraces all of God's actions and is equivalent to justification. "Ye were sanctified, ye were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Spirit of our God" (I Cor. 6:11). The whole of Christian existence, as such, is the work of the Holy Spirit and, as such, is sanctification.

The New Testament is insistent that no one is a Christian unless he is indwelt by the Holy Spirit (Rom. 8:9).

Every believer is sealed in the Spirit and is thus given assurance that his salvation will be fulfilled in the "age to come."

2. On the other hand, every Christian needs the Holy Spirit and is progressively to *become* what he *is* in vital principle. In addition to the broad concept of sanctification as being completely the work of God, the Bible has a more narrow concept, which distinguishes sanctification from justification. From the narrow perspective, sanctification is not thought of as the unique event which, as such, brings into reality the new creature. Rather, it refers to the *manner* in which gradually, step by step, through processes of growth, a sinful man develops into a more godly man. From this view, sanctification is the gradual growth of the new man as he goes forward under the progressive influence of the Holy Spirit.

Although, from the broad perspective, the Christian is already sanctified, he is to *become* sanctified (I Thess. 5:23).

This attempt to appropriate the Spirit's work is a difficult and never-ending spiritual struggle. Tension is created. On the

one hand, the Christian is a person who all at once is indwelt by the Holy Spirit and reconciled. On the other hand, he has yet to *become* what he already *is* through the acquittal of justifying grace. But once again it must be said that the "once-for-allness" of justification is foundational. The Christian believes that by faith, in the center of his being, he is already a new creature. However, in the periphery of existence, in experience, in what is visible, he has not yet attained that character. He must empirically become what God already sees him to be. To that end, Baptists insist on regular worship, prayer meetings, devotional Bible study and retreats.

Baptists try to remind themselves, however, that the Christian's inner life in Christ *is* and *must be* energized by the Spirit. This sanctification or restoration of what belongs to God can happen only through the help of his power. Cut adrift from the Spirit's power, sanctification becomes legalistic moralism.

3. The advance in sanctification often comes through growth crises. Christian sanctification can be seen as a series of forward thrusts by God into man's sinful nature.

4. Sanctification can be approached from still another perspective. The Christian's ethical goal is the fruit of the Spirit which is Christ-likeness (Gal. 5:22-23). The supreme gift of the Spirit is to live for others (I. Cor. 12:31-13:13). Because the new age has come, the Christian experiences spiritual growth, ethical victory, and usage of gifts. The New Testament concept of sanctification does not mean world-denial. Rather it means service to God and neighbor in the world. The Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention and churches emphasizes this approach.

5. Every Christian awaits the final perfecting work of the Spirit. All teaching on sanctification stands under the sign of the Second Coming and the "Age to Come." Christians realize their incompleteness in "this age." The Christian now has only the "first fruits" or "earnest" of the Spirit (2 Cor. 1:22; Eph. 1:14). The "New Age" is still the "Age to Come." Christians must not affirm that they have "arrived."

The Spirit, although future in its fullness, already is releasing a dynamic and transforming power. Awaiting total fulfillment, the Christian is sealed with this Holy Spirit (II Cor. 1:21-22).

Believer's Baptism

As a lad, I was baptized one cold fall afternoon in the river. My cousins, who were Methodists, and who had been sprinkled as infants, made much sport of me for belonging to a religious group which required such an inconvenient ceremony.

When I first became pastor of a rural church as a young preacher, I was faced with a delicate problem. An outstanding lady, who was a popular school teacher in our community, married a young man from one of the leading Baptist families. She was a member of the Disciples of Christ Church and had been taught that baptism was the climax of the regenerating process and somehow related to it. She wanted to join our church but did not want to be baptized—insisting that she had been baptized by immersion. The problem brought on heated arguments. Incidentally, I finally did baptize her and during the ceremony she became stuck in the mud in the creek and the deacons had to help me pull her out.

Southern Baptists feel that believer's baptism undergirds with consistency their position on salvation and the church.

In regard to baptism, this *consistency* is shown by a number of emphases.

First, it is insisted that the New Testament teaches that the *subject* of baptism must be a believer in the gospel of Christ.

This excludes infant and household baptism, preserves the personal meaning of Christianity and emphasizes the spiritual nature of the Church.

In the second place, Southern Baptists insist that the New Testament teaches that the *mode* or *form* must be immersion.

The outward act is not as important as its spiritual conditions but it is still important because the New Testament commands it and because the symbolism of death-resurrection demands immersion.

In the third place, Southern Baptists affirm that the New Testament has some definite teachings about the significance of baptism.

In reference to Christ, it is an act of obedience to Christ, it is a confession of faith, it is a profession of conversion, and it is a dedication of life to union with Christ in His death and resurrection.

Some British and Continental Baptist leaders tend toward a modified sacramental position. Southern Baptists as a whole, however, have insisted that baptism in itself does not convey grace and does not save or help to save.

In the fourth place, Southern Baptists contend that the New Testament teaches or at least *implies* some definite things about the *administrator* of baptism. At this point there is considerable disagreement among Southern Baptists.

Many Southern Baptist churches maintain that the administrator *does not* give validity to the baptism. Rather the validity of baptism is based on the personal experience and belief of the individual candidate. Was he converted *before* he was baptized? Was he baptized with the understanding that baptism was the climax of the regenerating process or was it a symbolic act of obedience? If the latter view is held, some churches accept the person for membership. Other churches use a "spiritual watch-care" approach—all privileges, except voting in church business.

There are still some Southern Baptist churches, however, that maintain that only immersion of a believer authorized by a New Testament Church constitutes scriptural baptism. It is affirmed that Baptist churches are the present-day representatives of the true New Testament principles. Based on a consistent application of these beliefs, alien baptism or alien immersion is rejected. The more moderate group, still influenced by Landmarkism, claims that rejection of alien immersion is not based on a church succession or minister succession theory. Rather it is based on a desire to maintain Southern Baptist's distinctive witness and as a protective and purifying measure.

Southern Baptists in the Northeast have been compelled to take a fresh look at "alien immersion" since many would-be members dislike being baptized by immersion a second time.

The Lord's Supper

In regard to the Lord's Supper, Southern Baptists have likewise attempted to maintain a consistency of witness to their salvation teachings. This consistency has been shown by a number of emphases.

First, following the New Testament and Zwingli's understanding, the Lord's Supper is held to be a symbolic ordinance.

Many outstanding Baptist leaders in the past such as Robert

Hall of England and many British Baptist leaders today object to the strictly memorial view of the Lord's Supper. They contend for the "real presence" view.

The majority of Southern Baptists however, have consistently rejected any view except the symbolic view.

In the second place, the Lord's Supper is considered to be a *church ordinance* and not an individual obligation or means of grace.

Thus the Lord's Supper is observed only at a public service of the local church and is not served to individuals in the home or on conventions. It may be impressive at a convention, but it is not the Lord's Supper in the strict scriptural sense.

In the third place, since it is a memorial service and not an act of worship, the Lord's Supper need not be repeated with every occasion of worship or be used as a specially impressive feature on particular occasions of worship. It should be done often enough to prevent an attitude of neglect, but not so often as to become a matter of mere routine.

In the fourth place, attempting to be consistent, the majority of Southern Baptist churches contend that one who is not eligible for membership in a Baptist church is not eligible to participate in the local observance of the Lord's Supper.

Baptism precedes the Lord's Supper and thus those should not be invited to participate in the Lord's Supper who have not been admitted to church membership. In the New Testament there is no closed or open communion—but rather the Lord's Supper is given to us as a church ordinance—for those who are in the church fellowship.

Conclusion

The late H. Wheeler Robinson, eminent British Baptist, contends that the emphasis upon what he considers to be the New Testament plan of observing baptism and the Lord's Supper has kept Baptists from getting far away from the fundamentals of the gospel. Baptism and the Lord's Supper dramatize the heart of the gospel, which is the death and resurrection of Christ.

Many also believe the Southern Baptist emphasis upon conversion as a requisite to baptism and church membership has helped undergird a strongly evangelistic and missionary emphasis.

Upon going to Switzerland in the late 1940's to study with

Karl Barth, I remarked to Professor Barth that I was a Baptist. He immediately told me of his new book, *The Teaching of the Church Regarding Baptism*. In this book Barth calls for a re-study of infant baptism and a return to believer's baptism. He states that "the candidate must once more become the free partner of Jesus Christ. He must freely decide, freely confess, and declare on his part his willingness and readiness."

Professor Jungen Moltmann's recent book, *The Church in the Power of the Spirit*, has recently been translated into English. *Time* magazine states that in one aspect of doctrine, Moltmann has come to a radical conclusion for a theologian nurtured in a state church. He argues that infant baptism should be phased out because it signifies ties to "family, nation and society" as much as a person's identification with Christ. The church, Moltmann says, should baptize only those who "confess their faith." *Time* added "If Moltmann had added total immersion in water, a Southern Baptist would have felt right at home."

These words of Barth and Moltmann would appear to undergird the statement made by the late H. Wheeler Robinson. "Believer's baptism is an asset so great that it can hardly be exaggerated, if we see the permanent spiritual principles which it effectively expresses. If these principles are faithfully set forth, and adorned by the life which they should inspire, they will mean as much to the world today as they did in the early centuries."

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: GLENN HINSON

THE THEOLOGY AND EXPERIENCE OF WORSHIP: A BAPTIST VIEW

There will be few areas in which Baptists and Orthodox differ more radically than in their theology and experience of worship. This will be immediately evident in regard to the role of icons and of the Eucharist, both of which are central to Orthodox but peripheral to Baptist worship. Indeed, Baptists originated out of the radical stream of Protestantism, i.e. English Puritanism, which was aniconic if not iconoclastic and non- or anti-liturgical/non or anti-sacerdotal.

Recognition that we stand at opposite poles on a focal feature of Christian faith and observance may generate at once a sense of pessimism about the values of an Orthodox-Baptist dialogue. All of us must be fully cognizant of the fact that we are only beginning to wedge open a door which, until recently, no one thought would open. Some might take the view that, at this point, with the door only cracking a little, it would be wise not to deal with issues on which we diverge so much until we had talked first about those on which we come nearer to agreement. I do not take this stance. I think, rather, that we can learn more about one another and even appreciate the other's perspective better by looking candidly at the things that divide us most acutely. Our *agreement* on even central items is much less crucial for dialogue than the *spirit* in which we discuss our disagreements. If we can maintain on both sides a spirit of Christian charity and humility, aware that we confess faith in one and the same Holy Trinity, then discussion of our differences will not divide us further. Indeed, by God's grace, it may bring us closer together simply by the fact that we know each other better.

With a view to improving understanding on both sides I will try to highlight the main features of Baptist theology and experience of worship with continuous reference to what I perceive to be major concerns of Orthodox worship. I must preface my remarks by saying, as Baptists often do, that no one

speaks for all Baptists, even all Southern Baptists. Baptists are very diverse. Moreover, it should be clear to all of you that the most persistent Baptist principle is that of "soul competency," viz. individual liberty to formulate theology and practice on the basis of the scriptures. To clarify how this principle affects Baptist views of worship, I will have to say more about our roots in the left wing of the Protestant Reformation. From thence we can proceed to a statement of contemporary Baptist theology and experience of worship.

Baptist Liturgical Roots

Baptist aniconic and non-or anti-liturgical attitudes hark back to the more radical English Puritans of the seventeenth century. Like their mentor, John Calvin, the Puritans held the view that the reform of the Church necessitated a return to the theology and practice of the apostolic period. In Geneva this had meant removal of all imagery, even stained glass windows, and the altar and an elevation of the pulpit to a place of prominence. An austere, simple liturgy, consisting chiefly of scripture reading, spontaneous prayers, and sermon, replaced an ornate, formal one. Though Calvin regarded preaching based on scriptures and proper administration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper as marks of the true Church, in effect he elevated preaching of the Word above the Eucharist. This fitted in with an important cultural shift in the West which accompanied the invention of movable type in 1456, that is, from visual to verbal and from symbolic to spoken truth. Prior to this period, at least from the second or third centuries on, sacraments and signs had been ascribed much greater importance as means for communication of divine grace. God, it was thought, conveyed His saving power through these media. Now, however, humanism began to doubt this. Though scholars like Erasmus did not attack the sacraments, relics, images, and other media, they made light of the credulous and superstitious use of them by the masses and occasionally betrayed a thoroughly skeptical attitude. Authentic worship, in their view, involved more simple response to the spoken Word and a changed lifestyle.

This outlook affected Calvin and the Puritans deeply. The Puritans saw a way out of the Church's difficulties through return to the faith and practice of earliest Christianity. T

more radical of them wanted not merely "reform" of the Church but, like the Anabaptists, "restitution" or "restoration" of the primitive patterns. Negatively, this produced an aversion to the use of artistic aids to worship, to clerical vestments, to set forms of prayer, to a standardized order of worship. The service of worship had to be "free" from set forms so that the Spirit could manifest true leadership.

The Puritan forbears of Baptists were really concerned with two things at the same time—authentic inward commitment, as opposed to mere formal confession, and outward manifestation of piety through good behavior and good deeds. The true test of worship would be whether it achieved these aims. I will ask later whether these aims required a rejection of so many traditional features of Christian worship, but Baptists have held to these aims rather consistently in the nearly four centuries they have existed. It may be that the present era, characterized by multi-media communication, calls for a re-evaluation of Baptist views in ways which this dialogue can help. The Baptist attitude toward tradition has the advantage of allowing us to reassess even our roots in English Puritanism.

Aniconic Worship

The first feature of Baptist worship which will strike the attention of an Orthodox Christian will be the absence of icons, the iconostasis, and usually even the barest of symbols such as the cross. Although some Southern Baptist congregations have improved their atmosphere for worship architecturally, most still look with suspicion at icons or symbols much as their Puritan forbears. Only lately has the cross become a cautiously used symbol. When the Alumni Chapel was erected at Southern Seminary in 1951, for example, the administration received numerous angry calls about a cross on the steeple. The callers were reassured, however, when told that the object of dispute was a weathervane rather than a cross.

A typical Baptist church will be an unadorned meeting house like those used by the Puritans. A few will have stained glass windows now, a major departure from the Puritan aversion to them, for the "roundheads" in Cromwell's army became so enraged when they saw such "idolatry" that they pelted them with stones. A Baptist church also will have no statuary and

only rarely a picture or two. The favorite picture is Salman's head of Christ. The major furnishings of a Baptist church building will be pews, a pulpit in the front on a raised platform, an unadorned communion table, a few chairs. The baptistry, of course, usually occupies a prominent place. Often a simple mural scene will be painted on the back wall of a baptistry, but this will not be universal. Occasionally Baptists will place a cross on the communion table behind or beside an open Bible and offering plates.

The concern which lies behind Baptist aniconic worship has several roots. The theological one is a literal understanding of the second commandment. The Puritans, like Calvin, who included the Ten Commandments among the six articles of his original *Christian Institutes*, regarded the decalogue as still applicable to Christians. None of the commandments was applied more seriously than the one prohibiting images. Behind this seriousness, however, surely lie other roots of a sociological as well as theological nature. For the most part Puritans belonged in the lower socio-economic bracket. Many had limited education. They could not appreciate cultural models of an earlier day. Indeed, the effigies on tombs, the stained glass windows, and the statuary stood as symbols of oppression by the aristocracy. They represented a religion mediated through a special class, the clergy, in a day when the masses found the authority of experts suspect. Nothing propelled the Puritan more than a desire for immediate access to God. Prayer or any other form of worship must reach God directly and not go through any mediators—Mary, the saints, or even Jesus. Puritan prayers, for example, addressed the Father directly; they did not address Jesus. True worship is direct and immediate response to our covenant with God.

These Puritan attitudes still have a strong grip on most Southern Baptists. It is being loosened somewhat, however, through the fact that Baptists have moved several steps up the social ladder in the past half century. Many Baptists can appreciate the Orthodox regard for icons. Some will even own them, although few if any will use them in worship. No Baptist church that I am acquainted with displays icons. Many do have stained glass windows and a few simple symbols which aid worship. But none will give the place in worship to visual imagery which Orthodox Christians give.

Southern Baptists on Liturgical Worship

The majority of Southern Baptists are keenly suspicious of the term *liturgy*, despite its original meaning. Admittedly this group has begun to incorporate improvements into their services of worship under the influence of Baptist leaders, but they have done so hesitantly and gradually. The feeling that the services of the Church are *preaching* services still prevails. One goes to Church on Sunday to hear the preacher, not to worship. Indeed, one suspects that the suggestion that the Sunday service is a *worship* service carries a trace of odium about it.

Our general distaste for the liturgical is demonstrated clearly in what might be regarded as a typical "service."¹ In the first place, the constituent parts of the service are called an "order of worship," rarely a *liturgy*. Except for music, there will be no traditional elements of worship, for example, the Lord's Prayer or the Apostle's Creed. Seldom will the service coincide with the Christian Year, excepting perhaps Easter and Christmas. The Lord's Supper (we are suspicious of the term *Eucharist*) is observed infrequently and then usually as a loose addendum to a preaching service.

The focal point of the entire service is the sermon, which lasts anywhere from twenty to forty-five minutes. Other elements are trimmed and arranged to highlight the sermon. Since most congregations become restless if the total service exceeds one hour, the long-winded preacher will force the other elements to be compressed to as little as ten or fifteen minutes. Few churches are so fortunate as to allow thirty minutes for them. Into that ten to thirty minutes must be crammed two or three congregational hymns (three has become almost a sacred number with us), recognition of visitors, announcements, an invocation and pastoral prayer, the reading of scriptures, the offering, and some sort of special music.

It is not out of the ordinary for the first portion of the service (prior to the sermon) to be dominated either by announcements or by prayer. I have participated in services in which three persons—Pastor, Minister of Religious Education, and Sunday School Superintendent—consumed twenty-five minutes in making announcements concerning the church's program. Like-

1. This typical service is based on a survey of numerous Church bulletins collected over a period of years by the speaker.

wise, I once timed a Pastor who was accustomed to prayers of long duration during his "pastoral prayer." The prayer lasted twenty minutes.

It is probably atypical for a leader of worship either to organize or to write out his or her prayers. Seminary-trained pastors are learning to organize prayers around the great elements of thanksgiving, praise, confession, petition, intercession, etc., and to pray in biblically flavored language, but a scant minority make use of the great liturgical prayers of the past. Written prayers, read from a manuscript, are unusual indeed among Southern Baptists. There is still too much sentiment against such practices. John Smyth, father of one line of Baptists, insisted even on reading and translation of the original languages of scriptures from the pulpit, thinking that translations might impede inspiration of the Spirit.

To approach the matter frankly, the vast majority of Southern Baptists practice little that resembles Christian worship as viewed from the liturgical standpoint. We still place our emphasis on the *human* element in worship, i.e. on preaching. We still shrink back from anything that might limit the free exercise of worship, and hence the spontaneous guidance of the Spirit. Consequently, our services are woefully barren to someone with a liturgical background.

Fortunately, some Southern Baptists, pastors and laymen, are beginning to sense the limitations of this approach to worship and to strive to do something to change it. Courses on worship are being offered in the seminaries in an effort to improve the total service. But even there, liturgical worship is approached hesitantly. Some churches are undertaking a study of worship theory and practice so that they can shore up their own services. One now sees on occasion an announcement-free service. The church which I attended for many years revised its "order of worship" to make the total service more of a worship experience. The principal additions were the recitation of the Lord's Prayer by the congregation, the singing of the doxology, the *Gloria Patri*, and the Amen at appropriate places in the service, and the responsive reading of the scriptures. Revisions have been made in the receiving of the congregational offering so that this too will seem more nearly a part of worship.

A sign of the increasing general interest in improving worship

is the fact that several Bible School and Church Training lessons have been devoted of late to this matter. Moreover, Baptists have developed an extensive music program. In the past decade or so they have published two Baptist Hymnals which take big strides beyond the older Broadman Hymnal in the inclusion of worship hymns. Southern Baptists have fine music education programs in many schools and churches. Yet, to my knowledge, only one Southern Baptist has written a book on worship. For this, we are still dependent on other Protestants.² Works on the Church and on Baptist doctrine have also passed over the matter of worship, though treating such related matters as baptism and the Lord's Supper.

Thus, in answer to the question: How do (Southern) Baptists view liturgical worship? one must reply, "We hardly know what you're talking about!" The gap between us and liturgical churches is so great that we fail to comprehend the meaning of the word liturgical. And the ability of Baptists to grasp its meaning is seriously impaired by the fact that we have little appreciation for the history of the Church (except of our own denominations). We leap from the first century to the twentieth, or at best the sixteenth century.

Southern Baptists on the Lord's Supper

I will return later to ask whether some changes may not be expected. Before doing that, I want to explain the views of Southern Baptists on the sacraments, particularly the Eucharist or Lord's Supper, as they relate to the worship of the Church. The interpretation of the Eucharist probably has done more to perpetuate the divisions of Christendom than any other single factor. It drove a wedge between Luther and Zwingli, between Luther and Calvin, and later between Luther and Melancthon. Since baptism relates primarily to entry into the Church and not to worship as such, we pass it by in this discussion.

The majority of Southern Baptists would interpret the Eucharist as "pure symbol" or perhaps "*mere* symbol."³ As the

2. As late as 1960, a *Church Library Resource Guide* (Nashville: Convention Press, 1960), p. 182, listed only two books, neither by a Baptist.

3. Cf. John W. Cobb, "These Folks Called Baptist and the Lord's Supper," *These Folks Called Baptist*, ed. Jimmie H. Heflin (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1962), pp. 52-3: "The elements remind the people what Christ did for them on the cross. This is the total purpose of the Supper, It is a teaching lesson."

Eucharistic rite is observed in many churches, it is practically meaningless. As I pointed out earlier, it is usually tacked on at the end of a regular service in which the congregation has endured a thirty minute (or longer) sermon. Long before the communion service begins, the congregation has become restless, ready to go home. Little has been said concerning the meaning of this highly significant rite. Ordinarily the leader of worship will read the appropriate portion of I Corinthians 11 or of the Gospels and have a brief prayer before bread and grape juice are distributed. During communion little heed is paid to prayer and meditation, and few have any sense of solidarity with their fellow Christians. The rite is concluded as a rule by the singing of "Blest Be the Tie That Binds" and the receiving of an offering for the needy.

That the rite bears little of its original connotation of covenant remembrance, communion, and promise is signified by the manner in which bread and "wine" are distributed. The bread is seldom a single loaf from which each communicant takes his or her own portion, but bits of crumbled unsalted soda crackers or tiny wafers already cut. The "wine" is served in individual communion glasses. That the latter contributes to misinterpretation is clear from the fact that small children frequently request permission to "polish off" the Welch's grape juice remaining after the service. (The *Courier-Journal*, Sunday, March 25, 1962, carried an anecdote about a young parishioner who thanked his pastor after the communion for the "refreshments.")

Typical of explanations given to the Eucharist is the oft-repeated statement that it is "merely a memorial of the death of Christ." Prayers offered in connection with the distribution of the elements will usually be prayers of thanks for Christ's sacrificial death with lengthy explanation as to how that applies to the worshipper. The view of other Christians that Christ is really present is studiously avoided. Indeed, to suggest such a thing would bring severe rebuke from fellow Baptists.

Happily, in some quarters Baptists are beginning to come alive to the need for reinterpretation of the Lord's Supper as it is now practiced and conceived.⁴ Some churches have begun

4. See, for example, Dale Moody, "The New Testament Significance of the Lord's Supper," in *What Is the Church?*, pp. 79-96.

to devote an entire service to this act of worship alone. They have attempted to reframe the service so that it becomes the Word in sacrament or symbol. Much more care is being given to prayers and other aspects of the service. A few churches have reintroduced the single loaf, but, so far as I know, none the single cup.

On the matter of interpretation a few Baptist pastors and theologians have begun to speak in terms of a real presence. However, most would interpret this in the Calvinistic sense rather than the Orthodox concept of trans-elementation, that is, in the sense of a spiritual presence of Christ in the bread and wine.⁵

An Ecumenical Postscript

Before closing, I want to add a postscript about the future possibilities. What I say must be regarded as the reflections of a single Baptist, one concerned for ecumenism. It should probably be regarded as the outside limits to which Baptists can be expected to go in ecumenical dialogue.

The Basis of Theology and Practice

It is important first to consider whether Baptists might adjust their understanding of the basis for a theology and practice of worship. There seems to me to be little hope that they will ever shift from their conviction that the scriptures, especially the New Testament, represent "the sole rule of faith and practice." They might, however, look at this conviction in a more sophisticated way. They might, for instance, regard scriptures as embodying an essential tradition which has been conserved and embodied in other forms in the later history of the Church. Thus the Church, as Baptists have frequently said, will continually re-evaluate its present theory and practice of worship under the searchlight of tradition found in scriptures. But the churches today need not feel obligated literally to do exactly *what* the first churches did. They can learn from Christians of other centuries, especially the first several. They can learn from other churches. The object will be to remain faithful to

5. Ibid., p. 86.

the essential tradition which we find attested in the New Testament and elsewhere.⁶

The Purpose of Worship

Having acknowledged this fact, Baptists may be challenged through dialogue with Orthodox Christians to examine whether in their practice they are faithful to the purposes of worship found in the scriptures. Stated in a concise way, these are two-fold: to praise God and to edify and admonish humankind. In other words, they include both a priestly and a prophetic note. Neither can be neglected.

As indicated earlier, Baptists have placed their accent on the latter purpose, sometimes to the exclusion of the former. This tendency is connected with the Puritan concern that deeds match words. But most Christians of a more liturgical background will be shocked at the lack of attention Baptists give to praise and adoration. I believe we can learn something from the Orthodox here. The Orthodox make an impressive effort to involve the total person in the act of praise through use of all the senses—not only hearing but also sight, smell, touch, and taste. Icons depict the history of salvation, the “mighty acts of God,” and offer praise and thanksgiving. The liturgy does the same thing in song, prayer, recitation of the creed, and reading of scriptures. It engages all the worshippers in a drama. It helps them relive the history of salvation and thus make it their own.

Baptists are more concerned with the human side of worship. They are not accustomed to thinking of icons or the liturgy as depictions of the drama of salvation. Although they may learn to appreciate the concept which stands behind these, they probably will not surrender their emphasis upon the prophetic aspect of worship. However, they might well shift their focus enough to obtain a better balance between the two purposes. Indeed, one may already discern some signs of such a shift, particularly in more careful attention given to an integrated service of worship. If Baptists are to go further in this process, they will do so with conscious or subconscious guardrails erect

6. For a fuller discussion of my views on this issue see “The Authority of the Christian Heritage for Baptist Faith and Practice,” Commission on Baptist Doctrine, Baptist World Alliance, annual meeting at Einsiedeln, Switzerland, July 14-16, 1973, pp. 1-17.

ted along the way. One will be their concern for intelligibility. Like the Orthodox, they will insist on worship in the vernacular and many familiar elements. They will be more concerned than the Orthodox, however, with simplicity. The complex symbolism and liturgies of the Orthodox churches as they now stand will not appeal to Baptists. It is true that they might gradually learn to appreciate them, but that is unlikely. We have discovered that Southern Baptists are woefully ignorant of the Bible after years and years of Sunday-by-Sunday training. Besides, Baptists are strongly influenced by American individualism, which will militate against the introduction or imposition of ancient forms. While this attitude needs re-examination, it is a reality which has to be faced in any changes which we might seek to make.

Flexibility in Worship

This leads me to a final comment, one about the importance of flexibility in worship. Is a uniform style of worship really necessary or desirable? Will it help us to achieve unity? I suspect that our answer to both questions should be no. The only time the Church approximated an organic oneness, it had diversity in worship styles. There was a common liturgy only in broad outlines. Orthodox liturgies have conserved much the same flexibility. Thus the point at which I am most eager personally to enter into discussion concerning a liturgy with other Christians is on the matter of the purposes of worship, not a specific liturgy or aids. To strive for a uniform service of worship will only cause offense to Baptists, most of whom are suspicious of ecumenical developments anyway. One must remember that Baptists, along with other Puritans, became non-conformists in reaction to the Elizabethan insistence on uniformity.

In an age of growing pluralism it would appear advisable to allow room for diversity in styles of worship. The so-called "third world" will exert an increasing pressure in that direction. So also does the dialogue of the moment. This means that we will need to heighten our sense of appreciation for the observances of other Christian groups and, correspondingly, to be more humble about the finality of our own. Is this not the threshold to true ecumenical dialogue?

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TOWARD A THEOLOGY OF MARRIAGE IN THE ORTHODOX CHURCH

On the front medallion of a Byzantine golden marriage belt of the sixth or seventh century a groom and bride gaze happily at each other. Christ stands between them at the center joining their right hands in marriage, two small crosses are carved just above their heads, and an inscription reads: ΕΚ ΘΕΟΥ ΟΜΟΝΙΑ (*sic.*) ΧΑΡΙΣ ΤΓΙΑ (*sic.*), "From God, concord, grace, (and) health."¹ The medallion graphically captures the meaning of Christian marriage in the Orthodox tradition. Marriage comes from God, is sealed by Christ, and promises harmony, grace, and well-being, provided the couple takes seriously the Christian commitment implied by the Cross. With the important exception of any symbolic reference to children, this medallion contains all the fundamental aspects of the meaning of marriage in the Orthodox Church.

My task in this paper is first to analyze the Orthodox marriage ceremony and secondly to take up theological issues raised by the discussions about marriage in the Orthodox-Roman Catholic Consultation in America. My intent is threefold: to offer a theological interpretation of the Orthodox marriage rite based on the prayers, petitions, and biblical passages of the rite; to indicate the major theological components of the sacrament of marriage, and to suggest in the process the most essential and abiding meaning of marriage in the patristic and liturgical traditions. With regard to the last concern, I tend by choice to anchor myself on St. John Chrysostom's thoroughly positive understanding of marriage rather than Symeon of Thessalonike's perception of marriage as a concession to human weakness by God's mercy. This latter view seems widespread among Church Fathers, but it is based on questionable presuppositions about creation and human sexuality. I leave this paradoxical view of marriage completely aside as having little to contribute to the understanding of the intrinsic value of marriage. The

1. The medallion is at the Dumbarton Oaks collection, Washington, D.C., and is reproduced on the front cover of John Meyendorff's book *Marriage: An Orthodox Perspective* (St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1970).

writer is aware of the limitations of this study. Much more work needs to be done on this subject both historically and theologically. As much as possible I try to carry on the discussion in the notes. I hope that this paper may be useful to those who are interested in studies on Orthodox sacramental marriage.

The Service of the Betrothal

The Betrothal Service (Ἀκολουθία ἐπὶ Μνήστροις ἦτοι τοῦ Ἀρραβῶνος²) is a self-contained liturgical blessing which in earlier times was performed separately from the Service of the Crowning.³ Both in the Jewish and Christian traditions marriage involved two official acts in the presence of witnesses: 1) the betrothal which was the formal pledge for future marriage indicated by the offering of rings or a gift and sealed by the signing of legal arrangements between the couple and their respective families,⁴ and 2) the wedding ceremony which was held at a later date. On the basis of this practice two separate liturgical rites developed in the Orthodox tradition which are now combined into one continuous marriage ceremony, although the Service of Crowning retains its own doxological invocation.

During the first eight or nine centuries of the Christian era marriages were, according to the opinion of Orthodox historical scholars, usually blessed during the course of the Divine Liturgy and therefore no independent marriage rite developed.⁵ A

2. In the manuscripts the Betrothal Service is variously entitled: Εἰς ἀρραβῶνα. Ἀκολουθία εἰς μνήστρα. Ἀκολουθία τῆς μνήστρας. Ἀκολουθία εἰς μνήστρα ἡγουν χάρτομαν. Ἀκολουθία καὶ τάξεις εἰς μνήστρα. Ἀκολουθία εἰς μνηστῖαν γάμου. Ἀκολουθία γινομένη ἐπὶ μνήστροις ἡγουν τοῦ ἀρραβῶνος. Ἀκολουθία τῆς εὐλογίσεως τοῦ γάμου ἦτοι εἰς μνήστρα. Τάξεις καὶ ἀκολουθία γινομένη ἐπὶ ἀρραβῶνας καὶ μνήστρα, and others. See Π. Τρεμπέλα, ΜΙΚΡΟΝ ΕΤΧΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ (Ἀθῆναι, 1950), p. 28.

3. My analysis of the marriage rite is heavily dependent on the evidence given by Trembelas, pp. 7-96. For another brief analysis of the rite see also A. N. Smirensky, "The Evolution of the Present Rite of Matrimony and Parallel Canonical Developments," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 8 (1964), 38-47. Smirensky is chiefly interested in the canonical question and in the problem of the Church's handling the legality of marriage, i.e., the granting of divorces on behalf of the state in Orthodox lands.

4. A brief description of the legal arrangements in the Orthodox Christian tradition is reported by Symeon of Thessalonike in his interpretation of the rite of marriage, P.G. 155:505CD. For the betrothal in the Jewish tradition see conveniently *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol. 11 (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, Ltd., 1971), article on "marriage" by Ben-Zion Schereschewsky.

5. Meyendorff, pp. 27-32, and Demetrios Constantelos, *Marriage, Sexuality and Celibacy: A Greek Orthodox Perspective* (Minneapolis: Light and Life, 1975), pp.

sacramental marriage was sealed by Christ when the couple received Holy Communion and received a brief blessing from the bishop or priest. Even in the oldest liturgical manuscripts dating from the eighth and ninth centuries which indicate the beginnings of independent rites for the Service of Betrothal and the Service of Coronation or Crowning one finds extremely brief rites containing only a few prayers.⁶ The beginnings of the longer form which is in use today are traced back to the tenth century at the earliest, although the definite influence of the longer rite comes only after the twelfth century. The liturgical manuscripts show an interesting variety of divergent forms, changes, and local practices with regard to the marriage ceremony down to the sixteenth century when the present-day rite seems to have reached full development.

Today the marriage ceremony is held before the altar near the *iconostasis*.⁷ The earlier practice of an official dialogue between the priest and the couple regarding their mutual consent to be married and the verification of the absence of any marriage impediments is now usually omitted.⁸ The Betrothal Service begins with the groom and bride holding lighted candles⁹ and standing before a lectern table on which are placed

44-53. However, the historical evidence regarding the close association of marriage and the liturgy is not clear. Much work needs to be done on this issue.

6. For this and what immediately follows, see Trembelas, pp. 9-27.

7. According to an earlier tradition the Betrothal Service was held in the narthex if the Service of the Crowning was to follow immediately (which was then performed in the main sanctuary). If the Crowning was not to follow, then the Betrothal Service was also done in the sanctuary. Although the sanctuary was preferred, the Betrothal Service was sometimes performed in the home. For the above, see Trembelas, p. 19. Practical considerations (small narthex, pews, several movements) probably led to the present blessing of the whole marriage in front of the *iconostasis*. In Russian liturgical practice the earlier tradition is preserved and thereby a more explicit distinction between the betrothal and the sacrament of marriage is maintained. See A. Schmemmann, *For the Life of the World: Sacraments and Orthodoxy* (St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1973, enlarged edition), pp. 88-89, who sees the betrothal in the narthex as the blessing of "natural" marriage and the solemn procession into the sanctuary as the entrance of marriage into the Church and the Kingdom of God.

8. This is now done in the Church office where the couple meets with the priest, talks about marriage, and signs the ecclesiastical papers for marriage. For the earlier practice see Trembelas, p. 20. The asking about the mutual consent is still recorded in the rubrics of the present-day Euchologion of the Church of Greece, but it is not actually done to the writer's knowledge. The coming of the couple to the Church for marriage, and all the previous arrangements and preparations, are assumed as indicating mutual consent. Russian liturgical practice retains the earlier tradition and places the mutual consent at the beginning of the Service of the Crowning.

9. Various interpreted as signs of nuptial joy or virginal purity. Symeon of

the book of the Holy Gospels, the Cross, the rings, and the crowns. The larger setting is the whole sanctuary with the icons of Christ, the Theotokos, the Apostles and saints, and the living icons of the priest, the groomsmen, the bridesmaids, and all the people of God who have come to be joyful witnesses of this communal event. The priest begins with the invocation: "Blessed is our God always, now and ever, and to the ages of ages."

The great litany of peace which follows is familiar from the Divine Liturgy and from many services of the Orthodox Church. The full litany itself is a fairly late addition to the Betrothal Service according to the manuscripts. The petitions offered specifically for the betrothal ask the congregation to pray for

- 1) the couple's salvation
- 2) the granting of offspring for the couple's propagation¹⁰
- 3) the granting of all the couple's requests which lead to salvation
- 4) the granting of perfect and peaceful love and divine help to them
- 5) their blessing with concord and strong faith¹¹
- 6) their preservation in blameless conduct
- 7) the granting to them of an honorable marriage and undefiled conjugal life.

The two subsequent prayers are very ancient and already occur in the *Codex Barberinus* dated in the late eighth or early ninth centuries.¹² They are both brief. The first calls upon God to bless the couple and to lead them to every good work (cf. Col. 1.10). This blessing is invoked against back-

Thessalonike interprets the candles as symbols of the prudence (*σωφροσύνη*) of the couple and the action of divine grace in them, *P.G.* 155:509B. One is reminded of the Parable of the Ten Virgins in which the Groom is awaited with lighted lamps. So the groom and bride anticipate the coming of Christ and His blessing of their marriage. Symeon also reports that the priests as well held lighted candles as signs of festive joy.

10. *Εἰς διαδοχὴν γένους* is general but probably in the context (*παρασχεθῆναι αὐτοῖς*) is more closely related to the couple. In the main prayer of the betrothal one finds another reference to the propagation of all humankind.

11. In some manuscripts this petition is unnecessarily repeated, the first petition calling for their "protection"/"preservation" (*φυλαχθῆναι*), while the second for their "blessing" (*εὐλογηθῆναι*). "*Βεβαία πίστις*" should probably be translated "strong" or "secure" rather than "sound" faith since the assumed context is not heresiological but general.

12. Trembelas, p. 9.

ground references to the eternal God Who has brought divided things into unity (perhaps a general reference to the brokenness of human life after the Fall),¹³ Who has established an unbreakable bond (i.e., in marriage),¹⁴ and Who blessed Isaac and Rebecca and made them heirs of His promise (Gen. 26.4, 24; 25.23?). The second prayer, which is read just before the act of betrothal itself, for the first time mentions τὰ μνηστρα (*sponsalia*, the 'betrothal')¹⁵ on which it invokes God's blessing. In this prayer the significant background reference is a Christological one: Christ's anticipated betrothal of the Gentile Church (ὁ τὴν ἐξ ἐθνῶν προμνηστευσάμενος Ἐκκλησίαν παρθένον ἀγνήν, cf. Rom. 9.25-26; Eph. 2.11-22; 3.3-6; Hos. chaps. 1-2). Thus we have here the connection of the betrothal to the same mystery of Christ and the Church as in the case of marriage. The connection is implicit, yet clear, and should be theologically exploited. The reference in the prayer to the Church as παρθένος ἀγνή¹⁶ easily calls to mind the heightened theological description of the Church in Ephesians 5. Accordingly, the prayer calls for the blessing of the betrothal and the union (ἔνωσον) of the couple against the background theme of Christ's betrothal of

13. The writer could find no possible biblical background for the statement: ὁ τὰ διεργημένα συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐνότητα (Eph. 2.14ff.?). P. Evdokimov, ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΓΑΠΗΣ, μετ. Σ. Ὁρφανοῦ (Ἀθήναι, 1967), p. 139, finds an echo of Did. 9.4—the gathering of the Church into one Body as the gathering of the grains of wheat from the hills into one bread—an interesting but very distant echo. One is reminded of God's promise to gather His people from all nations, and to gather all nations as well, recurrent in the Prophets, especially Isaiah.

14. Σύνδεσμος διαθέσεως is also difficult. Διάθεσις, unlike διαθήκη, is not a Septuagintal term, although it has several occurrences especially in II-IV Maccabees which follow the Greek usage. Nor does it occur in the New Testament. The Greek term means 'placing in order,' 'arrangement,' 'composition,' 'disposition,' 'state,' 'condition.' It can also mean specifically disposition of property, will, or testament. So Liddell and Scott. According to Sophocles and Lampe, the Byzantine and patristic usage is generally the same, but they do not report any instances of 'disposition of property, will, or testament.' In the above prayer the 'marriage arrangement' or 'state' is obviously in point. But the "unbreakable bond which God established" must be a reference to creation and the first 'marriage' of Adam and Eve. This motif is more clearly brought out in the first prayer of the Crowning Service (καὶ ἀμφοτέρους αὐτοὺς ἐν μέλῳ ἀναδείξας διὰ τῆς συζυγίας). So the translation "bond of covenant" should be preferred, though still awkward, for σύνδεσμος διαθέσεως (as in the edition of *The Sacrament of Holy Matrimony*, printed by Williams and Norgate, London, 1929). I. F. Hapgood less accurately translates "bond of love."

15. Μνηστρα in plural is the usual Greek term for the institution of the betrothal, derived from μνηστεύω, to 'woo,' 'betroth,' 'espouse,' 'entrust,' and the like.

16. Both the language and the application of this image to the Church are St. Paul's, II Cor. 11.2.

the Church. The prayer concludes with the call for the protection of the couple in peace and concord.

The high point of the Service of the Betrothal is the pronouncement of the betrothal blessing and the giving of the rings. The priest takes the rings, makes the sign of the Cross on the forehead of the groom and bride and pronounces the blessing in the Name of the Holy Trinity ('Αρράβωνίζεται ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ. . .). He then places the rings on the right hands of the groom and bride, and the best man or maid of honor exchanges them. This whole act, of which the blessing in the Name of the Holy Trinity is fairly recent in the tradition, shows great diversity in the manuscripts.¹⁷ Central is the giving of the rings as a pledge of the betrothal. A variety of traditions has been associated with the rings as well.¹⁸ The older codices finally say nothing of the participation of the groomsman or maid of honor in the exchange of rings.¹⁹

17. The present form "ἀρράβωνίζεται ὁ δοῦλος" is missing from most codices. Some codices contain only the blessing "In the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" or other diverse blessings. In some codices the priest gives the rings to the groom and bride without saying anything. In one codex, after giving the rings and pronouncing the blessing in the Name of the Holy Trinity, the priest also says, "Ἀρμόζεται ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ" and conjoins the hands of the couple. See Trembelas, pp. 20-21 and 36-37. So also Symeon of Thessalonike, according to whom the couple's hands were subsequently separated and again conjoined during the Service of the Coronation, *P. G.* 155:508D and 509C.

18. Already in Jewish betrothals a monetary gift or a ring was involved as an act of the groom's acquisition of the bride. The groom gave the ring to the bride and he recited: "Behold, you are consecrated unto me with this ring according to the law of Moses and Israel." By accepting it the bride showed her consent to be his wife. See *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 11, 1032, 1041-42. In the Christian tradition Clement of Alexandria (*Paid.*, 3. 11) reports that a ring was given to the woman as a sign of authority in the disposition of domestic affairs. More than a thousand years later Kritopoulos interprets the giving of rings (in plural) as a sign of mutual offering on the part of the groom and bride. See. K. Καλλίνικος, ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΙΚΟΣ ΝΑΟΣ ('Αθήναι, 1958), p. 549. The references to rings in the great betrothal prayer interpret the ring as a sign of authority and honor, or as a sign of the truth of something (Tamar). In the betrothal ceremony the ring is the visible sign of the betrothal vows or pledge—the symbol of the betrothal. Two rings made of gold, silver, copper or iron may be used, according to the codices, the ring of greater value given to the groom. One codex speaks of a single ring which the priest gives to the groom, who then gives it to the bride, kissing her on the forehead, while she kisses the groom's hand as a sign of reverence and obedience (Trembelas, p. 21). The rings are basically the visible pledge of the betrothal anticipating marriage. See also Symeon of Thessalonike, *P. G.* 155:508AD.

19. Completely omitted by all the older codices, this custom seems first to arise in connection with the coronation. One codex informs us that the groomsman participated in the giving of the common cup to the groom and bride (see below, note 42). The liturgical participation of groomsman in the marriage rite is probably based on their active role in the 'match-making' and the contractual arrangements for a

The great prayer of the betrothal which follows is also of recent origin²⁰ but now serves as the main blessing. It may form-critically be divided into four parts (εὐλόγησον/στήριξον . . . βεβαίωσον . . . ἐπίβλεψον/στήριξον . . . εὐλόγησον), apart from the final doxology. The first part refers to Isaac and Rebecca and then calls upon God both to bless the couple and to make firm their spoken vow (τὸν παρ' αὐτῶν λαληθέντα λόγον). It has been noted, however, that the mutual consent is now generally omitted. The second part of the prayer refers to God's creation of male and female and to the uniting of woman to man for purposes of support and procreation, and asks God to establish the couple in a holy union which is His gift (παρὰ τοῦ ἀρμόζεται ἀνδρὶ γυνή). The third part contains general references to God's promises granted to generations of the elect and calls upon God similarly to look with providential care upon the couple and to strengthen their betrothal in faith, harmony, truth, and love. The final and longest part of the prayer is a composite one containing references to pledges by rings mostly in the Old Testament, to the power of God supporting Moses by the Red Sea, and to God's mighty word by which all things were created. It then invokes God's blessing of the betrothal (δακτυλοθέσιον, literally the 'putting-on-of-rings') and God's protection of the couple throughout their lives. The concluding doxology ends the Service of the Betrothal.²¹

Thus the Service of the Betrothal, presupposing both the family arrangements and the canonical stipulations, is an ex-

marriage. Symeon of Thessalonike, p. 224, who has a single groomsmen in view, usually an older person, sees him as a kind of second father and guide of the couple, and it is for this reason, he says, that the groomsmen should be God-loving and Orthodox. Obviously we have here a parallel to the institution of sponsor in baptism, which may also be a precedent for the groomsmen's participation in a marriage. In some codices and printed prayer books the groomsmen is called σύντεκνος in connection with his serving as the sponsor of the couple's first child at baptism, and later, ideally, as the groomsmen of that child's future marriage, and thereby sharing parental responsibilities for the child. See Kallinikos, p. 546. For Symeon of Thessalonike, the priest exchanges the rings (P.G. 155: 508 D).

20. In its present lengthy form it is missing even from some fifteenth-century codices. Earlier and briefer forms of it, however, occur steadily in codices of the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries. So Trembelas, pp. 9-11.

21. After the giving of the rings and before the conclusion of the Betrothal Service one codex reports that the couple received Holy Communion from the Pre-Sanctified Gifts and were then dismissed, the marriage to be done at a later date. See Trembelas, p. 37.

tended rite which calls upon God to bless and protect the betrothal. God is the Creator of man and woman and the One Who joins them in an indissoluble bond as part of His redemptive work in bringing all things into their proper unity. In the betrothal two purposes of marriage according to the Genesis narrative are affirmed: the woman's support of the man and the propagation of the human race. Several references to children, purity of conjugal relations, and human procreation occur in the rite. Many more petitions and prayers speak of God's blessing for the stability and well-being of the betrothed couple.

The most essential act is the liturgical pronouncement of the betrothal in the Name of the Holy Trinity and the giving of the rings as a sign of the unbreakable commitment of the couple, presupposing their mutual consent, and sealed by the sign of the Cross. The betrothal takes place against the theological background of Christ's betrothal of the Church, which, however, is not emphasized in the rite. Yet this is a legitimate theological connection which, just as in the case of marriage, draws the betrothal into the same mystery of the union of Christ and the Church.

The term ἀρράβων ('betrothal'; cf. also the verb ἀρράβωνιζῆται in the betrothal benediction) is quite significant in this regard. An ancient Semitic loanword, it is used in Hellenistic times as a legal and commercial technical term meaning "earnest money," "down payment," or "first installment" validating a contract and securing a legal claim to something. Through St. Paul's decisive use of this term for the eschatological gift of the Spirit (II Cor. 1.22; 5.5; cf. Eph. 1.14), ἀρράβων takes on predominant theological significance in the patristic tradition signifying the present blessings of salvation in the Holy Spirit, the new life in Christ, and the redeemed life of the Church. With regard to marriage, ἀρράβων signifies the betrothal as a 'first pledge' or first guarantee toward marriage. Certainly this pledge is not simply legal and commercial, but above all personal and spiritual, sanctified by the Holy Spirit in the Service of the Betrothal. Against the theological meaning of marriage as an image of Christ's union with the Church, the betrothal (ἀρράβων) is theologically suggestive as the image of Christ's betrothal of the Church by the gift of the Holy Spirit—the gift

of the Holy Spirit as a token of each believer's salvation, anticipating the future fullness of salvation in the messianic Kingdom. This connection was in fact made in the patristic tradition by Symeon the New Theologian and Gennadios Scholarios, who compare the two-step event of betrothal and marriage to the two-installment experience of salvation.²²

The Service of the Crowning

The Service of the Crowning or Coronation (Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Στεφανώματος)²³ is also a self-contained service greatly elaborated since the ninth century when the sacrament of marriage developed into an independent rite. According to the *Codex Barberinus* and other early codices, the oldest rite simply consisted of a few petitions for peace, the third prayer (Ὁ Θεός ὁ ἄγιος, ὁ πλάσας ἐκ χοῦς τὸν ἄνθρωπον), the coronation, another brief prayer (Κύριε ὁ Θεός ὑμῶν, ὁ ἐν τῇ σωτηριῳδεῖ σου οἰκονομία), the prayer of the common cup, and nothing else.²⁴ Even the scriptural readings are omitted by the oldest manuscripts. The Divine Liturgy obviously influenced the development of the rite ("Blessed is the Kingdom . . .," the great litany, and the Lord's Prayer).²⁵ But Trembelas finds that in particular the Liturgy of the Pre-Sanctified Gifts influenced the marriage rite (e.g., the *ektenes* after the biblical readings, followed by the petitions which lead up to the Lord's Prayer and other aspects.)²⁶ The codices show an even greater degree of diversity in the sequence of the prayers, symbolic acts, various modifications and reports of local practices in the development of the marriage rite than in that of the betrothal.

22. Ὡσπερ . . . οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν γάμων ἀρραβῶνες οὓς ἀλλήλοις οἱ γαμοῦντες διδόναι, ἐγγινῶνται τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα . . . οὕτως . . . καὶ ἡ "ἀπαρχὴ τοῦ Πνεύματος," τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ μερικὸν τοῦ Πνεύματος χάρισμα, ὃ "ἔστιν ἀρραβὼν τῆς κληρονομίας ἡμῶν," τὴν ἐπὶ καιροῦ δοθησομένην καθόλου χάριν ἡμῖν βεβαιοῦ. *Frag. Rom. 8.26; P.G. 85:1700A.* For Symeon the New Theologian, see ΦΙΛΟΚΑΛΙΑ, Τόμος Γ' (Παπαδημητρίου: Ἀθῆναι, 1960), pp. 250-51.

23. So in the oldest codices. In others also as follows: Ἀκολουθία γάμου ἡγουν στεφανώματος. Ἀρχὴ τοῦ στεφανώματος. Ἀκολουθία εἰς γάμους. Τάξεις ἐτέρα τοῦ στεφανώματος. Κανὼν ἐκκλησιαστικὸς εἰς γάμον. Ἀκολουθία εἰς στεφάνους τοὺς ιωμίμω γάμω συναπτομένους.

24. Trembelas, p. 10.

25. Meyendorff, p. 31.

26. After the Lord's Prayer many codices also contain the invocation: "Τὰ προηλασμένα ἅγια τοῖς ἀγίοις" and the people chanted "Εἰς ἅγιος, εἰς Κύριος" as the couple received Holy Communion. Trembelas, pp. 15-16.

The Crowning Service opens with Psalm 127 (LXX) which in previous times was chanted during the procession of the couple into the sanctuary.²⁷ This Psalm offers blessings for the well-being and prosperity of those who follow the ways of the Lord, that is, for the couple. After the doxological invocation ("Blessed is the Kingdom"), which is characteristic of the beginning of the sacraments in the Orthodox Church, the great litany of peace follows. The petitions specifically related to the couple begin with the significant reference to the "communion in marriage" (τῶν νῦν σαναπομένων εἰς γάμου κοινωνίαν—"those who are now being united in the communion of marriage"). These petitions offer prayers for

- 1) the couple's salvation
- 2) the blessing of their marriage as that in Cana of Galilee
- 3) three petitions about propagation:
 - a) σωφροσύνη ('prudence,' 'decency,' 'self-control')²⁸ and procreation to good benefit²⁹
 - b) delight of sons and daughters
 - c) enjoyment of (fair) children³⁰ and a blameless life
- 4) the granting of all their requests leading to salvation.

Thus the couple's union in marriage, their salvation, happy procreation, and a prudent life are at the forefront of these petitions.

The first long prayer of the marriage already appears in the codices of the eleventh century with numerous minor variations.

27. Many codices also include Psalms 8 and 20 (LXX) at various places during either the Betrothal or Coronation Service from which today are retained only the following verses: "Ἐθηκας ἐπὶ τὴν/ὰς κεφαλὴν/ὰς αὐτοῦ/ῶν στέφανον/ἄνους ἐκ λίθων τμιών" and "Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῶν, δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ στεφάνωσον αὐτούς." In one codex the curious tradition is reported of girding the groom with a sword while the priest chanted "Περίξωσαι τὴν ρομφαίαν σου" (Ps. 44.3 LXX), probably as a symbol of authority (perhaps first done in the case of kings). It should also be noted that in the same codex the priest asks the couple about their mutual consent, a tradition preserved to this day in the Slavonic tradition. Trembelas, p. 22.

28. Σωφροσύνη has strong connections with sexual modesty.

29. Πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον is difficult. Hapgood's translation "as is expedient for them" smacks of modern utilitarianism and contraceptive convenience. The edition by Williams and Norgate has "as is fitting," which is so vague it is almost meaningless. Συμφέρον is that which is "beneficial," "profitable," "expedient," "advantageous," "useful." In the prayer, πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον in general applies to the couple as also probably to children—a general reference to child-bearing as a blessing.

30. A bit redundant following the previous petition. Εὐτεκνία comes from the archaic εὐτεκνέω, which means to be happy in children. Εὐτεκνιος is one blessed with children. Εὐτεκνία therefore can mean the blessing of children, fruitfulness, or happiness in having children. Sometimes the adjective εὐτεκνος is used for 'fair' children.

The prayer builds on Gen. 1.28; 2.21-24, and Mt. 19.6, concerning the creation of Adam and Eve, their blessing to multiply and dominate the earth, and the indissolubility of the conjugal bond (*ἐν μέλος διὰ τῆς συζυγίας*), and continues with many references to God's blessings of Old Testament couples and their procreation down to the birth of John the Baptist, the Virgin Mary and Christ Himself. The prayer then asks God/Christ³¹ to bless the couple's marriage as He blessed that in Cana of Galilee, thereby showing that lawful marriage and procreation from it is according to God's will. The particular blessings asked of God are: peaceful life, longevity, prudence, mutual love in the bond of peace (cf. Eph. 4.3), long-lived posterity, the gift of children,³² and the eschatological crown of unfading glory. The prayer may originally have ended here with the eschatological reference. In its present form it includes additional requests for longevity, unassailed conjugal relations, and abundance of spiritual and material blessings. With regard to material goods, the prayer significantly asks that the couple may abound in them so that they may also share them with others in need. This is a well-placed reminder of the fact that Christian marriage involves not only an inward, but also outward, movement.

The second and longest prayer, also present as the second prayer in the Slavonic tradition, is of later origin, but Trembelas cannot firmly date it.³³ The prayer begins with references to God as the Celebrant of mystical and pure marriage (i.e., sacramental marriage, perhaps an echo of Eph. 5), the Law-giver of physical marriage, and the Provider of all spiritual and material blessings. It then builds on the creation story adding Gen. 2.18 and 2.23 to the basic texts of Gen 2.24 and Mt. 19.6 which already occur in the first prayer. Thus this new element is added that the aloneness of Adam, underscored by his joyful welcome of Eve (Gen 2.23), is corrected by the creation of woman in order to support man (Gen 2.18). Against

31. As in the case of the betrothal prayers, so also in the prayers of the Crowning Service, a prayer often begins by addressing God and then clearly develops into an address of Christ without sharp differentiation.

32. *Τὴν ἐπὶ τέκνοις χάριν* could also mean "grace on the(ir) children" but not "gratitude from their posterity" as in Haggood's translation.

33. He finds no evidence of whether the prayer derives from the older Constantinopolitan tradition or from the time of the printed prayer books in Venice, p. 12.

this new background God is asked to bless the couple and to grant that the woman be subject to her husband in all things and that the husband be the head of the wife,³⁴ and that they might both live according to God's will. The next lengthy portion of the prayer form-critically develops on three verbs (*εὐλόγησον . . . διαφύλαξον . . . μνημόνευσον*). It calls for God's blessing, protection, and remembrance of the couple as in the cases of many Old Testament couples and figures. Exceptionally are mentioned the Empress Helena and her joy at finding the Holy Cross, and also the Forty Holy Martyrs who received incorruptible crowns from God on account of their martyrdom. Additionally, there is a petition for the parents "whose prayers make firm the foundations of houses" (cf. Sir. 3.9) as well as a petition for the groomsmen who share in the joy of the wedding. The prayer concludes with another blessing of the two persons and many requests to God on their behalf. These include offspring, the possession of beautiful children,³⁵ concord of soul and body, exaltation, fruitfulness, abundance of material goods, so that they may also carry out philanthropic deeds, longevity, multiplication of the clan, and generally that the couple may live in a fashion pleasing to God so that they might shine like stars in the eschatological Kingdom (cf. Phil. 2.15).

The third prayer is the briefest and oldest. In this prayer God, the Author of marriage, is asked to unite the couple. The prayer contains three basic verbs involved in marriage and the act of crowning: *ἄρμωσον* (the conjoining), *σύζευξον* (the yoking or uniting), and *στεφάνωσον* (the crowning). One codex reads *ἐνώσον* (for *στεφάνωσον*) which is probably a more ancient reading.³⁶ While the priest symbolically joins the right hands of the couple he asks God to unite them in the bond of marriage and to grant them offspring and happiness in children. The brief background references are to God as the Creator of man and woman, the joining of woman to man as a helper, and

34. These two particular elements, however, are derived from Eph. 5 and not directly from Gen. 1-2.

35. *Καλλιτεκνία*. So Liddell and Scott. The root *κάλλος*/beauty in *καλλιτεκνία* should be brought out.

36. My conjecture on the basis that *ἐνώσον* is better suited than *στεφάνωσον* to the following phrase *εἰς σάρκα μίαν*. However, Theodore the Studite, who quotes a version of this prayer already in the early ninth century, *P.G.* 99:973CD, reads *στεφάνωσον*. Perhaps *στεφάνωσον* was introduced by influence of the Coronation which was done in connection with this prayer.

to the divine will that man should not be alone—motifs which, as has been noted, are greatly expanded in the second prayer above.

The actual coronation now takes place, a rite which is marked by astonishing diversity in the codices.³⁷ The simple crowning in the Name of the Trinity, which parallels the betrothal rite with the rings, is of recent origin, nowhere to be found in the older codices. It is immediately followed by the chanting of one verse from Psalm 8 (“Lord our God, crown them with glory and honor,” Psalm 8.6 LXX). The act of crowning itself is very ancient. However, the symbolism of the crowns is diverse.³⁸

Two scriptural readings follow the coronation. Ephesians 5.20-33 (in some codices Phil. 4.4-7 or Heb. 12.28-13.8 are reported) contains the following points: 1) submission of Christians to one another in the fear of God; 2) the sub-

37. According to one codex the priest performs the coronation and says nothing. According to another he makes the sign of the Cross on their heads three times, then takes the crowns and says, “Ἐθηκας ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν στέφανον ἐκ λήθων τιμίων (Ps. 20.4b, LXX), and then crowns the groom and bride. According to another, the priest recites all of Psalm 20 and then crowns them. According to many others, the priest recites Ps. 8.6 LXX, applying it to both groom and bride (στεφάνωσον αὐτὸν/στεφάνωσον αὐτήν. One codex simply says “στέφει ἀμφοτέρους καὶ λέγει: Χριστὸς στεφανοῖ.” Another has a more elaborate rite in which the priest says “Ὁ Πατὴρ εὐλογεῖ, ὁ Υἱὸς στεφανοῖ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον συνευδοκεῖ καὶ συμμαρτυρεῖ” and the congregation repeats it three times. The priest also chants Ps. 8.6 and 20.4b LXX. Similar diversity is found with regard to the giving of the couple to each other by the joining of their right hands, the crowns, the common cup, the sequence of these acts and prayers. See Trembelas, pp. 23-25 and 55-59.

38. Tertullian (*De corona* 13) seems to be negative about the use of crowns, viewing them as a pagan custom. However, the biblical references to crowns and the impressive aspect of the coronation assured their early prevalence in Christian tradition. Chrysostom interprets them as symbols of virginal victory “ὅτι μὴ καταγωνίσθησαν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς” (*P. G.* 62:546). So also Symeon of Thessalonike interprets them as symbols of virginal purity, *P. G.* 155:505A. Psalms 8 and 20 (LXX) used during the coronation suggest the symbolism of kingly authority (in creation as in the second prayer *θέμιμος αὐτὸν ὡς βασιλέα τῆς κτίσεως*). So T. Zannis, “Τὸ Μυστήριον Τοῦτο Μέγα Ἑστὶ” in *ΕΡΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΜΟΣ*, ed. X. Γιανναρᾶς (Ἀθήναι, 1972), p. 28. The crowns also symbolize the glory and honor of marriage (cf. Ps. 8.6 LXX). The very word ‘crown’ is often used in Scripture for anything conferring honor or authority. In this connection, a recent popular interpretation is that the coronation of the couple marks the crowning of the king and queen of a new household. In the marriage rite significant references also occur to the incorruptible crowns of the martyrs and to the incorruptible crowns preserved by God in heaven for every groom and bride, provided they lead lives worthy of God. In this regard P. Evdokimov, p. 144, makes the provocative reference to Jesus’ crown of thorns and remarks that perfect love involves crucifixion. All of these interpretations are rich and suggestive. The basic meaning of the crowns has probably to do with the honor and festive glory of the couple in marriage. The blessing in the Name of the Trinity and the references to incorruptible crowns significantly ‘Christianize’ the symbolism.

mission of the wife in all things to the husband who is her head, just as the Church submits to Christ, its Head; 3) the total love of the husband for the wife to the point of death, as Christ Himself died for the Church and its redemption—this love of the husband for the wife, repeated several times, is the most emphatic point of the Epistle Reading; 4) the union of the husband and wife into one body on the basis of Gen. 2.24; and 5) the typological interpretation of Gen 2.24 as prefiguring the great mystery of Christ's mystical union into One Body with the Church. The Gospel Reading taken from John 2.1-11 recounts Jesus' presence at the wedding in Cana of Galilee and the wine miracle by which His disciples believed in Him. The prayers and petitions make repeated reference to Christ's presence at the wedding in Cana as a sign of His blessing of marriage, but no reference to the wine miracle, a strange omission given the symbolism of wine. With regard to the Epistle Reading, the elements which are given attention in the prayers are clearly the submission of the wife to the husband who is her head and less clearly the theological parallel between the mystical and physical marriage in the second prayer of the marriage rite (ὁ Θεός . . . ὁ τοῦ μυστικοῦ καὶ ἀχράντου γάμου ἱεουργός, καὶ τοῦ σωματικοῦ νομοθέτης). Of course the contents of the scriptural readings have their own validity and stand just as they are: God's holy word recited in the sacrament.

The next part of the current marriage rite has been taken from the Pre-Sanctified Liturgy, according to Trembelas, and is comprised of a litany, a series of petitions, the Lord's Prayer (and in many codices is followed by the invocation "Τὰ προηγιασμένα ἅγια τοῖς ἀγίοις" and the giving of Holy Communion to the couple while the people chant "Εἰς ἅγιος, εἰς Κύριος, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός").³⁹ The litany (ἐκτενής) and the series of petitions (πληρωτικά) are well-known for their use in many services of the Orthodox Church. The part directly relevant to the marriage is the ancient prayer (Κύριε ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν τῇ σωτηριώδει σου οἰκονομία) which occurs after the litany and mentions Jesus' presence at the wedding in Cana indicating the honorableness of marriage. It then asks Christ by Whose good pleasure the couple has been united: to guide the couple in

39. Trembelas, pp. 15-16. Thus it is obvious that whenever the couple received Holy Communion it was from the Pre-Sanctified Gifts.

peace and harmony, to grant them an honorable marriage, to preserve their conjugal relations pure, to keep their life together (*συνβίωσις*) spotless, to grant them longevity, and to help them all the while to observe His commandments in purity of heart.

Prior to the common cup of wine given to the couple there is another ancient prayer. This prayer calls upon God, as Creator and Sustainer of all things, to bless the cup and Himself to offer it to the couple now united in marriage. The tradition of the common cup is a very ancient one, occurring in Jewish marriages.⁴⁰ Therefore it is not clear that the common cup as a liturgical custom in Christian marriages arises only after the marriage rite became detached from the Holy Eucharist and as a substitute for Holy Communion. During several centuries both Holy Communion and the common cup were offered to the couple.⁴¹ In due course, however, because Holy Communion was offered to couples less and less, and finally not at all, the common cup came in practice to replace Holy Communion. The rite of the common cup, in which now the priest blesses the cup and then takes it to the groom and bride to share from it, shows interesting diversity in the codices.⁴² The basic symbolism of the common cup is the sharing of a common life by the couple now united into one bond.

40. See *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 11, article on "marriage," and Kallinikos, p. 555. A custom of breaking the common cup after drinking from it is found in Jewish marriages and is also reported in several codices of the Christian rite of marriage. Trembelas, pp. 25, 66, 68.

41. Already a cup of milk and honey, immediately after the cup of Holy Communion, was given to the couple in the times of Tertullian and Hippolytus (late second and early third centuries), Trembelas, p. 26. The codices of the marriage rite variously report Holy Communion, the common cup of wine, and also a cup of honey with almonds or walnuts. Some codices stipulate that Holy Communion is to be given "if the couple is worthy" (in one codex, only of the sacred Body). Such is the practice presupposed by Symeon of Thessalonike, *P.G.* 155:512D-513A, who reports also a common cup as established practice. For Symeon, "to be worthy" meant chiefly to be married for the first, not the second, time. Second-marriage couples received only the common cup. A thorough historical study of the origins and practice of the common cup is needed. For Trembelas' comments and manuscript evidence, see his book, pp. 12, 25, 60-69.

42. According to some codices the priest holds the cup while the groom and bride partake of it, then he gives the cup itself to the groom, who drinks all of the remaining wine and gives the empty cup to someone other than the priest, or the priest takes it and breaks it! According to another codex there are two cups of wine. The priest pours the wine from both cups into each other thus mixing the wine, gives the cups to the groomsmen, who in turn give them to the couple. According to other various traditions the couple is sprinkled with wine from the cup, the remaining wine is poured out into the ground, and bread pieces or almonds or

The ceremonial procession or dance which immediately follows, as an expression of nuptial joy, more originally involved an actual procession to the house of the couple, headed by the priest, while various hymns were chanted on the way, including "Rejoice, O Isaiah" (Ἦσαῖα χόρευε).⁴³ There the priest removed the crowns from the couple's heads saying a prayer.⁴⁴ The three hymns chanted today during the ceremonial procession around the lectern table while the priest holds the book of the Holy Gospels make references to the joy of the birth of Christ by the Virgin, to the Holy Martyrs who were crowned because of their victory in martyrdom, and to Christ as the boasting of the Apostles and the exaltation of the Martyrs.

The conclusion of the marriage rite involves two laudatory blessings over the groom and bride (Μεγαλύνῃτε Νυμφίε/Νύμφη) which are of recent origin, the removal of the crowns and an older prayer for the removal, a final Trinitarian blessing, and the dismissal. The laudatory prayers, mentioning the three Patriarchs and their wives, wish the groom and bride similar lives of blessedness, joy, fruitfulness, and righteousness. The prayer for the removal of the crowns calls again for Christ's blessing of the marriage as of that in Cana of Galilee, the providential protection of the couple, their material prosperity, and the preservation of the couple's wedding crowns in God's eschatological Kingdom. The Trinitarian prayer is a final blessing of the couple that they may be granted longevity, happiness in children, progress in life and in faith, material blessings, as well as the promised eschatological blessings in God's Kingdom.

Thus in the Crowning Service the "communion of marriage" between a man and a woman is blessed by God. The couple

walnuts dipped in honey are given to the couple. Various brief prayers are said and, in the case of the two cups which are mixed, a whole psalm (Ps 74 LXX) is recited. In one codex, followed by the Slavonic tradition, the joining of the couple's hands occurs after the common cup. See Trembelas, pp 25-26, 63-69.

43 See Trembelas, pp 17 and 69ff. Thus a sometimes popular idea that marriage is not made valid until the completion of the ceremonial dance, reported by Kalinikos, p 555, is erroneous and derives from the attitude that, as in the case of the Liturgy, a single supreme moment of validation must be identified in the sacrament.

44 The removal of the crowns also variously occurred three or eight days after the wedding either at the couple's home or at the church. See Trembelas, p 75 and Kalinikos, p 556.

is crowned as husband and wife in a most glorious fashion worthy of God's attention to Adam and Eve in the story of creation. By first impression the prayers and the Epistle Reading give a certain precedence to the husband. The prayers seem also to place an accent on procreation. But the heart of marriage is the oneness of the husband and the wife (*ἐν μέλος διὰ τῆς συζυγίας*). This oneness established by God (Gen. 2.24), confirmed by Christ (Mk. 10.8-9), and repeatedly invoked by the marriage rite is decisive: a oneness not only of body but of total life—a true and full *κοινωνία γάμου*. Only such emphasis on the bond of marriage as a sharing union can lead to a correct interpretation of the precedence of the husband and also of the accent on procreation. Marriage exists above all for its own sake as a full communion of two persons apart from all other considerations, including child-bearing and the mutual roles of husband and wife. In the context of the oneness of marriage, the precedence of the husband, as much as the submission of the wife, are also God's gifts!⁴⁵ But they are gifts deeply rooted in the total union of love where there is no room for exploitation or subjugation in either direction, but only welcome space for mutual obedience and selfless service. Selfless service, however, involves also service to others—children, older parents, persons in need, community, and society. God-given marriage leads not to isolation but to an outward movement based on the inner strength of the marriage. Accordingly, the creative affirmation of life through the joy of children (*κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον*)⁴⁶ is among the first fruits of the bond of marriage. Still, a childless marriage is also a full and complete marriage without apology.⁴⁷

45. But God's gifts always imply tasks. Thus if a husband has the leadership of the family, this privilege implies an awesome responsibility and in no way an arbitrary authoritarianism. Is your wife happy? Are your children happy? You are both responsible and accountable for the happiness of your wife and the well-being of your children. On the other hand, the 'obedience' of the wife by no means implies being a 'door-mat' or a 'servant-maid' for the husband, but a responsible partner in marriage who contributes essentially to the partnership of the marriage. The case is not infrequent that, by strength of Christian character, the wife 'saves' a marriage and a family where the husband fails!

46. "To good benefit." See above, footnote 29. This would imply a responsible attitude toward child-bearing, possible limitation of the number of children (not at all envisioned by the rite) and elective contraception.

47. We must learn to be more sensitive with regard to many childless couples in the Church. Such couples need not feel apologetic nor should we feel awkward, about their not having children. Their marriages, too, even without children, are

A gift, sharing, personal fulfillment—such is marriage ordained by God. The marriage rite speaks of harmony of body and soul, well-being, stability, purity in conjugal relations,⁴⁸ joy, exaltation, progress in life, material benefits, and longevity. All these are blessings for the enjoyment of the couple. Above all husband and wife are to share and enjoy each other in the communion of marriage—companionship, trust, mutual support, and the total bond of love. In their oneness, the joy of Adam at beholding Eve (“This at last is bone of my bones!” Gen. 2.23) is equally reversed (“And you, O Bride, rejoice in your husband!”). The love of the husband for the wife, as well as the obedience of the wife to the husband (Eph. 5.22-33), are also reversed and become a dialogic process of love and mutual submission to each other in reverence for Christ (Eph. 5.22). In the true bond of marriage there is a common leaving of father and mother, a common clinging to each other, and a common union of love (Gen. 2.24).⁴⁹ In this, the awesome majesty of marriage is revealed as being the most primary relationship of life.⁵⁰

But marriage is also a task, a sacrifice, and a communal responsibility. The prayers of the rite also speak of requests leading to

complete and fulfilling, without apology, provided of course there are legitimate grounds for not having children, and not just selfishness. That mutual fulfillment, and not child-bearing, is the primary justification for marriage, see Meyendorff, pp. 15, 48 and Karmires, p. 206. Some Church Fathers, however, see marriage in a negative way as resulting from the Fall and chiefly for the purpose of procreation and guarding against fornication (partly influenced by Paul).

48. The references to pure conjugal relations both in the betrothal and the crowning rites imply marital sexual fidelity, and not any negative connotations about sex in marriage. Although there is in Christian marriage such a thing as marital modesty, what St. Paul would call treating each other in honor and holiness (I Thess. 4:4), sex in marriage is God's gift and should in no way be impugned but enjoyed. Scripture, the marriage rite, and the great Fathers of the Church as well, such as Chrysostom, affirm the joyful holiness of sex in marriage, which in no way should be associated with the abuse of sex in various ways and degrees outside of marriage. However, there is also a strongly negative tradition about even conjugal sex, especially in monasticism. See, for example, George Khodre, “A Great Mystery: Reflections on the Meaning of Marriage,” *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 8 (1964), 31-37.

49. For a superb interpretation of the three verbs of Gen. 2:24, “leaving,” “cleaving,” and “becoming one flesh,” as applied to the total reality of marriage, see Walter Trobisch, *I Married You* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971).

50. I fully agree with G. MacDonald, *Magnificent Marriage* (Wheaton: Tyndale House, 1976), p. xxii, who writes: “The relationship of a man and a woman in marriage is the prime relationship of all mankind, superseded only by that relationship which man establishes with his God.” Thus the husband-wife relationship has precedence over the parent-child relationship, which we often forget!

salvation, progress in faith, blameless conduct, philanthropic deeds, a life worthy of God, and obedience to Christ's commandments. Here is the test of marriage. The common cup of which the groom and bride partake is as meaningful as their common struggle as husband and wife for God's truth in the world, as they face obstacles, problems, sin, and death. The references to the Holy Martyrs in the marriage rite and the recurrent blessing with the sign of the Cross are essential.⁵¹ Christian marriage is a witness (*μαρτυρία*) of God in the world. God crowns the husband and wife in an ideal human relationship and gives them kingly authority over all things. On their part husband and wife assume the responsibility of being co-workers of God in Christ. They follow the way of the Cross. Their chief goal in life is their salvation and the salvation of others. In such terms, marriage becomes one of God's primary ways of redeeming the world. The crowns of the husband and wife are in these terms crowns of victors who by God's grace will be worthy of receiving imperishable crowns in God's eschatological Kingdom.

Theological Issues

In this last section several issues related to the sacramental character of marriage will be briefly considered, including the question of mixed marriage and divorce: This section will conclude with an appeal to the Church for more conscious and systematic pastoral care regarding marriage, and also with comments on spiritual renewal in Christ as the foundation of Christian marriage.

1) What first is the relationship of the above rite, largely a development of the second half of the Christian era, to the theological interpretation of marriage in the previous patristic tradition? A definitive answer to this question cannot be given because a thorough study of the theology of marriage in the Church Fathers is lacking.⁵² However, on the basis of our lim-

51. Symeon of Thessalonike. pp. 222-23, counsels that the sign of the Cross should be marked several times even on the papers of the marriage contract to show that everything is done by God's will and that marriage begins with Christ. Later, p. 226, commenting on the hymns of the wedding procession, he also says that the groom and bride belong to the communion of Christ and His saints, especially the martyrs. Further on the Christian meaning of marriage, see Chrysostom's "In Praise of Maximos," *P.G.* 51:225-41, and Homily XX in his commentary on Ephesians. See also Schmemann's incisive remarks, pp. 90-91.

52. The best reference which came to my attention while writing this paper, thanks to Robert Taft, is K. Ritzer, *Le mariage dans les Eglises chrétiennes du Ier*

ited knowledge two preliminary answers may be offered which a more extensive study may well corroborate. The first is that the development of the present rite did not take place in a theological or liturgical vacuum but precisely within the living tradition of the Church. Orthodox bishops and theologians of the late Byzantine era were very aware of their tradition, especially in Constantinople, which was most influential in the development of the present marriage ceremony. One would naturally expect that the growth of the rite, the content of its prayers, and its theological meaning—given some exceptions and a degree of diversity—are in basic continuity with the theology of the earlier Fathers.

The second, certainly not venturesome, answer is that the patristic theological interpretation of marriage is largely based on the Bible. Even if pastoral exigencies occasioned patristic theological reflection, it was usual for the Church Fathers to consult Holy Scripture for normative statements or principles in order to address pastoral questions. Key texts such as Genesis chaps. 1-2; Mt. 5.31-32, 19.3-12; Jn. 2.1-11; I Cor. chap. 7; Eph. 5.22-33 and others—but certainly a limited number of texts—would probably provide the backbone of a patristic theology of marriage. But such texts are also the background or building blocks of the current marriage rite with regard both to the prayers and the scriptural readings. Thus on the basis of the above two points a continuity between the patristic interpretation of marriage and the current marriage rite is established.

2) The central theological question is the meaning of marriage as a sacrament. Marriage is a natural custom, a legal institution, but also a sacrament, at least for all Christians of the catholic tradition. What elements in marriage render it a sacrament? This question is crucial for many other issues regarding marriage, for example, its indissolubility, the problem of inter-faith marriages, divorce, second marriage, and the very purpose of marriage itself. Three fundamental elements must be con-

au XIe siècle (Paris, 1970), a translation of the German original *Formen, Riten und religiöses Brauchtum der Eheschliessung in den christlichen Kirchen des ersten Jahrtausend* (Münster, 1962). This fine study offers valuable sections on the history of the institution of marriage and the development of the rites of marriage in the ancient Church up through the third century, as well as in the Orthodox Church up through the eleventh century. It is not a patristic theology of marriage as such, but certainly an extremely valuable background contribution to it.

sidered: a) God's creation and His blessing of man and woman into a conjugal bond—the institution of marriage; b) the couple's new life in Christ; and c) the couple's sharing in the life of the Church, the Body of Christ. An Orthodox sacramental marriage embraces all three elements. For Orthodox Christians marriage is not simply a social custom or a legal contract but above all a gift of God, redeemed by Christ, and lived in the life of the Church.

Theodore the Studite writes that the first conjugal blessing is that of Adam and Eve by God (*Καὶ εὐλόγησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεός*, Gen 1.28) which the Studite connects with the benediction of monogamous marriage.⁵³ This patristic view is most consistent with the above Orthodox marriage rite which in both its Betrothal and Crowning Services holds to God as the Creator and Ordainer of marriage and calls upon Him to bless in a similar fashion the conjugal bond of every new couple. God's creation and blessing of man and woman in marriage is therefore the theological basis for the mystery of monogamous marriage. Jesus, too, views God as the Ordainer of marriage by quoting Gen. 1.27 and 2.24, and He, too, confirms the monogamous ideal (*ὁ οὖν ὁ Θεός συνέσχευεν, ἄνθρωπος μὴ χωριζέτω*, Mk. 10.6-9/Mk. 19.4-6). The classic passage of Eph. 5.22-33 also quotes the decisive text of Gen. 2:24 about the oneness of the conjugal union which according to Eph. 5.32 foreshadows the great mystery of the union of Christ and His Church. Accordingly, a theological understanding of marriage must take very seriously a theology of creation as the fundamental basis for both the institution and meaning of marriage as a sacrament.

From this viewpoint it is not quite correct to state that Christ 'raised' marriage to a sacramental level.⁵⁴ Christ Him-

53. "Αὕτη οὖν ἡ εὐλογία τῆς γαμικῆς συναφείας, ἀφ' ἧς πᾶσα εὐλογιστία (i.e., εὐλογία) μονογαμικῆς συζεύξεως ἐπεὶ καὶ μονόγαμος Ἀδάμ· ἐπιτηρητέον δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἡ στεφανικὴ ἐπὶ κλήσις ἐκεῖθεν ὥρμηται," P.G. 99: 1092D- 1093C.

54. This is the opinion of many Orthodox theologians, for example, John Karmires, in his article on marriage in *ΘΡΗΣΚΕΥΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΗΘΙΚΗ ΕΓΚΥΚΛΟΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ* Vol. 4 (Athens, 1964), p. 206. On the basis of such a notion the Jewish view of marriage is often erroneously disparaged. The fact is that in Judaism, too, marriage was a sacred relationship before God and not a mere legal contract devoid of spiritual content. According to Rabbinic teaching, marriage was essentially monogamous, an ideal human state, and a metaphor for other perfect relationships, e.g., God and Israel, Israel and the Torah, or Israel and the Sabbath. In the Mishnah it is written that if a husband and wife are worthy, God dwells in them (*Sot.* 17a). But in practice plural marriages and easy divorce were allowed by the Jewish Law. See Ben-Zion Schereschewsky's article on marriage in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 11, 1026-31.

self held monogamous marriage as God-given and called for fidelity to the ideal established by God. This dominical affirmation finds corroboration in the fundamental patristic principle that divine grace is at work in the Old Testament and that therefore monogamous couples in the Old Testament who are obedient to God and in communion with Him maintain a blessed marriage.⁵⁵ The recurrent mention of Old Testament couples in the Orthodox marriage rite confirms this theological position.⁵⁶ God is asked to bless the marriage of every new couple as He did that of Isaac and Rebecca, Jacob and Rachel, and many others down to Zachariah and Elizabeth who gave birth to the Forerunner. Every marriage of persons who are in communion with God, even in the Old Testament, is sacramental in the essential sense of being a locus and vehicle of the holy presence of the living God.

What of Christ? What occurs in Jesus Christ is the work of salvation—the decisive victory over sin, evil, corruption, and death—which *restores*⁵⁷ all things and makes them new, including marriage. The New Testament nowhere concentrates on marriage as a special subject for renewal or, much less, as a special institution consciously raised to the status of a sacrament.⁵⁸ Rather the case is that marriage itself, along with all

55. Orthodox theology shares neither the ancient Marcionite nor modern Lutheran inhibitions about the reality of salvation in the Old Testament. The patriarchs, prophets, and all the righteous of the Old Testament enjoyed communion with God and are saints in the Orthodox Church. Christ does not bring 'new' grace but a decisive victory over the cycle of sin and death. In Him we have the assurance of salvation and the fullness of grace.

56. Unfortunately, even though he affirms the purity of marriage blessed by the Church, Symeon of Thessalonike, *P.G.* 155:504D-505B and 508CD, seems himself to be a bearer of the negative patristic view of the overall understanding of marriage as a concession so that humanity may not be lost after the Fall. He therefore interprets the mention of Old Testament couples in the wedding rite as a negative sign that marriage really does not belong to the period of grace and was blessed by Christ only as an accommodation to human weakness. According to him marriage is not a preeminent work (*προηγούμενον έργον*). The perfect goal of the Gospel is one: virginity and incorruptibility. However, the marriage rite, which Symeon also knew, amply testifies to references from the period of 'grace,' such as Christ's presence in Cana, Holy Communion, the image of the bond of marriage as an image of Christ's union with the Church (Ephesians), the Apostles, Martyrs and the blessed Helena. These of course are not 'couples.' The choice of Old Testament couples is favored probably because they are biblical and loom large in the sacred history, whereas neither in the New Testament nor in the earliest Christian tradition do we have any 'famous' couples.

57. So also Schmemann, pp. 82 and 88, with regard to marriage.

58. Though of course the New Testament insists on the monogamous ideal. Even in Eph. 5 marriage does not receive isolated attention but is part of a larger

aspects of life, is now gradually understood and lived in the context of the new life in Christ. Thus, as far as marriage is concerned, along with a theology of creation, the New Testament also presupposes a theology of redemption. The new element now is none other than the life in Christ itself which redeems the couple in marriage, just as it does in all other aspects of their life, by the power of the Holy Spirit.

The third element of marriage as a sacrament is that it is an important part of the life of the Church. The new life in Christ is concretely lived in the life of the Church, His Body. Through baptism a believer becomes engrafted to the mystical Body of Christ and his life is then inherently sacramental insofar as Christ dwells in him by the power of the Spirit ("As many of you were baptized into Christ have put on Christ"—the baptismal hymn and Gal. 3.27). The new life in Christ is then continually renewed through the Holy Eucharist, as well as through many other blessings in the life of the Church, and also the personal life of prayer of the believer, his attitude of repentance and humility, and righteous living in the world.⁵⁹ This is in harmony with the compelling ideal in the life of the Church to embrace outwardly the totality of the everyday life of the believer and 'baptize' it in the liturgical cycle through various services and prayers. Thus there are Church blessings at the birth of a child, at its naming, at the excavation for the foundation of a home, at the moving into a new home or to a home for the first time, when starting on a trip, or beginning a new project, and, most recently, even a prayer for a new car.

With regard to marriage as a sacrament, both of the above principles are at work, the inner and the outer. The marriage of two Christians, who are by baptism united with Christ and are continually renewed by the Eucharist with their personal sharing

exhortation concerning 'household duties' (Eph. 5.22-6:9). Meyendorff's statements that "the New Testament introduces a totally new concept of marriage" (p. 18) or that one can speak about "the absolute norm of the New Testament doctrine of marriage as a sacrament" (p. 23) are rather bold.

59. There is a tendency among Orthodox theologians to identify all spiritual life with the Divine Liturgy. This is expressive of a 'cultic pull' in the Orthodox tradition, even if it is articulated in sophisticated terms. The fact is that the new life in Christ is larger than the Liturgy and is also significantly nourished outside of the Liturgy through the personal life of prayer and holy living in the world. We do not wish to suggest dichotomies between Liturgy and life, but only to point to a certain one-sided convergence on Liturgy which should be redressed.

in the new life in Christ, is intrinsically sacramental because their whole beings are in communion with God by the power of the Holy Spirit.⁶⁰ At the same time, as a significant event in life, much more so than the building of a house, marriage is blessed by a special benediction which is now an extended rite. In the early Church no such benediction existed. Ephesians 5 itself, which for many Orthodox theologians is a classic text for a sacramental marriage, quite probably did not presuppose a special blessing!⁶¹ Rather, this passage rests its sacramental view of conjugal relations on the reality of the Christian life which embraces the total life of the husband and wife.

The story of the development of the liturgical benediction of marriage of course cannot here be pursued.⁶² The relationship of the external blessing to the Eucharist also needs a thorough study.⁶³ Here one can only briefly summarize and try to interpret the main outlines of the development. In the early second century A.D., Bishop Ignatius of Antioch counseled Christian couples that they must receive the bishop's consent for marriage. Gradually this consent no doubt included a blessing of some kind. Tertullian later reports that a marriage was blessed by the oblation (Holy Eucharist). Clement of Alexandria states that, in contrast to pagan and perhaps Jewish special rites for marriage, Christians were cleansed for marriage by conversion/repentance, baptism and Holy Communion—they had no special rites. A marriage was according to him sanctified in the Logos when submitted to God in sincerity of heart and fullness of faith.

60. Meyendorff, p. 24, well emphasizes this point by drawing attention to the fact that in marriage we have *two Christians* who are already united with the Body of Christ through the Eucharist.

61. If it did, it was most likely a Jewish blessing or a civil rite depending on whether some of the recipients of this Epistle were Jewish or gentile Christians.

62. See Meyendorff, pp. 18ff., 23ff., 27-32; Constantelos, pp. 44-53, and especially Ritzer, pp. 81-141 and 163-213.

63. That many marriages in the ancient Church were blessed during the Holy Eucharist is undoubted. Yet not all marriages, and some received no Church blessing at all. What is the true relationship of Eucharist to the marriage rite? Is there 'a' true relationship? I do not believe that today, given the development of the marriage rite and human customs, we should just combine the Liturgy and the marriage rite or that necessarily a marriage should be blessed during the Eucharist, although it certainly could be blessed then if so desired. Holy Communion could be restored to the marriage rite just as it occurred in the late Byzantine period. Canonically compelling couples to be married during the Eucharist will not convert them into spiritual beings unless they are already converted into appreciating the spiritual treasure of the Eucharist. See also Meyendorff, pp. 23-27, who holds some different convictions.

Yet special benedictions and the presence of the bishop or priest continued more and more to prevail during the following centuries for several good reasons:⁶⁴ a) the precedent of God's benediction of Adam of Eve; b) added liturgical defense of marriage against heretics who repudiated this institution as sinful; c) the communal character of the Church requiring the pastoral care of the bishop; d) the personal relationships between bishops or priests and couples who were taught by them or were raised under their care, as for example orphans; and e) not the least the honor of having a bishop or priest at a marriage. Thus Chrysostom is a strong witness that marriage blessings (*εὐλογία* or *εὐλογίαι*) were standard but not yet a requirement in his times. Eventually, however, for all the above reasons and the powerful ecclesial impulse to embrace all important moments of life in the liturgical cycle of the Church, special blessings for a marriage not only became predominant but finally became a civil law in ninth-century Byzantium when the identity of Church and Empire probably reached a sufficiently high consciousness. From that time a marriage, to be legally valid, had to receive the external blessing of the Church through the priest or bishop, its ordained representatives. It is from the ninth century on that the marriage rite as we know it today began to develop toward its present form.

The necessity of the external blessing heightened the theological value of the marriage rite in the consciousness of hierarchs, priests, theologians and the people to such an extent that marriage without it was gradually regarded as 'sinful.' This is the context of the tradition so strong among Orthodox people to this day that a marriage, even of Christians, without a Church blessing is to be shunned, and those involved in such a marriage were called "uncrowned" (*ἀστεφάνωτοι*). What is here involved is an almost complete externalization of the sacrament over many centuries, probably accentuated by the development of an excessively lengthy rite. The rite itself seems to become the sacrament because it is seen as conferring through the bishop or priest matrimonial grace uniting the couple in marriage. The extreme form of this externalization in modern times is the concern to find a particular moment during the marriage rite when the marriage is indissolubly sanctified by an

64. For all that follows, I am dependent on K. Ritzer. See above, footnote 52.

external blessing. The couple itself, two baptized Christians who are already leading inherently sacramental lives and are an essential part of the sacrament, is almost forgotten! What seems to have occurred over the centuries is a whole development from a state of high consciousness that the new life in Christ of the two Christians sanctifies marriage without an external blessing, to a state of an impressive rite conferring matrimonial grace as it were externally—without much consciousness of the new life in Christ as being important for the sanctification of marriage. This process must today be corrected. Both of these elements, the inner and the outer, must be equally stressed as necessary. Two persons who are Christians are already living sacramentally because they are united with Christ in the Holy Spirit. This is an essential basis of the sanctification of their marriage. At the same time it would be unthinkable that marriage should not be blessed by a rite in the Church expressing both the couple's integral participation in the life of the Church and the Church's (bishop's) authority overseeing the life of all members of Christ's mystical Body.

3) In the above perspective, what then of the discussion concerning who is the 'minister' of the sacrament? In the Orthodox-Roman Catholic dialogue in the United States, no doubt reflecting a wider theological discussion of marriage among Orthodox and Roman Catholic theologians in theological scholarship, the focal point has been whether the mutual consent of the couple (according to the Roman Catholics) or the blessing by the priest (according to the Orthodox) is decisive for marriage as a sacrament. Both sides, of course, equally require mutual consent and the presence of a priest for an ecclesiastically valid marriage. Yet, it is asked, who, couple or priest, is the 'minister' of the sacrament? It is astonishing that on the Orthodox side such a framing of the question—either/or—has been accepted as a legitimate context for discussion. *Both* the mutual consent of the couple and the blessing of the priest are *equally* required for the validity of marriage according to the teaching of the Orthodox Church.⁶⁵ Here, of course, we have also to be

65. So, for example, according to Karmires, p. 207; Χ. Ἀνδρούτσου, ΔΟΓΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΤΗΣ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΥ ΑΝΑΤΟΛΙΚΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ (Ἀθήναι, 1907), p. 398; Π. Τρεμπέλα, ΔΟΓΜΑΤΙΚΗ, ΙΙΙ (Ἀθήναι, 1961), p. 343; and Ν. Μίλας, ΤΟ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΟΝ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΥ ΑΝΑΤΟΛΙΚΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ (Ἀθήναι, 1906), pp. 825-26. The last also calls for the expression of the mutual consent during the marriage rite.

concerned with the canonical notion of validity and the external signs of it, which complicates the whole matter. The writer cannot here enter this discussion, nor is he competent to do so. Theologically, however, one may observe that mutual consent itself is not merely a legal or canonical notion but above all a spiritual act—it is the mutual consent of *two Christians* who are already united with Christ. It is not that mutual consent as a legal notion or in a magical way of itself confers grace and makes marriage a sacrament, as if two pagan Roman citizens could make their marriage sacramental by their mutual consent! The full significance of mutual consent is seen only in the essential context of two Christians who are by baptism already members of the Body of Christ. Their mutual consent thus carries the full implications of their spiritual standing and spiritual commitment in the decision for marriage—a decision taken in sincerity of heart, fullness of faith, and before God and Christ! Mutual consent is rightly indispensable and should by all means be restored in the Orthodox marriage rite. But as a human decision it cannot of itself transform marriage into a Christian sacrament except on the theological basis that the two persons are already baptized Christians, integrally live the redeemed life of the Church, and submit their decision for marriage to the spiritual care of the Church.

But the presence of the priest—of course not in isolation but in the presence of a congregation—is also required. Is it possible for two Christians to ignore the spiritual, canonical, and liturgical factors in the life of the Church, much less to resist or disobey them, and still contract a sacramental marriage by their mutual consent? No, it is not possible. The presence of a bishop or priest indicating the presence of the Church is therefore just as necessary as the mutual consent of the Christian couple for a valid sacramental marriage. It is not one or the other but both, even if historically the theological significance of the element of the external blessing gradually matures in the consciousness of the Church. This is a genuine contribution of Tradition to the theology of marriage in the Orthodox Church and cannot be given up as mere ‘historical development.’ Yet, on the Orthodox side, the priest should not be isolated as the presumed ‘minister’ of the sacrament either. It is not the case that he or the external blessing which he gives alone

confer irresistible matrimonial grace uniting a couple in sacramental marriage in isolation of the couple itself as two persons who are baptized and communicating Christians. Surely it is not only the rite as an external ceremony that constitutes the sacrament but the total event of marriage of the two *Christian persons* who join lives before God in the life of the Church—this is the total *μυστήριον γάμου* in the Orthodox Church! Yet, we must also be cautious on the Orthodox side not to laud marriage as a kind of sacrament of the Kingdom in the same rank as Baptism and the Holy Eucharist.⁶⁶

Thus marriage as a sacrament totally involves the couple as practicing Christians as well as the blessing of their marriage in the liturgical life of the Church. Neither couple nor priest should be isolated. And furthermore, they should not be isolated either as alternative constitutive components of the sacrament or as factors in themselves detached from the life of the Church. The notion in Orthodox theological scholarship that the priest is the ‘minister’ of the sacrament of marriage should once and for all be laid to rest as a probable reaction to the Roman Catholic teaching that the couple is essentially the ‘minister’ of the sacrament and as a telling error of the ingrained habit of doing theology by eager refutation of others. The true minister of the sacrament is God. God—Who works both through the couple and the liturgical life of the Church—is the “Celebrant of mystical and pure marriage,” i.e., marriage as a sacrament. The Orthodox marriage rite correctly again and again invokes God/Christ to bless and unite the couple into the conjugal bond against the background both of a theology of creation and a theology of redemption.

4) Another issue which has received central attention in the Orthodox-Roman Catholic consultation is the problem of ‘interfaith’ or ‘mixed’ marriage, and specifically marriages contracted between Orthodox and Roman Catholic Christians. The underlying concern is whether or not such interfaith marriages which are canonically permitted by both the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches could be allowed to be blessed in

66. So, it seems to me, Meyendorff at times in his book, when he refers to marriage as a sacrament of the Kingdom. True, if this means that marriage, as any other aspect of human life can express the mystery of God's presence. But marriage does not have the salvific powers of Baptism and the Eucharist, which unite us with Christ.

either Church—the choice to be determined by the couple in consultation with their respective priests—or only in the Orthodox Church as the latter strictly requires and the Roman Catholic Church now allows.⁶⁷

Here again, what emerges from the historical development⁶⁸ as theologically crucial is an ecclesiological principle. It is not simply a question of how far this or that doctrine or teaching on marriage approximates or even is identical in Orthodox and Roman Catholic theology. Prolonged discussions on the theological meaning of marriage and on the problem of who is the minister of the sacrament have erroneously tended to presuppose, or at least to suggest that, if agreement were reached on that level, the issue would essentially be solved. But that decidedly is not the case. Although theological agreement on the meaning of the Eucharist, Holy Orders, marriage, and many other things, is very important because it would compellingly point to the few decisive things that theologically separated the two great Churches, what is at stake in the issue of interfaith marriages is the question of 'intercommunion' among Christians who are members of divided Churches. In other words, the relevant issues are: a) in what sense the Orthodox Church can affirm ecclesial reality in the Roman Catholic Church and b) in what sense the Orthodox Church could permit an Orthodox believer to receive an official benediction such as in marriage from another Church not in communion with his own.

The Church as an institution is sometimes selfishly strict in such matters not because it cares so much about the welfare of a couple but because of strategic reasons—not to lose members to another Church. But this is a moral and spiritual failure with regard to the pastoral attitude of the Church. The true theological question still remains. It is whether or not the integrity of the life of the Church is unacceptably compromised, and the personal salvation of an Orthodox Christian imperiled, by the spiritual commitment to have his marriage blessed within the life of the Roman Catholic Church. Of course, the fact that the Orthodox Church even allows interfaith marriages, so long

67. With the permission of the local bishop.

68. See Constantelos, pp. 54-61; Meyendorff, pp. 38-42; and Lewis Patsavos, "The Sacrament of Marriage in Theory and Practice," an unpublished paper presented to the Orthodox-Roman Catholic consultation.

as such marriages are blessed in the Orthodox Church, is in itself already an accommodation of its theological consciousness to the inexorable realities of life. But to permit the blessing of an interfaith marriage in the Roman Catholic Church, and much less in another Church with which it does not share the great catholic tradition, is for the Orthodox a theological leap of a different order, a signal of sacramental intercommunion without full dogmatic agreement, which runs counter to every fiber of the Orthodox Church's integrity as Christ's true Church. This, therefore, is the problem, not who is the minister of the marriage, but the ecclesial setting. And not the ecclesial setting in general or abstract terms, but concretely the Orthodox ecclesial setting! This is the decisive factor—the life of the Church—for the Orthodox sacramental marriage. If such is the case, the writer cannot see how an ecclesiological principle of such magnitude can in good conscience be compromised as long as the divided great Churches remain divided and do not reach union by God's grace on other both wider and deeper grounds.⁶⁹

5) The problem of divorce and second or third marriage, allowed by the Orthodox Church but not by the Roman Catholic Church, has also been discussed in the Orthodox-Roman Catholic consultation. The theological problem raised by divorce and remarriage is a very serious one. Ironically, here Orthodox theologians find themselves usually concerned with defending the Church's correctness in condescending to second and third marriages while Roman Catholic theologians try to find legitimate theological and psychological grounds on which the Church may be able to nullify a first and thus permit a second marriage. I think that the continuation of the discussion on this issue may bear important implications for the theological perceptions of each about plural marriages: for the Roman Catholic side it can make clear the spiritual obligation to support divorced per-

69. If I may be permitted a personal note, I recognize as an Orthodox Christian ecclesial reality in the Roman Catholic Church and I believe that Roman Catholics and other Christians who live the new life in Christ are saved. Moreover, I have at times experienced a closer spiritual affinity with some Roman Catholic Christians than I have with some Orthodox Christians. Nevertheless, as long as the Churches are not in sacramental communion with one another because of dogmatic differences, I cannot see how theologically an Orthodox Christian can be married in the Roman Catholic Church without compromising his own integral communion with his Church. I say this with pain and I deplore the tragedy of division between the great Churches of the East and West.

sons in a second marriage; for the Orthodox side it can redress a lack of sufficient seriousness with regard to the theological problem raised by divorce and plural marriages.

The teaching of Gen. 2.21-24 and the teaching of Jesus unambiguously hold to the ideal of indissoluble monogamous marriage by God's will. The Orthodox tradition affirms the same position. Chrysostom, for example, in his interpretation of Jesus' words (Mt. 19.4-6, *Comm. on Matthew*), states that Christ showed that one man must forever dwell with one woman and never break off from her (and no doubt the reverse). According to Chrysostom, this is the teaching of God in Genesis not only by words but also by creation, for God did not create one Adam and two women, one to send away and another to bring in as a second wife. Also, quoting the Prophet Malachi (cf. Mal. 2.14ff.), Chrysostom again shows that God explicitly castigates conjugal faithlessness and divorce.⁷⁰ Elsewhere interpreting Eph. 5.22-33 (Homily XX, *Comm. on Ephesians*), Chrysostom exaltingly suggests the eternity of marriage when he rhetorically counsels a couple to live the ideal of marriage as Christians so that they may in God's Kingdom be both with Christ and with each other enjoying more abundant pleasure. Marriage thus, for one of the greatest Fathers of the Church, is an indissoluble covenant between husband and wife established and sealed by God.

Yet from ancient times, already in the divorce clause of Matthew (5.32, 19.9) and in the admission of the possibility of divorce, but not re-marriage, by St. Paul (I Cor. 7.10-11), concessions are made to human imperfection. For various reasons the Orthodox Church came to permit, not without imperial pressure, a plurality of consecutive marriages up to the third and had to struggle against permitting a fourth marriage. However, such concessions ought not to be interpreted as facile accommodations to human convenience, but rather as a redemptive refusal to abandon divorced persons in their weakness and/or sin. In ancient times, second and third marriages were not crowned, involved a different rite, and the re-married couple was admitted into Holy Communion only after a penance of several years. Today a second penitential rite is canonically and liturgically designated for second and third marriages. But

70. *P.G.* 51:220-21.

such pastoral sanctions were not strictly observed even in the days of Theodore the Studite, who insists that not only should there not be a coronation for second marriages but the priest as well should not even attend the wedding banquet of such marriages (*P. G.* 99:1093A).

Over the centuries such disciplines were gradually relaxed and even, unfortunately, abandoned. I say unfortunately not because second or third marriages do not deserve to be supported by the Church once they are inevitable. Indeed I should like to affirm that second and third marriages are redeemed by God's grace depending on the faith, repentance, and Christian lives of the spouses. Provided that there is a serious spiritual struggle, these marriages, too, are sacramental. The Church should by all means be ready in every possible way to work for the redemption of such marriages. What is unfortunate about the abandonment of remedial sanctions is the lack of sufficient seriousness on the part of the Church regarding the tragedy of divorce as a grave spiritual sin. Behind divorce there *is* a previous spiritual deadness in Christian marriages about which the Church must care. Two Christian spouses who live the new life in Christ, and who know of the the power of forgiveness, love, and reconciliation, cannot be divorced—*μὴ γένοιτο!*—at least not unless one or both of the spouses either impulsively or gradually becomes spiritually dead, which is a grave sin. The Church needs to become far more conscious of the fact that a Christian marriage, i.e., a true sacramental marriage in Christ—as long as both the spouses are in communion with Christ and do not abandon their faith and their commitment to Him—cannot fail, simply because Christ never fails! But if one of the spouses or both become spiritually dead, are divorced, and then seek second and third marriages, how can they then be re-married to others in the Church without pastoral attention for the cure of their spiritual deadness? This is a grave lapse in the pastoral ministry of the Church.

6) The final issue which I would like to consider is that of pastoral care for marriages in the Orthodox Church. Chrysostom once wrote that as marriage is a haven, so it can be a shipwreck (*ὥσπερ οὖν λημὴν ἐστὶν ὁ γάμος, οὕτω καὶ ναυάγιον*).⁷¹ A theology of marriage, beyond theological talk, must be directed

71. *P. G.* 51:217.

to reality. The Church has a pastoral responsibility toward marriage. The Church is not merely to bless marriages, but also to give guidance to couples toward well-chosen marriages and to strengthen present marriages. Marriage is a gift but also a task, as has been noted. We need to explore far more deeply the nature of it as a task. The sacrament of marriage has been so externalized and almost totally identified with the religious rite that couples are almost passive participants hoping that somehow a Church blessing may portend good things for them in their life. For many couples the experience of a Church marriage is signing papers in the Church office, paying their financial obligation, and having a colorful ceremony on their wedding day. Where then is the *μυστήριον γάμου*? We must raise people's consciousness with regard to the depth of marriage and the riches of its blessings. But such a heightening of consciousness must be done at the people's level—with long-term pastoral care through revitalized preaching, Christian education, seminars, effective encounters and retreats, competent personal consultations, helpful readable literature on marriage, and above all with burning faith in Jesus Christ, the One Who has betrothed the Church and alone can renew Christian couples.

The Church has a tremendous spiritual investment in marriage. Christian persons make Christian couples. Christian couples make Christian marriages. Christian marriages make Christian homes. Christian homes make Christian families. Christian families make up the Church. To build solid marriages, to support weak ones, and to help marriages to grow means to build up the Church in the intrinsic sense: to redeem people and to offer to them life in communion with Jesus Christ. Young people must continuously be taught to anticipate marriage as life's greatest spiritual event—far beyond the choosing of a career, buying a house, or achieving material success—and to prepare for it by growing to maturity through their faith commitment. Parents must be made more conscious to allow the 'leaving' of their children when they are ready for marriage, a leaving which is both a physical and emotional process. If they do not leave, how can they ever succeed in becoming 'one' in their own marriage?

We must help couples through guidance and concrete programs to grow toward companionship, mutual love, and sup-

porting submission to each other based on the strength of their life in Christ. Marriage involves commitment and spiritual growth—it follows the ways of the Cross and of the Gospel just as the groom and bride follow the liturgical book of the Holy Gospels in the marriage procession—before marriage can truly be crowned with all the blessings of the wedding rite. The gift of being united into ‘one’ by marriage involves a task which in reality is a *process*. It is a life-long process of mutual cleaving and continually becoming ‘one’ at different levels, physical, emotional, mental and spiritual. The task can only be accomplished by God’s grace and the couple’s freely-chosen and deliberate pursuit to overcome selfishness.⁷² The depth of Christian marriage is in various degrees only found, just as in the case of the couple’s relationship with God, in free surrender to each other on the basis of their faith, trust and love. Then the theological ideal of Ephesians 5 regarding marriage is transformed into empirical reality. Such a marriage is already the best gift that a husband and wife can in their lifetime offer to their children, whom they decisively influence by the quality of their marriage relationship.

In Ephesians 5.22-33 the important text of Gen. 2.24 which speaks of the becoming “one flesh” of Adam and Eve is interpreted as pre-figuring the mystery of the union of Christ and the Church. This union is now no longer a hope but reality! So also the ideal of Christian marriage is not a dream but reality. Chrysostom movingly writes on Ephesians 5 (Homily XX) that as Christ leaves the Father to become incarnate, to betroth the Church, and become one Spirit with it, so also in marriage two young people leave father and mother—and everyone rejoices!—to be joined together in a precious and everlasting relationship. How much Christian marriages ought to be gloriously fulfilled in Christ! What is the key to a true Christian marriage? The new life in Christ is the key to a fulfilled marriage. The couple’s care for continuous spiritual renewal is the golden key which unlocks marriage as a sacrament. Let Christian couples be united with Christ in the Holy Spirit and let them in Christ be fully united with each other as they continually grow in the communion of marriage—that indeed is a great mystery.

72. This idea, as well as others in these paragraphs, I owe to Gordon MacDonald and Walter Trobisch. See above, notes 49 and 50.

Recommendations

On the basis of the above study, I would like to make three specific recommendations regarding Orthodox marriage.

1) The diversity in the development of the marriage rite as evidenced in the manuscripts suggests a fundamental fluidity in the liturgical texts which never seem to try to reach some absolute canonical norm as often supposed. The liturgical texts are always in process. They respond to the life of the Church rather than to some ideal canonical liturgical formation. Therefore, the historical development of the marriage rite invites liturgical revision. My recommendation is that the current marriage rite most definitely needs revision especially for the sake of brevity, the elimination of repetitions, and enrichment through prayers that are closer to the lives of the Orthodox faithful. Of course, the basic structure and beauty of the rite should not be changed.

2) We noted as well the importance of the participation of the Orthodox couple in the sacrament of marriage. In this connection, it is crucial that the betrothal and/or marriage vows be restored to the rite. The mutual consent of the couple, a constitutive factor in the sacrament of marriage, is extremely significant and must be given liturgical expression. Otherwise the Orthodox couple remains totally passive in the blessing of their own marriage, perhaps a signal to the passivity toward their marriage as a sacrament for the rest of the spouses' lives.

3) A final related recommendation is that clergymen, theologians, and Christian teachers should more often articulate the total view of the sacrament of marriage involving personally the couple itself. The sacrament of marriage, as we noted, is not merely the text of the rite, or the external blessing, but above all the persons who are married by God's grace. The sacrament of marriage (as also the other sacraments) does not exist *in vacuo*. It exists always in married people. Sacramental marriage continues as a spiritual reality throughout the spouses' lives. Blessed by God, their whole life is the sacrament of marriage which may be deepened and experienced in its total fullness as the spouses grow in Christ.

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TRIBUS AGATHAS (THE GOOD WAY)

Eric Werner

PRECIS

The continuity of the Old and New Testaments is emphasized in much of the symbolism of Orthodox church architecture. Orthodox liturgy also reflects many Jewish elements. Even the martyrology and the practice of pilgrimages parallels Jewish usage. The iconoclasm controversy unfortunately brought about a cleavage between Judaism and Orthodox Christianity, although there continued to be a relatively peaceful coexistence up until recent times. The author points out similarities in Orthodox and Jewish poetry, external gestures of prayer, and hymnology as examples of the close contact between the two communities in earlier ages.

A historian of religion who reflects on the relations of the Byzantine-Orthodox church to Judaism will first remember the profound symbolism that pervades everything that church has touched. He or she might compare, for instance, the symbolism which the Jewish sources, beginning with Josephus Flavius, attributed to every detail in the Temple of Jerusalem with the symbols that are integral elements in the very architecture of Orthodox churches. That the builders were aware of the resemblance is apparent when we quote the Emperor Justinian, "I have conquered thee, O Solomon," after the erection of the Hagia Sophia.

The church is oriented toward the East, the origin of light, just as is the synagogue; the two courts before the main hall (*náos*) remind one of the two courts of the Temple. The strict separation between priests and laity—or between the altar and the profane world—reminiscent of the separation between "the holy and the profane" is created by the *iconostasis* or "wall of icons." This institution symbolizes the victory over iconoclasm, the decisive event. Only the Byzantine Emperor and the Russian Czar were excepted from the prohibition to go into the sacred room which, like the Holy of Holies, was covered by a curtain, and was accessible only to the High Priest. Almost all the symbols which Philo explains can be found, but the resemblance ceases in the *hieron*. It is usually connected by three portals in the *iconostasis*, of which the central one is the "King's Door." The curtain usually contains a painting of St. Michael with flaming sword, symbolizing the angels who similarly guarded the entrance to Paradise. The main altar is called *bima* (from Greek *baino*), and we Jews have borrowed this designation of the main pulpit. In the

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church it represents the royal throne of Christ. Its covers represent Christ's shroud, the robe, and the *sudarium*. This connects the main altar with the *antimission*, a precious drapery into which sacred relics are woven. The cross lying on the altar is said to symbolize the staff of Moses, and the image of the gospels recalls the two tablets of the Law. Thus the continuity from the Old to the New Testament is constantly emphasized. In fact, even the architectural division of the church by the *iconostasis* is interpreted allegorically, as in the Temple.

The vivid drama of the Orthodox liturgy, too, contains many Jewish elements of post-biblical origin; I shall mention a few, for it is still generally believed that the Jewish element in the Eastern churches is exclusively limited to Old Testament quotations. This is an error and the following items may prove this point:

(1) The last three psalms of the Psalter, called *ainoi*, form part of the Sunday matin; this practice goes back to the period before 150. At that time R. Yose Bar Halafta observed it as a desirable custom to chant the last six psalms, and there is evidence that the custom was instituted in the ancient synagogue.¹

(2) The *Trisagion* as well as the *hymnos epinikios* can be traced back to the synagogal morning prayer, called in Hebrew *yotzer*, and its subsequent sanctification, which is found at the corresponding place in the Roman liturgy as *Tersanctus*. Although *Trisagion* and *Anaphora* can be exactly matched in every traditional Hebrew prayerbook, and although they also appear in the eighth book of the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, it must be emphasized that all these texts are post-biblical, even if they occasionally paraphrase biblical passages.

(3) The third point is probably well-known to Christian scholars; it concerns the benedictions over wine and bread in the Didaché. I know that Christian scholars debate whether these prayers introduced the *eucharistia* or the common meal of the *agapé*; for our purpose this question is irrelevant, but passages from the text do concern us. I shall quote only two short passages which have assumed a new significance during the last twenty-five years:

IX (#5) "Let no one eat or drink from your Thanksgiving but those who have been baptized into the Name of the Lord For concerning this also the Law said Give not that which is holy unto the dogs."

X (#1) "And after you are satisfied, you shall give thanks thus." The invitation, indeed the demand, to give thanks after a meal is even today still a part of the Hebrew prayer after a meal. Prof. Baumstark, whom nobody can accuse of Judaeophilia, called the blessings of the Didaché "a Christianization of the essentially Jewish benedictions over bread

¹B Sabb, 118 b, also Sofer, XVII 11

and wine and the sayings of grace after a meal. . . . The Roman formula of the invitation, *Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostra*, is nothing but a literal translation of the same prescription of the *Mishna* for the prayer after a meal, when at least 10 male persons are present."²

Neither in Hippolytos' *Paradosis* nor in later sources were pagans or even catechumens permitted a "table-fellowship" with the faithful members of the church. This principle was a strict rule in the order of *Qumran*, and the Dead Sea Scrolls clearly state this principle three centuries before the Didaché.

(4) The oldest calendaric martyrology has recently been re-edited in Latin; it is a Syro-Byzantine document, and has been published under the title "Breviarium Syriacum seu martyrologium Syro-Byzantinum, juxta Cod. SM. Mus. Brit., Add. 12150." It was critically edited by Bonaventura Mariani, O.F.M., Rome, 1956. The colophon of manuscript gives the year 411, but there is evidence that it is slightly older. It opens with the words (translated from Latin):

In the first month according to the Greek calendar, we remember the confessors of faith whose remnants were buried in Antioch, namely in Cherateia; they are the sons of Smuni, they are mentioned in the book of Maccabees.³

The name *Smuni* has correctly been explained by Prof. Bacher as Syriac for Hashmonai, the Hasmonean. The date of their martyrdom, August 1st, was universally accepted by all Christian churches—a rare exception, because usually local saints or martyrs enjoy priority. In later centuries the Roman Church celebrated August 1st as the feast of St. Petrus in *vinculis*. The martyrology contains another name, well known in Jewish history, that surprises us: it is the name of Ananias. There were quite a number of sages by that name, but possibly only one martyr known to Byzantine writers: Rabbi Hanania ben Teradion. Two other Ananias are known: one bishop of Damascus, the other a Jew who recognized Jesus at the cross and was stoned.

At the time when the first martyrology to be ordered calendarically was compiled, Ananias was either considered a Judeo-Christian, or he was confused with a Christian missionary of the apostolic age. I have mentioned this in order to demonstrate how institutions such as hagiolatry or even names of saints were originally common to Christianity and Judaism. Later I shall name a much more famous Greek saint who came from Jewish parents and never forgot his origin.

²M Berakot, VIII, 3 Cf A Baumstark, *Liturgie Camparee*, ed by Dom Botte, O.S B (Paris, 1953)

³E Werner, *The Sacred Bridge*, Supplem vol to be published in Spring, 1977, by Dennis Dobron, London

Until a decade ago, when I began the research on this problem, I was convinced that the custom of pilgrimages to the graves of martyrs and the celebration of the anniversaries of their death was specifically Christian, inasmuch as the entire hagiolatry derives from them. How great was my surprise when I discovered, very much *contre coeur*, that all these customs were of Jewish ancestry, before they were adapted by Christianity! For the exact historical and philological proofs of this statement I must refer to the supplementary volume of my *Sacred Bridge*.⁴ Here I shall mention only the most important points.

The practice of celebrating the anniversary of a martyr's death can be traced, in Judaism, to the first Christian century and even before. From a strictly historical point of view the earliest reliable references to Jewish martyrdom always name the so-called *Maccabean* martyrs first. Another instance, linking Jewish and Christian literature, is the Ascension of Isaiah. This apocryphal book, written by Jewish authors of the first century, is of no historical significance, but a biblical fairy tale about the martyrdom of the prophet Isaiah, culminating in Isaiah's vision of the heavens, of God, and his dialogue with the Holy Ghost.⁵ The next martyrs, in chronological respect, after Ss. Stephen, Peter, and Paul, were James the "Brother of Christ" and R. Yose ben Yoezer, both law-observant Jews.⁶

Without discussing the different *theological* interpretations of martyrdom in Judaism and Christianity, we turn to the *liturgical* significance of martyrs and saints. It began with pilgrimages to, and prayer at, their graves. Of the frequently visited graves prior to the Christian era, I mention those of Isaiah, David, Joshua, Aaron, Pinhas, and Eleazar, son of Aaron. They are seriously believed to be the true resting places of biblical persons.⁷ Of post-biblical heroes the graves of the so-called Maccabean martyrs were most venerated; then follow some graves of rabbinic scholars of the second century, especially that of R. Shimon bar Yohai; this place in Meron is still visited every year on the 18th of Iyar, the *lag b'omer*, by many thousands of devout Sephardic and Oriental Jews, and the night of this anniversary is celebrated with torches, prayers, dances, and the first haircuts of newly-born sons.

The anniversary bears the Aramaic name of Hillula de R. Shimon bar Yohai, hinting at the harmonious union of the world effected by the Rabbi's death.⁸ Usually these pilgrimages to the graves were believed to be effective, for the dead saints were considered good advocates of just causes before God. This idea was abhorrent to most of the talmudic sages, but not to all; R. Hanina seems to express the popular sentiments in saying: "Why

⁴Ibid

⁵See H. W. Surkau, *Martyrien in jüdischer und frühchristlicher Zeit* (Göttingen, 1938)

⁶See *ibid*, p. 34, also J. Chag, II, 2

⁷J. Jeremias, *Heiligergräber in Jesu Umwelt* (Göttingen, 1958), pp. 114-116

⁸Cf. Zohar, see art. Simon bar Yohai in *J E*

does one visit the cemetery? So that the dead ones may pray for mercy.”⁹

(5) Of practical importance is the institution of the Byzantine *Octoich* (*oktōēchos*). This system of eight modes of music was originally connected with the calendar device called *pentakontade*, the unit of seven weeks plus one day, containing together eight Sundays or feast-days. It has been traced back to ancient Babylonian and Jewish institutions; these calendaric arrangements play a considerable part in the psalms, where the eighth mode is specially stressed and Ps. 119 consists of a nine-fold alphabetic acrostich.¹⁰

The *pentakontade* was used by the Jewish sect at Qumran, and the so-called temple-scroll, which has not yet been published, contains some details on the principle of the *Octoich*. Thereafter it appears in Christianity, first in the “Plerophorai” of *Yohanan Rufos* in the convent of Mayuma near Gaza in the fifth century; the passage referring to the musical *Octoich* can be found in the eighth volume of the *patrologia Orientalis*, where the treatise of Yohanan is published. Later the great collection of hymns by St. Serverus and Johannes Damaskenos bear the name of *Octoich*.

Considering so many ideas and practices, so much of common ground, one might expect that the Orthodox Christians and the Jews of the Near East and Russia were bound together by strong spiritual ties. Alas, it was not to be! For a fundamental conflict between the two faiths ruined all chances of a peaceful symbiosis: the watershed of iconoclasm! And this revolution did not, as is generally believed, erupt suddenly in the eighth century, for there were many precedents and portents. One of the most interesting champions of the iconoclastic spirit, a full four centuries before the outburst, was the Church Father Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis, who died, a very old man, in 403. This Epiphanius had written a letter to St. Jerome (in Greek), which Jerome translated into Latin and which is found in his *epistolae*. The letter was written by Epiphanius in his seventy-eighth year—it shows him as a ruthless fighter, an aggressive puritan. I quote one passage:

I came to a villa called Anablatha and, as I was passing, I saw a lamp burning there. Asking what place it was and learning that it was a church, I went in to pray and found there a curtain hanging on the door of . . . that church, dyed and embroidered. It bore an image either of Christ or of one of the saints; I do not rightly remember whose image it was. Seeing this, and being loth that an image of a man should be hung up in Christ’s Church contrary to the teaching of Scripture, I tore it asunder and advised the custodians of the place to use it for a winding sheet for some poor person.¹¹

⁹B. Ta’an, 16a

¹⁰E. Werner, *The Sacred Bridge*, Vol. I, 1959, pp. 189-190, 373-374; also in HUCA, 1948.

¹¹St. Jerome, *Epistolae* 51 and 57

This was by no means an isolated incident; for the same Epiphanius left three treatises or pamphlets. The first was an essay against any form of images; this pamphlet remained unsuccessful, and the indomitable Epiphanius wrote a letter to the Emperor Theodosius I in which he complained that all his attempts against the manufacture of images were futile. In his opinion the walls of a church should be without paintings and remain pure white; new mosaics should not be allowed in the churches. When this epistle was without visible effect, Epiphanius resorted to a last opportunity: he wrote a last will and testament in which he implored his own community not to place images of Christ or of saints in churches or cemeteries, but to bear the image of God in their hearts. Perhaps I should mention now that his parents were pious Palestinian Jews.

About three centuries later another highly colorful incident occurred during the Second Council of Nicea in 787:

In its Fifth *actio* a Jew is quoted as believing in Christ, but who could neither accept nor tolerate the images in the Christian Churches. Confronted with evidence of similar practices in Jewish worship, he changed his mind.¹² At that occasion a miracle-story that culminated in the Jew's conversion is hinted at

These miracle-stories connected with Jews and Judaism became a popular part of the Byzantine literature during and after the iconoclastic tempest. In some instances they offer interesting glimpses into the symbiosis of Jews with their Greek environment.

More important for our topic is the often repeated accusation that the Jews stirred up the iconoclastic conflict in order to ruin or at least to hurt Christianity. Indeed, there is some evidence that Byzantine Jews at least sympathized with the iconoclasts; there survives a poem (called) *Piyut* in Hebrew, from *poiētēs*, for the main service on New Year's Day, that glorifies the universal God, and contains the passage:

All shall come to serve thee and bless thy glorious Name,
Declare thy righteousness among all *the isles*
They shall also offer their sacrifices to thee alone
They shall cast away their *images*, *be ashamed of their graven idols*, inclined to serve thee with one accord

This anonymous poem seems to have been written in the Eastern Mediterranean during the eighth century. As do most Hebrew poems written at that time, it contains traces of the then usual Syro-Byzantine meter, the so-called isosyllabism, another indication of the Byzantine influence. Some of the furor of the iconoclastic struggle has remained in certain parts of the Greek liturgy, e.g., the anathema on the ring-leaders

¹²*Collectio Conciliorum Amplissima*, ed Mansi, XIII, p 166

named Lizix, Theodotus, and Johannes. In Lent their names are anathematized and with them "their mode of thinking as the Jews do."¹³ During the first Sunday of Lent the synodicum is read. It consists of the decisions of the Second Nicaean Council against iconoclasts. At that occasion a strange memory is conjured up: the blessings and curses that are pronounced and "deposited" at the mounts *Hebal and Gerizim* respectively, referring to Josh. 9. In Czarist Russia, when this synodicum was read, curses against any revolutionaries, anarchists, etc., were added. On the third Sunday Christ is praised for holding the Ismaelite people in subjection by his power.¹⁴

After the Easter Sunday there is general jubilation, and "who doesn't eat and drink freely without sadness during the first week, but spends it according to Jewish custom in sadness, he should be cursed according to the Holy Fathers!"¹⁵ Did the Jews mourn after the Easter Sunday, or was it on account of their own calendar that they behaved soberly and gravely? It is an interesting question and, as far as I know, nobody has tried to answer it. While the role of Islam is not stressed in the church literature, the iconodules had no doubts concerning the responsibility of the Jews. As a countermeasure they hit upon the idea of conversion of Jews by miracles performed by the help of images.¹⁶ Needless to say, neither faith persuaded the other. The church continued to venerate images; the Jews refused any hagiolatry.

The motifs of the miracle-conversions of Jews are rather monotonous: an image is desecrated or even attacked by a Jew and begins to bleed, often leading to the person of the attacker, who is either persuaded and converted or else killed. Of course, some of the Byzantine miracles were matched by Jewish ones. Nor did the Jews lack imagination. One of their stories has it that R. Hananel of Oria in Byzantine Italy, was challenged by a bishop, around the year 1000, to prove the superiority of Jewish calendrical calculations over Christian by predicting exactly the day and hour of the next entrance of the New Moon. Hananel agreed to accept Christianity if he calculated less accurately than the bishop. He made a mistake in reckoning, but the moon did him the favor of appearing at the wrong, but predicted hour.¹⁷ These tactics did not help too much for, after 1000, a number of Byzantine emperors, beginning with Basil I, decreed the forced baptism of many Jews.

After the storms of iconoclasm subsided, the spiritual climate sharply

¹³Max, princeps Sax., *Praelections de liturgis Orientalibus* (in Latin) (Freiburg, 1908), pp. 94-95

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 102.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 117

¹⁶E g, Combefis De Maximo miraculo, in *Historia Haeresis Monothelitarum* (Paris, 1648), John of Nikious

¹⁷*Sefer Yuhasin*, ed. by Neubauer, II (Oxford, 1895), pp. 120-121, transl. J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire*, no. 68.

worsened for the Jews. And so it remained until the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Yet there occurred an event a few centuries before which might have opened some of the simple Greek folks' eyes: the sack of Byzantium by the Crusaders at the beginning of the thirteenth century, unsurpassed by anything the Moslem conquerors did. This catastrophe sealed the fate of Byzantium, but it had one benefit for the Greek church: it enforced a de facto separation of church and state, and it can be said that even under Moslem rule the Orthodox Church thrived, not only in the Near East, but in all of Eastern Europe.

Before discussing the common ground in liturgy and poetry, I should like to tell you one of the most charming stories of the Judaeo-Byzantine symbiosis; it might be called, after Professor Parkes, "Merchant of Byzantium." I shall follow Parkes' outline, which describes the social climate of Jews in Constantinople very well indeed.

The Christian Theodore loses his fortune with the wreck of his fleet. He goes to his Christian friends to raise money. They refuse to lend it, and he remembers Abraham, a Jewish merchant, who had frequently desired to share his ventures, and to whom he had consistently refused this participation. After some negotiations Abraham consents to the loan if surety can be found. Theodore returns to his Christian friends—who categorically refuse him any security or guaranty whatsoever, as they do not wish to get even indirect commerce with an unbelieving Jew. Theodore, depressed, goes and weeps in a church—the ancient synagogue which Emperor Theodosius II had taken from the Jews. There an image tells him that it will be the guarantor. Abraham, amazed by his faith, accepts the guarantee of the image, and after initial failure his loan leads to the re-establishment of Theodore's fortunes. Impressed thereby, Abraham is converted and later identified with a subsequent abbot.¹⁸

One may describe the attitude of the Orthodox Church toward the Jews as ambivalent. Judaism as religion, as ethical foundation, was deeply suspect to the Church and was considered its hereditary and dangerous rival and enemy; the Jews, on the other hand, were citizens. If they were second class citizens, they still did not live in perennial fear of death and expulsion, as outcasts and pariahs, as did the Western Jews. Strangely, this ambivalence is evident even in some liturgical forms and their champions. I shall confine myself to the two most typical forms of Greek liturgical poetry and their two great *melodoi*, St. Romanos and St. Andrew of Crete. Both men are said to have been converted Jews; in the case of Romanos this has been demonstrated beyond any doubt; in the case of St. Andrew it is nothing but a legend.

The two main forms of the old Byzantine liturgy were the *Kontakion*

¹⁸James Parkes, *The Conflict between Church and Synagogue* (London, 1935), p. 294

and the *Kanon*. The former is a kind of versified dialogue in 20-40 stanzas; sometimes it is preceded by a *proasma* or *prosomoion* from which the Hebrew term *Pizmon* might have been derived. The greatest master of the *Kontakion* was Romanos, who died about 555 in Constantinople. He was the son of pious Jewish parents who lived in Beirut, where he was born. In one of his most celebrated *Kontakia* he elaborates on a complex of eschatological visions, based upon rabbinic sources. In this celebrated poem on the reappearance of Christ, he comes very close to an equally great Hebrew hymn on the day of judgment, called *Unetanne Tokef*. The oldest manuscript of this *piyut* comes from the eighth century. The common sources seem to be Daniel VII and the Tosefta *Rosh hashana*. For further examination I must refer to my *Sacred Bridge* or to my study on Oriental Christian hymns in HUCA, Jubilee volume.

How closely related Orthodox and Hebrew poetry sometimes appears to be may be seen by comparing one stanza of the "*Kanon of the Bodyless Ones*" by Joseph Studites (died 883) with a poem by the greatest Hebrew poet after the biblical age, Yehuda ha-Levi, who lived in Spain during the twelfth century. The Greek text comes from J. McNeale's collection, *Hymns of Eastern Churches* (London, 1876); the Hebrew text (in my translation), from ha-Levi's *Divan*, no. 45. Both poems go back to the same scriptural motif, Job 38:7.

Joseph Studites

Stars of the morning, so gloriously bright
Filled with celestial resplendence and light,
They, whose night never followeth day
Raise the Trisagion ever and aye
These are Thy counsellors These dost
thou own,
God of Sabbath (or *Sabaoth*)

Yehuda ha-Levi

Stars of the morning in perpetual dances
To Thee they owe their bright resplendence,
Sons of the heavens are ever on guard.
They are thy ministers, counsellors, yea!

In this instance the scriptural basis has inspired a similar content; in the *Kantakion* of Romanos and its Hebrew parallel, the substance is Jewish; the form—isosyllabic meter, Byzantine.

The form of the *Kanon* is based upon the 9 *Odes* or Canticles of Scripture, namely Ex. 15; Deut. 32; 1 Sam. 2 (Hanna's song); Habak. 3; Isa. 26; Jon. 3; Dan. 3; Apoc. Dan. 3:44; and Luke 1 (*Magnificat*). Usually the second canticle, Deut. 32, is omitted because of its "sad and unpleasant nature," as Zonaras maintained (twelfth-thirteenth century). The parallel Hebrew form is the *Shib'ata*, an extensive hymn of seven parts. How theologically and poetically artfully the Old Testament elements are interwoven with New Testament ideas can be seen in this example by Georg Sikeliotes, based on Ex. 15, The Song of Victory:

Miriam, the prophetess of old, took the lead among the Maidens,
singing a new song who led the people through the Red Sea. But now

she takes the lead of all creatures created from the beginning, singing a song more new to him who led forth the pure maiden whose child is divine, from a barren and unfruitful womb ¹⁹

The poet has interwoven the motif of Ex. 15 with four other biblical ideas: "the new song" from the psalter, "creatures created from the beginning" from Paul and Genesis, the "pure maiden" from the gospels, and the "barren and unfruitful womb" from 1 Sam. 1 (Hanna).

Even external gestures of prayer were used by Byzantine theologians as well as by Jewish rabbis and Syrian doctors—and it is not easy to say who borrowed and who lent. Thus the Byzantine term of *Kathisma* and the solemn hymn called *Akathistos*, which designates the sitting or standing at attention during a prayer, have parallels in the Hebrew *Amida*, i.e., the main prayer which is to be recited while standing, and the Aramaic-Syrian *Motva*—which indicates a section of psalms to be chanted seated—and others such as the *umdatha* which should be recited standing. Such distinctions seem to be trivial, but the liturgist knows better; and a similar case might be made for the *ekphonesis*, the cantillation of all pericopes of Holy Writ pertaining to the Orthodox churches.

This is a rather intricate and thorny field worked by philologists and musicologists, and I shall not bother you with it unduly. This much is sure in that realm of controversy: (a) The system of ecphonetic accents—that is, signs to guide the inflexion of the public reader's voice—is common in the Eastern Mediterranean from the fourth century on; Byzantines, Armenians, Hebrews, Syrians, Copts, and Ethiopians have developed their own systems of such accents. (b) There has been a close give-and-take relation between Byzantine grammarians and Jewish scholars of Palestine during the eighth and ninth centuries; the Byzantines seem to have borrowed some of the external signs from the Jews, and they in turn took over many of the grammarians' names and functions. The Hebrew species of these accents is known as the famed *Masoretic accents* of Scripture, and in Byzantium the ecphonetic signs have an almost identical function.

Yet one group of these Byzantine accents was developed into a kind of exact musical notation that has been completely deciphered during our generation. The Masoretic Hebrew accents never grew into a true musical notation. Today we are, therefore, able to compare Byzantine tunes and Psalmodies with the oldest Hebrew traditions and many similarities have been established.

Under conditions like these which again and again indicate strong and frequent intercourse of Jews and Christians in Byzantium and certainly in Salonica, where the Jews had established wide reputations as silk-workers,

¹⁹Transl. by Prof. Tillyard and Wellesz, in *History of Byzantine Music* (Oxford, 1961), p 227

we should ask if the human relations were friendly or at least tolerable; and here one must state that the Jew never had the status either of the foreigner or of the regular citizen. The Jew was treated badly and well at the same time; perhaps Jews might be compared with certain minorities in America, who are in principle equal before the law, but which *de facto* are not treated as equals. Yet some Jewish institutions were greatly respected. Their oath was held high, and their Sabbath and their Passover were even admired; polemics against the Christians who celebrate Sabbath and Passover with the Jews permeate the entire Greek patrology. An early example of that same ambivalence may be found in a newly-discovered Greek homily on Passover, written by Melito, Bishop of Sardes in the second century. In it, the author combines a characteristic admiration of the Jewish Passover with a vicious anti-Judaism in his christological interpretation.

Despite the vehement anti-Judaistic spirit in much of Byzantine literature and legislation, the day-to-day contact between Jews and Christians was incomparably more human than in the West. Nothing in the experience of Jews in Byzantium can match the massacres of Jews by the crusading mobs. Their march through Germany and Italy was marked by mass murder and pillage of the Jewish communities near or in their path. The religious excitement which their coming aroused had quite the contrary result: Byzantine Jewry did not suffer as German Jewry had done. And history has, unfortunately, repeated itself with similar results.

If we pass over the centuries, however, and consider the attitude of the Orthodox Church to Jews and Judaism in Russia, we can hardly describe it as ambivalent. From the moment when the Church was again represented by the Czar, the Jews experienced little but suffering and sorrow, and what were occasional anti-Semitic outbursts in the West became the chronic condition in Russia. One instance will suffice: the general expulsion decree of Czarina Katherine I of 1727, which was strongly favored by her religious advisers, notably by Feofan Prokopovitch, an elder of the Holy Synod.

The situation of the Orthodox Church in the Near East raises another set of issues and possibilities which certainly deserve future consideration.

In light of this complex interaction between the Greek Orthodox and the Jewish communities, I have often wondered: can the churches and the synagogues, can Christianity and Judaism, make an effort to forget and start a new leaf in their Book of Life? Could they do it and remain faithful to their mission? If they did, would the basis of coexistence be of value to all parties concerned? These are three weighty questions; yet they will be asked by more and more people, and they must be answered, positively or negatively, in public. We all know that history, our past, is more than just ballast which drags our feet. How then can we forget what we perhaps must forget in order to live together in peace? I am satisfied to let this question be answered by Goethe:

Who knows himself and others well
to him it will be plain
Orient and Occident
All but one Domain

Wer sich selbst und andere kennt
Wird auch hier erkennen,
Orient und Okzident
Sind nicht mehr zu trennen

Study and Discussion Questions

- 1 Give examples of the similarity of symbolism between Orthodox and Jewish architecture
- 2 Indicate aspects of Orthodox liturgy that contain Jewish elements
- 3 The author finds a close connection between the Jewish and Orthodox customs of pilgrimages to the graves of martyrs and the celebration of the anniversary of their death. What evidence does he present for such practices in Judaism?
- 4 According to the author, what fundamental conflict ruined the chances of a peaceful symbiosis between Orthodox Christians and Jews? Do you agree that this conflict was as important as the author makes it out to be? Discuss
- 5 Discuss in what way the iconoclast controversy might have been responsible for anti-Semitic attitudes in the Church
- 6 "One may describe the attitude of the Orthodox toward the Jews as ambivalent." Does the author make this statement about all periods of Orthodox-Jewish history? If not, of what periods might it be truly said? May it be said of the contemporary period?

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REVIEWS

Empress Athenais-Eudocia. By Jeanne Tsatsos. Translated by Jean Demos. Prologue by Demetrios J. Constantelos. Brookline: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1977. Pp. 141. Index. Paper.

Violent contrasts marked the fifth century A.D. While antique gods and goddesses and ancient mysteries were surrendering to a vital, fervent Christianity, even in Constantinople a cultured pagan like Cyrus could still hold the powerful offices of Praetorian Prefect of the East and Prefect of the City. Throughout the old Roman *imperium*, meanwhile, a volatile mixture of worldly ambition and spiritual piety compelled Christians, struggling to define Church dogma, to wage among themselves battles seething with partisan passions.

During his long reign (408-450) Theodosius II saw invading barbarians hasten the disintegration of the Western Roman Empire. His own Eastern Empire, summoning all its diplomatic savvy and military strength to survive the attacks, was also synthesizing Greek, Roman, Christian and Oriental elements to create the unique essence that would become medieval Byzantium.

A lengthy and dramatically disparate list of intriguing personalities makes this period one of the most fascinating in history: barbarian chieftains Attila the Hun, Alaric the Goth, and Gaiseric the Vandal; the Imperial generals Aspar (himself of barbarian ancestry) and Aetius; Cyril, ruthless and ambitious Patriarch of Alexandria, and his enemy Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople; the heretics Eutyches and Dioscoros of Alexandria; Pope Leo, credited with turning Attila's horde away from Rome; holy men of a much more ascetical nature, Saints Symeon and Daniel the Stylites.

It was also an age of dynamic women. In Alexandria the pagan philosopher Hypatia, by her keen intellect, inspired both admiration and murderous resentment. The Roman Melania's power was spiritual. In her native city and in the East she turned many souls to Christianity, distributing her generous material resources in endless good works. While Melania educated and converted her pagan husband, the weak Emperors Theodosius II, Honorius, and Valentinian were often overshadowed by their more intelligent and aggressive Empresses, Galla Placidia, Honoria, Pulcheria, and Athenais-Eudocia.

The latter Empress may well serve as a particularly apt paradigm for her age, attesting to the dramatic vicissitudes of fortune in a chaotic world. Born in pagan Athens, steeped in Greek philosophy and ancient culture, she abruptly entered the Christian world of Constantinople as a young woman on a personal embassy. She charmed the Empress Pulcheria and, embracing Christianity and exchanging her old name Athenais for the more suitable Eudocia, won as her husband Pulcheria's brother, Theodosius II. As told by chroniclers, it is a Cinderella story.

Eudocia's cool beauty and refined culture delighted her royal husband. Her growing political clout may be seen in the new regulations allowing non-Christians to worship freely without fear of the death penalty and in reduced taxes for Greek cities. She may have been influential in refounding

the University of Constantinople, where for the first time Greek rhetoricians and grammarians outnumbered Latin. Around her gathered a sophisticated court that reflected the developing synthesis of Greek culture and language and the Christian religion.

At the height of her popularity she undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land where she won popular acclaim by restoring the walls of Antioch and Jerusalem. Returning with a refined sense of responsibility and political acumen, she sponsored a crucial rebuilding of Constantinople's obsolete defense system just before jealous passions undermined her powerful position and suddenly, unexpectedly brought her disgrace and permanent exile in the Holy Land.

In following the life of this intriguing woman, Mrs. Jeanne Tsatsos has created more than an entertaining biography. She uses Athenais-Eudocia as the focal point for a much larger view of an explosive age, transmitting a feeling for that age and the precarious existence of an Empire surrounded by enemies and racked by internal religious/political controversies. She has captured the violent contrasts, the sublime piety and the basest passions that erupt in rapine and murder, the poisonous intrigues of eunuchs, courtiers, and churchmen, and the havoc wreaked when the unscrupulous contrive to fill the power vacuum created by a weak Emperor.

Exceeding the narrow bounds of biography, Mrs. Tsatsos has also given her work a broad spatial and temporal scope. While witnessing the demise of the Western Empire, she explores the magnitude of emerging Byzantium. Eudocia's first pilgrimage inspires the author to recount a brief history of Jerusalem from the beginning of the Christian era. The Empress' active interest in hotly debated dogmatic controversies leads Mrs. Tsatsos to an examination of three critical Church councils, the Third and Fourth Ecumenical Councils at Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451) and the devastating Robber Council at Ephesus (449). She has written an especially lucid account of the Nestorian controversy. Throughout these descriptions she shows a truly Byzantine love for detail, recreating from contemporary accounts a coronation ceremony, courtly protocol, imperial processions.

As Professor Demetrios Constantelos acknowledges in the Prologue, the style and spirit of the book are "essentially poetic" and not readily translatable. The English version by Jean Demos, nonetheless, is pleasant and readable. Imagistic and subjective, the work enjoys the sustained dramatic tension of an historical novel. At the same time, this often violent story is told with a gentle piety as the author ever directs the reader to a larger Christian picture.

The fairy tale quality that Byzantine chroniclers attributed to her life has made Athenais-Eudocia an object of fascination for many throughout the ages. Even J. B. Bury called her story "romantic."¹ It is difficult to strip away the legendary material to discover the real woman. For all the virtues of the present study, Mrs. Tsatsos too suffers from the inability to view Athenais critically, to note possible defects and to make her three-

1. *History of the Later Roman Empire*, I (New York, 1923), 220.

dimensional. So great is the author's sympathy for her heroine that she ignores the scandalous conduct elsewhere attributed to the Empress, for example, her demands, at the urging of the eunuch Chrysaphius, that she, like Pulcheria, have a High Chamberlain or that Pulcheria become a deaconess. Eudocia may well have played a less honorable role in the estrangement of the two Empresses. Furthermore, contemporary evidence for Eudocia's possible adultery with Paulinos might have been more carefully explored.

A pivotal episode began with an innocent gift. During an imperial procession, Theodosius received an enormous apple from someone in the crowd. Enchanted with the wondrous fruit, the Emperor gave it to his wife, who, in turn, gave it to her friend Paulinos. Without knowing the apple's history, Paulinos proudly presented it to his sovereign. At once suspicious of wife and friend, Theodosius summoned Eudocia and interrogated her. What had she done with the apple? Mrs. Tsatsos has her respond simply and honestly, "I sent it to our faithful friend Paulinos." She relegates to a footnote (accidentally omitted in the published text) the version of John Malalas, who has Eudocia lie, "I ate it," and then even swear solemnly that she is telling the truth.² If Malalas is right, this is a damning response. All conflicting reports need to be explored, perhaps with a reminder that the learned Athenais-Eudocia cannot have been ignorant of the apple's ancient symbolism as a love token.

A less significant omission, nonetheless curious, is the failure to mention young Arcadius, probably Eudocia's son, who, like her beloved daughter Flacilla, died very young.³ This tragedy must have sharpened the Empress' sense of sorrow.

Despite these critical problems and despite some confusion caused by misplaced or omitted footnotes,⁴ the book has painted a generally accurate portrait of the times. The author has consulted numerous Byzantine chronicles and histories and though she has written for a popular audience, she has included nuggets that will stimulate more experienced students. Anyone without some general knowledge of the fourth and fifth centuries, in fact, might be overwhelmed by the learned barrage of names and facts. It would be helpful, for example, to know Hypatia, who is introduced but never really described. An account of her scholarly life and violent death would have reinforced the reader's sense of civilization gone mad. This intelligent woman, a learned pagan destroyed by the jealous rage of Christian men, makes a fine counterpoint to the Empress Eudocia. Her story also affords added insight into conditions in Alexandria, whose villainous bishop Cyril played a major role in religious controversies of Eudocia's world.

Recreating the atmosphere of this world is the greatest contribution of this monograph. For a critical transitional period, Mrs. Tsatsos pre-

2. *Chronicle*, ed. Bekker (1831), xiv, p. 356.

3. See Bury, I, p. 220, note 3.

4. E.g., p. 127 footnotes 3 and 4 to p. 7 seem to be reversed; notes to pp. 49, 51, and 101 are misplaced or missing altogether.

sents the viewpoint of the Eastern Roman Empire, rarely encountered by the general reader. Today the best classroom materials for exploring Byzantine history and society are, one by one, going out of print. It is more and more difficult to find appropriate texts that will excite the imagination of students and turn them to a sympathetic and intelligent study of Byzantium. Hopefully, this little book will initiate a series that reverses this trend.

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The Great Revival: The Russian Church under German Occupation. By Wassilij Alexeev and Theofanis G. Stavrou. Minneapolis, Minn.: Burgess Publishing Co., 1976. Pp. xvi, 229. \$21.00.

This new book is one of a few that bring together the scholarship of men from two branches of the Orthodox tradition. It brings into bold relief the image of the Russian Church as it successfully struggled to survive in an historical period when its critics, Soviet and Western, had consigned it to oblivion.

The careful research into the lives and motives of a number of figures active in the Russian Church during the 1940's indicates vitality and renewal despite the scorching persecution visited upon it during the preceding decade and a half, a persecution that saw millions of the faithful murdered together with the overwhelming majority of their clergy. All of the properties of the Church had been seized and many of the great churches and monasteries obliterated. Nevertheless, the Church revived and flourished in what had appeared to be a desert.

Alexeev and Stavrou demonstrate how both the Soviet and Nazi regimes were forced to take cognizance of the persistence of religious devotion among the Russian and Ukrainian masses and how both regimes were forced to try to manipulate the Church for their own political ends. Each regime was afraid the other would win the loyalty of the people by granting the Church the right to reorganize. Though the Church was severely restricted by both, the revival was extensive and pointed to a much brighter future if it could disentangle itself from their stranglehold.

The Great Revival helps to counter a long-established anti-Orthodox prejudice among scholars in the West. The image of the Church depicted in such works as Richard Pipes' *Russia under the Old Regime* as a decadent and dying institution since the nineteenth century loses its credibility in the face of this work. It is a step in the right direction of a badly needed reassessment of the Church over the whole of the period since the Petrine Reform of the eighteenth century. The inaccurate or unsympathetic picture of the Orthodox Church, painted by both pre- and post-revolutionary authors in Russia and by most Western scholars of both eras, is one of the heavy burdens that must be lifted before the real role of the Church can

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GEORGE S. BEBIS

WORSHIP IN THE ORTHODOX CHURCH

Introduction

Worship is widely defined and described as an act of honor, dignity, reverence, homage, veneration for a deity. For us Christians (and especially for Orthodox Christians), worship has a more profound meaning. It signifies a continuous and an increasing experience, which is nothing less than a real communion with our God, the Father Almighty, the Creator of all things visible and invisible; a participation in the life of Jesus Christ, Whose life is extended and thrives in the Church; and the unending reception of the Holy Spirit, Who strengthens our life and prepares us to become members of the Divine and Heavenly Household of God.

In the confusion and turmoil of our modern world where life is lived frantically in pursuit of pleasure and good times, people find it hard to understand the supreme pleasure and real joy they can derive from the life of the Church, which is primarily a life of worship and prayer.

What is worship really? Is it relevant to our contemporary needs and aspirations? What are its goals and purposes, its means and methods? Is worship really helpful today, when technology has penetrated all the limits of imagination and when the first Russian cosmonaut sarcastically claimed that he saw no God in the skies while he was cruising in his spacecraft?

God of course exists, for although history, science, and psychology cannot pinpoint Him, human experience feels His presence and God Himself revealed His existence and presence in history and in the life of mankind. Indeed, this is the ultimate purpose of worship, to bring man closer to God: to make our communion with Him a living reality and to transform our lives into vessels of glory and blessing. This can be found only in the life of the Church.

The Definition of Worship: Its Task and Purpose

Worship is not mainly an act of the intellect. It is rather an

experience in which the totality of the human existence participates and enjoys. Therefore, it is hard or even impossible to give a full and technical definition. Indeed, attempts have been made to define, or at least to explain, worship. For instance, worship has been described as a response of the creature to the Eternal; or as an act through which a personal being addresses another personal Being, superior and Divine, that is God; or as a dialogue between God and man, or as the peculiar practical proof of religion, as a fundamental element of genuine piety. All these definitions are correct but something is still lacking. Man cannot fully explain or define something which in its roots is divine and has a divine purpose.

Actually, worship is a gift given by God to man. We read in the Book of Genesis that "God created man in the image of Himself, in the image of God he created him, male and female he created them . . ." (Gen. 1.27). When we read that God said, "Let us make man in our own image, in likeness of ourselves" (Gen. 1.26), we can see here the gift of "communion," the immediate relationship, the proximity, the confidence which is offered to man, together with the gift of longing and desire to come closer and closer to God and become 'god.' Moses, the great prophet and liberator of the people of Israel whom God "knew face to face," knew how to use this gift of worship. For this reason he asked God on Mount Sinai, "Show me your glory, I beg you . . ." (Ex. 33.18), and when God kept His promise and let all His splendor pass in front of him and pronounced His name before him, then Moses "bowed down to the ground at once and worshipped." "If I have, indeed, won your favor, Lord," he said, "let my Lord come with us, I beg . . ." (Ex. 34.20) This is probably the most ancient and complete account of worship in the Old Testament. Later, the prophets of Israel—Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah, and Jeremiah—set an example of pure, moral and filial worship.

To be sure, worship is not all a Jewish or Christian phenomenon. The Indians, the Babylonians, the Egyptians, the peoples of the Americas, the ancient Greeks and Romans all worshipped, prayed, and offered respect to their deities. However, their worship is mostly materialistic, mechanical, magical, or many times is full of mythological and magical speculation, pale abstract fantasies or cold rationalistic techniques and formulas.

Christian worship takes place on a personal level. Man as a wholesome and full personality communicates with God, Who is not an abstract illogical deity, but the Holy Trinity: the persons of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. There is a passionate yearning, a humble surrender, a gentle and quiet intimacy, a rapturous and unspeakable delight and joy in Christian worship. The relationship of Father to Son can be visualized; the absolute love of man for God and God's love for man, the unfathomable revelation of God's will in the hearts of His people, all these make Christian worship a distinct, powerful, and harmonious way of life. It is an experience which cannot be described in human terms and categories. As such, Christian worship is self-consuming, it is an unending fire in the souls of people, an intensified and ineffable mystery in the life of God's blessedness and bliss, and a continuous movement and inner struggle to reach union with God. This may sound paradoxical, especially in the context of contemporary popular parlance, where sometimes worship appears as an individualistic expression of one's own self who likes "to do his own thing," regardless of what the Church teaches and what our Lord commanded us to do. It is our choice to make a commitment to our Lord Jesus Christ or to the expediciencies of this world.

St. Paul, the greatest missionary Apostle of the early Church, describes the Christian way of life as nothing less than a life of worship which is a "spiritual revolution . . . so that you can put on the new self that has been created in God's way, in the goodness and holiness of the truth" (Eph. 4.23). Paul admonishes the people of the Church in Ephesus again, saying, "Try, then, to imitate God, as children of His that He loves, and follow Christ by loving as He loved you, giving Himself up in our place as a fragrant offering and a sacrifice to God" (Eph. 5.1-2). He advises His people to "sing the words and tunes of the psalms and hymns when you are together, and go on singing and chanting to the Lord in your hearts, so that always and everywhere you are giving thanks to God who is our Father in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ" (Eph. 5.19-20).

In defining the meaning of worship more concretely, St. Paul writes to the Church of Rome, "How rich are the depths of God—How deep his worship and knowledge—And how impossible to penetrate his motives or understand his methods! Who

could ever know the mind of the Lord? Who could ever be His counsellor? Who could ever give Him anything or lend Him anything? All that exists comes from Him; all is by Him and for Him. To Him be glory for ever . . . Think of God's mercy, my brothers, and worship him, I beg you, in a way that is worthy of thinking beings, by offering your living bodies as a holy sacrifice, truly pleasing to God. Do not model yourselves on the behavior of the world around you, but let your behavior change, modelled by your new mind. This is the only way to discover the will of God and know what is good, what it is that God wants, what is the perfect thing to do . . ." (Romans 11. 33-36; 12.1-2).

Here we have a clear description of the essence of Christian worship. For St. Paul, worship is a "spiritual revolution" (*ananeosis* in Greek), a continuous renewal which transforms life to "a sweet-smelling savour," or to a life of sacrifice (as was Christ's life), a life of goodness and holiness and truth. Worship is a singing of hymns, which springs out of the hearts of men; a spontaneous thanksgiving for all God's gifts in life; a remodeling of our behavior according to the will of God, which pleases God and makes our existence as rational and intelligent beings worthy of God. When we say intelligent or rational beings we do not simply mean people who have studied the knowledge offered in our schools, but as St. Anthony, the great monk of the fourth century says, "A truly intelligent man has only one care—whole-heartedly to obey Almighty God and to please Him. The one and only thing he teaches his soul is how best to do things agreeable to God, thanking Him for His merciful providence in whatever may happen in his life . . . In this understanding and this faith in God lie salvation and peace of soul."

Peace of soul is a very important element in Christian worship. Only by worshipping God can we secure for ourselves peace of soul. Because as St. Basil, the famous bishop of Caesarea, writes, "One cannot approach the knowledge of the truth with a disturbed heart." Only through worship can man obtain an inner feeling of security and peace. Through absolute trust and unreserved confidence in God the Father man receives the response of fatherly love, guidance, and direction needed in life. Man becomes free and liberated from the burden of emotional and physical barriers and is ready to enjoy the life of spiritual uplifting, which is nothing less than to communicate

with the glory and the happy radiance of his Creator. This is why Christ said if He Who is the Son of God makes us free we will be free indeed (Jn. 8.36). St. Paul admonishes us, saying, "When Christ freed us, he meant us to remain free. Stand firm, therefore, and do not submit to the yoke of slavery" (Gal. 5.1).

But to feel this peace of soul and this freedom and liberation which every human being desires, one basic prerequisite is needed. This is humility. One must approach worship not as the Pharisee of the Gospel, who boasted and exalted himself as man of virtue and perfection, but he must approach the altar of God as the tax collector, who surrenders his whole being under the mercy of God and who utters, "God, be merciful to me, a sinner" (Lk. 18.9-14). Indeed, to be humble is not an easy thing. One must renounce his previous way of life, he must forget the pleasures of our contemporary society, and he must renounce his ego and its selfish pursuits and goals. A proud man cannot become a man of prayer. For he cannot accept his sinfulness and shortcomings, and, most importantly, he cannot acknowledge his total dependence on God, Who is Creator and Provider.

Another prerequisite for true worship is cleanliness and purity, for it is through this that we must approach and communicate with God. We are all sinners; nobody is perfect in this world. Temptations in life are manifold and can appear even at the most sacred moments of prayer and meditation. This is why in the Eucharistic prayer we ask the Lord, "Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love You and worthily magnify Your Holy Name." Again in the second prayer for the faithful in the Liturgy we pray, "Purify our souls and bodies from all carnal and spiritual defilement, and grant that our presence at Your Holy Altar may be innocent and blameless . . ."

How can this purity become a reality in the lives of people of today? Purity of heart is not an immovable and static state of life. It is something we must strive for during our whole life. It is a mountain we must often climb during our journey in this world. We may stop, or fall back at times during this ascent, but we should continue to climb and ascend towards purity, that purity which will liberate us from the demands of our own self and of our environment. It is not an easy task. But the reward

of liberation is worthy of trying to reach that stage, when the goal of both body and soul is to express our faith and love to God the Father, to families, friends, and to all fellowmen.

Some people make a distinction between worship and prayer. Worship is "essentially disinterested" with human realities and "means only God," whereas prayer seeks to satisfy the inner yearnings and urgencies of the human soul. Worship means adoration, prayer signifies needs and involvement in the current problems of contemporary life. But this distinction is rather external and superficial. The fact is that worship is the total surrender of our own self to God. Adoration and petition, praise and intercession, thanksgiving and asking for something overlap and inter-mingle. Of course, there is no doubt that worship is expressed through some kind of ritual. Ceremonies, music and sound, verbal formulas, even "theatrical" movements and gestures are parts and elements of these rituals. Ritual stimulates the human heart and body to express their feelings of devotion. It provokes a psychological setting for both the individual and corporate acts of worship. Ritual develops the feeling of participation in the divine life, in the acts of God which are manifested in His creatures and in the act of salvation fulfilled by Jesus Christ on the Cross. Actually, all of time and space is brought into the framework of Christian worship. Thus does St. Paul write, "From the beginning till now the entire creation, as we know, has been groaning in one great act of giving birth; and not only creation, but all of us who possess the first fruits of the Spirit, we too groan inwardly as we wait for our bodies to be set free . . ." (Rom. 8.22-23).

Ritual, however elaborate, cannot unite us with God unless it takes place in the Spirit of God, that is, in the true spirit of self-dedication to the Holy Trinity. Our Lord Himself made this clear when He proclaimed that "God is Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in Spirit and in truth" (John 4.24). Nothing can or must separate us from the real union with God. As St. Paul so characteristically wrote, "I am certain of this: neither death nor life, no angel, nor prince, nothing that exists, nothing still to come, not any power, or height or depth, nor any created thing, can ever come between us and the love of God made visible in Christ Jesus our Lord" (Rom. 8.38-39).

Still one might ask: What is really the definition, the meaning and the task of worship? We might rightly say that worship is the style of life which is occupied with unceasing prayer (1 Thes. 5.17); or the act of the Christian who "...at all times preserves the memory of God...in order that he may show love to the Lord not only when he goes into the place of prayer, but also when he is walking, talking, or eating, that he may preserve the memory of God and a sense of love and yearning toward Him" (*Macarian Homily* 43:3 in Migne, PG 34:773A). Writes St. Basil, "Prayer is a request for what is good, offered by the devout to God. But we do not restrict the 'request' simply to what is stated in words...we should not express our prayer merely in syllables, but the power of prayer should be expressed in the moral attitude of our soul and in the virtuous actions that extend through our life...This is how you pray continually—not by offering prayer in words, but by joining yourself to God through your whole way of life, so that your life becomes one continuous and uninterrupted prayer..." (*Homily on the Martyr Julitta* 3-4, PG 31:244 A-B).

The Main Characteristics of our Worship

We have spoken about individual, personal or private worship, and about public or corporate worship. Both are indispensable. We must enter our own private rooms and in front of holy icons search ourselves. We must not permit our mind to be scattered here and there, but in self-discipline and self-control we ought to open the depths of our heart and pour out feelings of adoration, thanksgiving, praise, devotion, and dedication, as well as our requests and petitions. In the morning and in the evening we will recite the Lord's Prayer, and read from service books and other devotional literature of the Church.

So far so good. But this is not enough. Christian worship finds its fulfillment in the form of corporate worship. Corporate worship means our participation in the common worship of the Church, our frequent presence in the services sung in our churches, our active fellowship in the temple of God, and our constant participation in the sacraments or mysteries of the Holy Church.

Many people today question the value of going to church.

We could pray at home so why should we go to church? This is the weakest argument, and the most superficial pretext to avoid the Church. To be sure, the Church never asks her children to come to the church merely out of habit or out of an unhealthy fanaticism or militancy. The Church, however, makes clear to her faithful that "you cannot have God as your Father unless you have the Church as your Mother," to use the famous expression of St. Cyprian. The Church, as a good and affectionate mother, cares and nourishes her children with spiritual food and provides all the means for the spiritual welfare of her people. Moreover, the Church, being the very Body of Christ, requires her people to participate and live her life so that all her faithful become members of the Body of Christ and "heirs of God and co-heirs with Christ, sharing His sufferings so as to share His glory" (Rom. 8.17).

We must remember at the same time that Christian worship has two dimensions—the vertical and the horizontal. The vertical dimension brings us to direct contact and union with God. The horizontal dimension brings us to a true fellowship with our brothers and sisters in Christ, who gather together in the Church for common worship to a common Father, the Creator of all things; to Jesus Christ, Who brought us the good tidings of salvation; and to the Holy Spirit, Who abides with and strengthens the Church. We may paraphrase a well-known dictum and say that those who pray together, stay together. It is interesting to note that throughout our Divine Liturgy the plural *we* and *us* are used extensively. "Again, we pray . . ." is repeatedly found in the Liturgy. "Let us love one another . . .," the priest proclaims to the congregation. The ancient Latin Christians realized the great significance of corporate worship when they would utter, *unus Christianus, nullus Christianus*, which means that one Christian is not being a Christian at all: "One cannot divide Christ . . .," St. Cyril of Alexandria states in a most vigorous and convincing way (in his *Commentary on John* 9.11, Migne, PG 77:560). He is absolutely right, because in the Church all the people of God, who are the fullness of the Body of Christ, gather and worship in the name of Christ and in full communion with the Holy Spirit. Only in the Church the concord of faith exists, where the bread of heaven and the cup of salvation sanctify the soul and body of man (Ignatius of An-

tioch in *Ephesians* 13, 20; and Cyril of Jerusalem in *Mystagogical Catechesis* 3, 4, 5). Only in the Church can Christians become a true "communion of saints." St. Paul writes, "We are one body in Christ" (Rom. 12.5), and this oneness is fulfilled in the Church. Only in the Church is there salvation. A famous Russian theologian used to say, "We know that when any one of us falls, he falls alone; but no one is saved alone. He is saved in the Church, as a member of her, and in union with all her other members." Or to put it in another way, "There is no other way to be saved except through our neighbor" (*Macarian Homilies*, 37:3 Migne, PG 36: 752 C). Both clergy and laity, the living and the departed, the Virgin Mary and the Fathers of the Church and the martyrs, all these are members of the "communion of saints" with whom we are united through the bond of love and faith and hope.

To pray alone at home is commendable. But this is not enough. Only in the common gathering of the people of God and fullness of our salvation can union with the Divine become a reality and transform our life into an experience of personal encounter with God.

This encounter with God makes our worship theocentric. The whole circle of the liturgical services of the Church moves around God, Who is incomprehensible by nature and Whom no human reason or human tongue can describe. The fact that all the human services of the Church begin with a doxology to the Holy Trinity ("Blessed is the kingdom of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit"), shows that our worship turns its attention towards the personal God, Who was revealed in the Scriptures, who sent His only begotten Son to liberate us from the bondage of sin, and Who sends the Holy Spirit to breathe life into the Church. Thus, we may also say that our worship is Christological and Pneumatological. Christological because the Church is herself the very body of Christ and because the entire liturgical year is in reality a reenactment of the Lord's life on the earth. The Annunciation, the birth of Christ from the Holy Virgin, the baptism in the river Jordan, His death and Resurrection, His Ascension and His Transfiguration are main events which are celebrated throughout the year by the Church in a most festive way. The Divine Liturgy, with the Eucharist as its center, is nothing less than a step by step enactment of

Christ's life, His preaching, His sufferings, His sacrifice on the Cross, and His glorious Resurrection.

Our worship is also catholic and ecumenical in the sense that it ignores geographical boundaries, racial prejudices, language barriers, and national distinctions. The *Didache*, a small book written at the end of the first century A.D. by an unknown author, presents a picturesque description of this reality when the priest prays, saying, "As this broken bread was scattered over hills and then, when gathered became one, so may the Church be gathered from the ends of the earth into Thy kingdom." In the Liturgy of St. Basil the priest prays, "Have in remembrance also, O Lord, we beseech Thee, the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, which is from all ends of the Universe . . ."

Our worship is also eschatological (from the Greek word *eschaton*, the end), which means that in our worship we are anticipating the world to come and we taste of the fruits of the glorious joy of the everlasting life. Death, resurrection, and judgment, our last encounter with God in front of the throne of His eternal glory, all are integral parts of our worship. Here the anticipation of the sweetness of seeing God is mentioned, and faith and hope in the righteous judgment of God is proclaimed.

We must mention here too, that our worship is biblical and is based on the pure origins of the liturgical experience of the early Church. When we say that our worship is biblical, we mean that it has its historical roots in the Bible and that in every service it includes readings from the Old and the New Testament. As far as its early and ancient basis, a non-Orthodox scholar wrote not long ago, "The Orthodox Church has preserved the liturgical spirit of the Early Church and continues to live by it and to be nourished from it as from her purest source . . ."

Finally, our worship is mystical, not in a magical sense, but in a mysterious way which is hidden and unexplainable. There is an unceasing uplifting of the heart, which cannot be explained in human words. There is a secret dialogue between Creator and creature, which culminates in the union of man with God in the Liturgy. The redemptive power of Christ is working in an unspoken way in the heart of the believer, and the Holy Spirit is operating and directing the human soul towards its perfection and salvation. How do these things happen? No one

knows. St. Augustine replied, "The Church said it. Ask no more . . ."

Ways and Means of Worship

"Ask no more"? How can this admonition be reconciled with the curiosity and the rationalistic spirit which prevails in our contemporary world? Everyone wants to know why, where, and how things happened. This is a legitimate claim, and the Church must still answer all the questions people submit to her. However, the Church reminds us that she speaks not only for pragmatic and empirical things. The Church herself is 'theanthropic,' that is, she is both divine and human, as Christ was both God and man. The presence of the Church in this world is a witness of this truth—" . . . our knowledge is imperfect and our prophesying is imperfect; but once perfection comes, all imperfect things will disappear . . . Now we are seeing a dim reflection in a mirror, but then we shall be seeing face to face. The knowledge that I have now is imperfect; but then I shall know as fully as I am known " (1 Cor. 13.9-12). If everything was already known to us worship would lose much of its meaning. God revealed to us all that is needed for our salvation and He gave us the foretaste of the final transfiguration in which "God shall be all in all" and nothing will be hidden.

The Church, therefore, as a cosmic or as a human reality, offers us all the means necessary to partake in the mystery of salvation and to transform us from this life into members of Christ's Body and participants in the kingdom of God, which will follow after this life on earth. These means, to be sure, are not merely empirical means. They are both divine and human, combining both the earthly exoteric appearance of created things and the inner esoteric blessing of the unseen energies of God.

What are these means and ways of worship? Individual and corporate prayer is one of the many means of worship, and we have already spoken about these. We also have spoken about ritual in which people find ways of expressing their inner feelings with verbal formulas and physical movements. But the ways and means of worship are various. The church, as the temple of God, which is divided into the nave and the sanctuary or the altar, is an excellent way of expressing the reality of both the heavenly and the earthly kingdom of God where the Holy

Trinity and all the saints, the living and the departed, comprise the mystical communion of the Divine and human. The icons are especially significant, from both the aesthetic and theological points of view, because in the form of painting they present the triumphant Church of Christ. We do not adore the icons. Adoration is to be given only to God. But we honor the holy persons they depict. Through this, the Church militant, those members of the Church who are still living, come into close communion with the Church triumphant. The vestments of the clergy, which carry a profound symbolic meaning, the incense, the bells, the singing, even our alms to the Church are ways and means through which we express our respect, our gratitude, debt, adoration, and honor to our Creator. Not that God needs them, because God is above and beyond any need. But all these ways and means are for our own edification, spiritual advancement, and inner gratification.

Preaching is one of the most important methods of showing a true spirit of worship. Both the preacher and the hearer derive from the Bible and traditions of the Church the same source of wisdom. Therefore, both have a panoramic view of God's action in history. The spoken word of God is as refreshing water in the thirsty souls of men and leads them onto the road of repentance, rehabilitation, and spiritual renewal in the Church of Christ.

And what about the sacraments of the Church? The precise wording for this in our Church is the Mysteries (*Mysteria*). The Church uses this term because as St. John Chrysostom so pertinently wrote, "... what we believe is not what we see, but we see one thing and believe another... (*Homily on 1 Cor. 5.1*, Migne, PG 61:55).

The Church accepts seven sacraments or Mysteries—(1) Baptism, (2) Chrismation or Chrism, (3) the Eucharist, (4) Repentance or Confession, (5) Holy Orders or Ordination, (6) Marriage, and (7) Holy Unction. All the mysteries belong to the sphere of one great mystery, salvation and redemption through Jesus Christ, which actually was "the message which was a mystery hidden for generations and centuries and has now been revealed to his saints... The mystery is Christ among you..." (Col. 1.26-17).

The breaking of the communion with God through the transgression of man brought the fall of man and creation into death and corruption. Through Baptism we come to a new life, to the new community of the people of God. The remission of sins is given to the baptized and the neophyte is saved and regenerated and becomes a true and genuine member of the Church. Through Chrismation, the seal of the Holy Spirit, the body of the newly-baptized is anointed as a positive sign that man has been adopted by God and that the Holy Spirit dwells in the soul of the neophyte, who is ready to receive Holy Communion.

Now if by Baptism and Chrismation we become related with God and with one another by "adoption," through the Eucharist this relation becomes one of blood. "We came in communion with Christ and with (His) passion and Divinity" (St. Gregory of Nazianzas, *Oration* 4:52). St. Ignatios of Antioch noted that the Eucharist becomes the medicine of immortality and the antidote so that we should not die but live forever in Jesus Christ (*Ephesians* 12, 20).

Through the sacrament or the mystery of Confession or Penance we are restored again in the position of liberation from the burden of sins committed after our Baptism. Contemporary psychology confirms the valuable contribution of confession and penance to the stability of the human personality.

Through the mystery of Ordination the grace of God sets apart, but not as intermediaries between God and man, the special duties of the clergy to preserve the charismatic and sacramental life of the Church and to preserve the Christian community through the sacraments, preaching, and an exemplary way of life which resists the temptations of life and the evils of divisions—immorality and apostasy.

The mystery of Marriage unites two souls and two bodies in the unity of love and understanding. The deep meaning in the mystery of Marriage prompted St. Paul to liken and compare that union with the mystery of the union between Christ and His Church "...since as Christ is head of the Church and saves the whole body, so is a husband the head of his wife; and as the Church submits to Christ, so should wives to their husbands, in everything. Husbands should love their wives just as Christ loved the Church and sacrificed Himself for her to make her holy ..." (Eph. 5.21-33).

Holy Unction offers consolation and healing to the mentally and physically ill. Through the holy and blessed oil the priest and the believer receive the power of the Holy Spirit, which brings peace of soul and spiritual healing upon the wounds which beset all men because of the vicissitudes of life.

Thus, we have seen that the Church uses all the means which Christ gave her for the preservation of our faith, for perseverance of our faith, and for our restoration to kingdom of God. This is a process which begins during our life on earth and is continued eternally in life everlasting.

Worship and Modern Man

Many people question the practical value and the spiritual meaning of our worship. They think that sermons are a "drag," that the services are completely irrelevant, and that the Church cannot respond to the needs of contemporary technological society. As one American scholar noted not long ago, with a cold sense of sarcasm, the new priests of today are the mathematicians, the people in the laboratory, the technologists!

Many people look for change. But change into what? Many churches in America have proceeded through deep and lasting changes. Even the Roman Catholic Church introduced new forms of liturgy, which were not new in essence, but were innovations based on the practice of the Early Church. Modern musical instruments, modern methods of singing, even dances have been introduced to many liturgical traditions in America. What about the Orthodox Church? Now, one must take special note that these changes did not practically attract many people to the Gospel and the Church.

The Church, naturally, is not static. Its liturgical forms and norms are in a constant process of development and change. We who live in this country do not realize that our church life has been influenced by American mannerisms. The hour of the services, the fasting rules, the organ, the presence of priests without beards, the building of edifices to facilitate schooling, athletics, and social gatherings, are some of the changes imposed on the life of the Church in this country.

But we must realize that although the external character of liturgy may change (change in the use of languages to adapt to the worship needs of our faithful), the essence of the Church

never changes. The essence of our worship cannot change. We may lower our 'iconostasion' (the Icon Screen which divides the sanctuary from the nave as it used to be in the early times of our Church); we may translate and use the vernacular languages in our services; we may even consider rewriting services or experimenting with new forms of worship. But the mystery which is Christ Himself will never change. "Jesus Christ is the same today as He was yesterday and as He will be for ever" (Heb. 13.8).

The great mystery of the Church will always center on Christ, and the Eucharistic offering of the Church will always be the same in essence because Christ founded His Church and His Eucharist as means of salvation, reconciliation and communion with God.

We cannot, and we should not, expect an established paradise on earth. Happiness is not to be found, in its absolute form, in this life. Only in the spirit of true worship, where the barriers of the world and its demands fall apart, only there can we find the fullness and the wholesomeness of life. Worship must become a way of life, an experience which need not change, a fulfillment and full restoration in the love of God and in the love of our fellowmen. Finally, worship is an act of love, and love can never change. It remains always burning in the hearts of the faithful, increasing, developing, but in essence always remaining the same. This is the message of salvation and the calling to a real union between God and man.

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